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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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COVER—This drawing of gunboats approaching Winton was made in July, 1862, by a member of the Hawkins Zouaves, Pvt. Charles F. Johnson, and may be found in his published diary, *The Long Roll*. For an article on the burning of Winton, see pages 18-31.

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SAGA OF A BURKE COUNTY FAMILY

By EDWARD W. PHIFER*

PART I

THE GRANDPARENTS

On the eighteenth day of January, 1769, a small boat put out from Accomack on the Eastern Shore. Braving a cold, stiff wind, it rolled awkwardly across the icy waters of Chesapeake Bay in a southwesterly direction and finally crunched into the landing at Hampton on the tip of the Virginia Peninsula. Two passengers stepped ashore and upon inquiry were directed to the tavern of William Armistead, which was located nearby. One of these visitors was a Presbyterian minister, the Reverend Charles J. Smith. The other was in his late twenties and wore the dress of a colonial gentlemen but his speech had a sharp New England flavor. His name was Waightstill Avery and he had recently finished a legal preceptorship under Littleton Dennis, a prominent attorney of the State of Maryland. Dennis was an extraordinarily successful man and in addition to his law practice, owned and operated extensive plantations in both Somerset and Worcester counties. His house, "Beverly," faced the winding, sluggish Pocomoke River five or six miles from its estuary and was a landmark for the river boats that plied this stream.2 Avery had studied there for almost eighteen months and during this time he learned to love the free and easy ways of the tidewater aristocracy and quite likely aspired to emulate them.

^{*}Dr. Edward W. Phifer is a local historian and medical practitioner in Morganton.

1 "Biographical Sketch of Waightstill Avery with Illustrative Manuscripts," The North Carolina University Magazine, IV (August, 1855), 242, hereinafter cited as University Magazine; North Carolina Papers, Draper Manuscript Collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, hereinafter cited as Draper Collection. These papers contain Waightstill Avery's diary and a biographical sketch by his son, Isaac T. Avery; microfilm copy on file, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, and also in the possession of the writer.

2 George N. Mackenzie (ed.), Colonial Families of the United States of America (Baltimore, Maryland: 1914), 128; John Upshur Dennis, "Genealogical Tables of the Paternal Line of the Dennis family prepared prior to June, 1890" (place and date unknown).

Groton, Connecticut, was Avery's birthplace. The date of his birth was May 10, 1741. His paternal ancestor, great great grandfather Christopher, had reached Massachusetts Bay Colony in the "Great Puritan Migration" of the 1630's. Christopher, a middle-aged kersey weaver from the parish of Ipplepen in Devonshire, England, had brought his son with him when he migrated, but for some mysterious reason had failed to bring his wife. This omission subsequently got him into difficulties with the strict Puritan courts but he pleaded poverty and old age and his actions were excused. He likewise was hailed into court on several occasions for making derogatory statements about several ministers of the gospel but seems to have extricated himself without suffering excessive punishment. Drifting from Gloucester to Boston and then on to Groton, he never acclimated himself to this strange, primitive land.³ Great grandfather James was more aggressive. He acquired large tracts of land around Groton, largely through grants, and served both church and state in various official capacities, particularly distinguishing himself in the horrible war with the Indian Chieftain King Phillip in 1675-1676 and in his dealings with Indian problems in general. He acquired the title "Captain" from his military career and retained it throughout his life.4 Grandfather Samuel followed the same pattern; his wife, Susannah Palmes, supposedly, could trace her lineage back to the early British kings. Waightstill's father was named Humphrey and his mother's maiden name was Jerusha Morgan. Humphrey also took an active part in municipal affairs, styled himself a carpenter, but in the main, was a land speculator who met with desultory success. Waightstill was the tenth child born to this union. 6 As a boy, with his brothers, he roved the hills and marshes of New London County, ate the delicious wild berries of various types that abounded, and boated or swam in the Thames or its tributaries. Periodically, he sailed down Long Island Sound to attend a school for boys conducted by the Reverend Samuel Seabury at Hempstead, Long Island. Originally a Congregational minister in Groton, Seabury had switched to the Church of England and was serving an Anglican parish at Hemp-

³ Elroy M. Avery and C. H. Avery, *The Groton Avery Clan* (Cleveland, Ohio: 2 volumes, 1912), I, 29-42, hereinafter cited as Avery and Avery, *The Groton Avery Clan*; *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury), April 17, 1821, in an obituary of Waightstill Avery gives the date of birth as May 3, 1745, hereinafter cited as *Western Carolinian*; and a biographical sketch, Draper Collection, says he was "supposed to have been born chart 1745." about 1745."

Avery and Avery, The Groton Avery Clan, I, 43-78.

Avery and Avery, The Groton Avery Clan, I, 114, 115.

Avery and Avery, The Groton Avery Clan, I, 156-158; see also Homer D. L. Sweet, The Averys of Groton (Syracuse, New York: 1894), 1-15, 598. Actually, as pointed out by the genealogist, Allen L. Poe, Waightstill Avery's parents were first cousins, once removed. Consequently, he was descended from Captain James Avery, Sr., on both the paternal and maternal sides.

stead at the time he operated the school. Although none of his brothers had received the benefits of a higher education, Waightstill was determined to go to college. In 1763 his mother died and shortly after, his father remarried. Nevertheless, Waightstill managed to enroll at Princeton the following year after attending Yale for a short time. In 1764 the school was in its infancy. Except for the President's house and a few dependent outbuildings Nassau Hall was the sole building on the campus. This structure contained the college dining hall, recitation rooms, chapel, library, and student living quarters. Avery roomed with Oliver Ellsworth, who was destined to become Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. In 1765 he became a member of Clio Hall, one of the two highly influential secret literary and forensic societies founded at Princeton in that year. Waightstill Avery graduated in the illustrious class of 1766, was awarded first honors, and at graduation was Latin Salutatorian.7 Imbued with the New Englander's feeling that an educated individual should choose between law, teaching, or the ministry, and also running short of money, he remained at Princeton for a year as an instructor at Nassau Hall Grammar School. It was after this stint that he decided to study law and left for "Beverly" on the Pocomoke.

After staying a day or so with William Armistead at Hampton, Avery moved up the peninsula to Williamsburg. There he had dinner with John Tazewell, first clerk of the general court of Williamsburg, and called upon Peyton Randolph, speaker of the House of Burgesses, but the great man had little time for him. Avery felt ill at ease with Tazewell and Randolph but felt at home when with the Reverend Mr. Smith or when engaged in a philosophical discussion with John Camm, a clergyman of the Established Church who was Professor of Divinity at The College of William and Mary.⁸ "His journal shows that he rarely omitted an opportunity to attend Divine worship on any occasion, especially upon Sunday, and that he was not merely attentive to religious ordinances, but studiously polite and kind in his intercourse with ministers of the gospel."9

⁷A personal communication from L. H. Savage, Archivist of Princeton University, including a memorandum from Walter H. Everts, Jr., Office of the Secretary, Princeton University, dated December 3, 1954. See also Selina Lenoir to W. A. Lenoir, June 20, 1837 (data on the Avery family), Isaac T. Avery to Selina Lenoir, August 15, 1832 (data on Waightstill Avery), Lenoir Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Lenoir Family Papers.

⁸A personal communication from Mr. James A. Servies, Reference Librarian, The

⁸ A personal communication from Mr. James A. Servies, Reference Librarian, The College of William and Mary, January 7, 1957, and citing Lester J. Cappon and Stella F. Duff, Virginia Gazette Index (Williamsburg, Virginia: 2 volumes, 1950), passim; and Lyon Gardiner Tyler (ed.), Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography (New York: 5 volumes, 1915), IV, 510.

⁹ University Magazine, August, 1855, 243.

Colonial Williamsburg was a pleasant and cultured community and Avery was naturally reluctant to leave but he felt it to his best interest to seek his fortune elsewhere-perhaps in the Carolina back country where there was a paucity of legal talent, only a handful of educated men, and personal wealth was almost nonexistent. At Princeton one of his classmates was Hezekiah J. Balch and he also had known Ephraim Brevard and Adlai Osborne of the class of 1768. These men enjoyed positions of prominence in the Carolina Piedmont and it seems to be a reasonable inference that they stimulated Avery to explore the

region.10

In spite of a lame horse, he managed to reach Edenton on February 5 and among others became acquainted with Samuel Johnston, the clerk of the court and Joseph Hewes, later one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. On leaving Edenton he continued on through Northampton to Halifax where he entered upon a scene of elegant and refined festivities. "Puritan that he was, he lingered amidst these dalliances during three entire days." 11 Here he made the acquaintance of John Stokes and several members of the local bar. He then traveled to Salisbury by way of Hillsboro. This harrowing journey, during which he barely escaped drowning while fording a stream on horseback and endured many hardships and tests of endurance, he seems to have taken in stride.

His description of a night at a North Carolina inn follows:

February 22-Wednesday, From Halifax 100 M. west of Edenton I set out for Hillsborough 100 still more west, rode 30 M., came late up with one Powels, and found him and one of his neighbors with two travellers at supper. I soon perceived the neighbor drunk; and there being but one room in the house, he reel'd and staggered from side to side thro' it, tumbling over, not chairs, for there were none in the House, but stools and tables etc. He was soon accompanied in the staggering scheme, by the Landlord and Travellers, first one and then both, who all blunder'd, bald'd, spew'd and curs'd, broke one anothers Heads and their own shins, with stools and brused their Hips and Ribs with sticks of the Couch Pens, pulled hair, lugg'd, hallo'd, swore, fought, and kept up the Roar Rororum till morning. Thus I watched carefully all night, to keep them from falling over and spewing upon me.12

While in Hillsboro, he spent the evening with Ralph McNair, a wealthy Scotch merchant, and made the acquaintance of various court

¹⁰ C. S. Wooten, "The Avery Family," *Charlotte Observer*, undated clipping, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, hereinafter cited as Wooten, "Avery Family."

¹¹ University Magazine, August, 1855, 243.

¹² University Magazine, August, 1855, 249; Draper Collection.

officials. He reached Salisbury on March 2 and spent the evening with Colonel Edmund Fanning and Colonel John Frohock. Fanning was a man of great charm, a scholar of unusual attainment, and a native of the same section of Connecticut as Avery. Frohock's plantation home was the finest within a hundred miles. These artful men easily captivated the young stranger. At Salisbury he also enjoyed the company of Superior Court Judge Richard Henderson and William Hooper, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. There he also met Samuel Spencer, later a judge, John Dunn, 13 and Alexander Martin, later the Governor of North Carolina. On March 16 he left for Hillsboro with Judge Henderson, Fanning, and Hooper. While there he spent an evening in a large crowd of lawyers and "narrowly escaped being intoxicated." 14 Here he also met Chief Justice Martin Howard. At the close of the term, he proceeded to Brunswick and there received his license to practice law from Governor Tryon; he returned by way of Cross Creek, now Fayetteville, and Anson Court House, where he made his debut at the bar. On April 18 he arrived at Charlotte and engaged living quarters in the home of Hezekiah Alexander. In three months he had visited every important place in the Province, with the exception of New Bern District, and had made the acquaintance of the most prominent persons at all the places he had been. However these influential men whom young Avery had so sedulously courted, at this very instant were engaged in a violent struggle for their political lives. They personified the political officeholders—the perennial courthouse crowd who controlled the local and county governments, reaped the benefits therefrom, and maintained their positions through the indulgence of the colonial governor and the support of the legal profession, clergy, wealthy merchants, and others of the colonial aristocracy. They were opposed, as usual, by the low income group who in this instance called themselves Regulators and the struggle which ensued is referred to as the North Carolina War of the Regulation. The Regulators felt that the officeholders were corrupt, and that their tax levies and fees were exorbitant. Avery's natural tendencies, his profession, and his religious affiliations, as well as his admiration for Fanning and Frohock, prejudiced him against the Regulators and he unquestionably opposed them throughout the entire affair. On March 6, 1771, he was arrested by a group of Regulators near Salisbury, was taken to a Regulator camp and held there for four or five hours, but was not harmed. While there he heard threats of violence made against

¹³ John Dunn was one of the founders of the Town of Salisbury and a leading citizen. He was later noted for his loyalist tendencies.

¹⁴ University Magazine, August, 1855, 250.

Henderson, Fanning, and other officers of Rowan County as well as criticism of Governor Tryon. All this information was conveyed to the

government in a deposition which he made after his release.15

Several months later, after Governor Tryon's victory at the Battle of Alamance, the Regulator movement collapsed without effecting many of the reforms which had been sought. This much must be said about the Regulation in order to explain Avery's subsequent behavior: briefly, it was a popular revolt against the agents of government at the county level and not an effort to change the form of government. It was not a precursor of the Revolution, but a disorganized effort to "throw the rascals out." The targets of the Regulation were the men who later became leaders of the Revolution in North Carolina and Avery was one of them.16

Following his arrival in Charlotte he applied himself to the general practice of law in the courtrooms of Mecklenburg, Rowan, Tryon, and Anson. Like any young lawyer beginning his legal career, he participated in many minor cases, and in addition frequently served as King's Attorney when the permanent prosecutor was absent from court. When he found himself without work, he spent his days in reading and in study. Voltaire's History of Europe, Tobias Smollett's History of England, and Daniel Neal's History of the Puritans were among the books he read during this period. He had access to the library of Lawyer Forsythe and here he "read the statutes at large." Sundays found him at church with mention in his diary of the minister's name and often some comment on the sermon. The Reverend George Micklejohn, an Anglican clergyman of Hillsboro, the Reverend Joseph Alexander of Sugaw Creek, the Reverend Mr. Halsey of Hopewell, the Reverend Little Balch, the Reverend Mr. Tate of Salisbury, and others were heard by him during the year 1769. In December of that year he accompanied the Reverend James Caldwell 17 on a preaching mission to Charleston, South Carolina, and returned to Charlotte, North Carolina, on Christmas day.

Wedded as he was to those "who delighted in the stern creed of Calvin" and fully embracing this creed himself, it was no quirk of des-

¹⁵ William L. Saunders (ed.), The Colonial Records of North Carolina (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1895), X, 518-521, 548, hereinafter cited as Saunders, Colonial Records; Elmer D. Johnson, "The War of the Regulation: Its Place in History," 74, M.A. thesis, 1942, University of North Carolina Library.

¹⁶ J. S. Bassett, "The Regulators of North Carolina," Annual Report, 1894, American Historical Association, 141-212.

¹⁷ Probably this reference is to the Reverend James Caldwell of Connecticut Farms, a settlement near Springfield, New Jersey, and about 40 miles from Princeton. During the Revolution his wife was killed and his home burned by British soldiers. John R. Alden (ed.), The War of the Revolution by Christopher Ward (New York: 2 volumes, 1952), II, 621.

tiny that found him in the vanguard when the necessity for American independence became evident. The passage of the Marriage and Vestry Acts in 1769, together with the repeal of the charter of Queens College, sowed the seeds of revolution in Mecklenburg. These acts discouraged marriage by ministers other than those of the Established Church, levied taxes to pay the salaries of the Anglican clergy, and discriminated in favor of the Church of England generally. "We think it as reasonable that those who hold to the Episcopal Church should pay their own clergy without our assistance as that we, who hold to the Church of Scotland should pay our clergy without their assistance," ¹⁸ said forthright Waightstill Avery in the Mecklenburg Petition which he prepared for presentation to Governor Tryon requesting the repeal of these acts. In the same document, he said, "We would inform that there are about one thousand freemen of us, who hold to the established church of Scotland able to bear arms, within the County of Mecklenburg." 19

For the next seven years he continued to make his home in Charlotte and was actively engaged in the practice of law in that region. Inherently a scholarly man, he took an active part in the religious, educational, and cultural affairs of this community. He was particularly interested in maintaining Queens College, or Liberty Hall as it was also called, and he became a trustee of that institution of higher learning in January, 1771. The tides of politics engulfed him, however, and he became a zealous vigilante in the struggle for liberty. In the early fall of 1774 he made public the loyalist pledge of Major John Dunn,²⁰ Attorney for the Crown at Salisbury, by reading the document to the whole Presbyterian congregation at their meeting in Mecklenburg and, several months later, took part in the coup d'état that spirited away this unfortunate man to a Charleston, South Carolina, prison.²¹

He was not a delegate to the First Provincial Congress which met in New Bern in August, 1774, to elect delegates to the First Continental Congress, and he apparently was not present at the Second Provincial Congress which met again at New Bern on April 3, 1775, for a similar purpose. However, he was one of the strong men in that

 ¹⁸ University Magazine, August, 1855, 257.
 ¹⁹ University Magazine, August, 1855, 257.
 ²⁰ This is the same John Dunn whom Avery met on his first visit to Salisbury, see

note 13 above.

"Walter Clark, The State Records of North Carolina (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both State Records and Colonial Records], 1895-1914), XIX, 899, hereinafter cited as Clark, State Records; John H. Wheeler, Historical Sketches of North Carolina from 1584 to 1851 (New York: Frederick H. Hitchcock [2 volumes in one], reprint of the original, 1925), I, 378, hereinafter cited as Wheeler, Historical Sketches.

turbulent band of patriots residing in Mecklenburg who began to hold meetings and agitate for independence in the spring of 1775. Out of these meetings came the spirit, if not the actual document, for the somewhat poorly-authenticated "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence" of May 20, and out of them also came the inspiration for the well-authenticated Mecklenburg Resolves of May 31, 1775. This document was drafted either by William Kennon, a young Salisbury lawyer, or by Waightstill Avery.²² On August 1, 1775, Avery was seated for the day as a member of the Rowan County Committee of Safety.23

By this time, he was in it all the way.

On August 20, 1775, the Third Provincial Congress assembled at Hillsboro. Waightstill Avery was a delegate to this congress from Mecklenburg and was selected together with Samuel Spencer as member of the Provincial Council from Salisbury District. This Council was to be the chief executive and administrative authority of the province.25 Plans were made to place the province in a state of military organization. Avery served as its agent in January, 1776, when he made a trip to Charleston to wangle a supply of gunpowder26 and lead and in April, 1776, he was appointed on a commission to build a salt works but this project never materialized.27 On April 4, 1776, the Provincial Congress again assembled at Halifax with Avery as a delegate from Mecklenburg. This Congress attempted to frame a constitution but was unsuccessful. The Council of Safety continued to rule the State. On November 12, about seven months later, they reconvened and appointed a committee, of which Avery was a member, to form a Bill of Rights and Constitution for the State.²⁸ This was accomplished within a month. The Instructions of the Delegates from Mecklenburg to this Provincial Congress were in the handwriting of Waightstill Avery and served as one source of ideas for the Constitution and Bill of Rights.²⁹ It is known that he favored the division of the legislative branch of the State government into two bodies, with the election of members in a democratic fashion. The members of the judicial branch,

²² Archibald Henderson, North Carolina: The Old North State and the New (Chicago, Illinois: Lewis Publishing Company, 2 volumes, 1941), I, 591.

²³ Saunders, Colonial Records, X, 135.

²⁴ Saunders, Colonial Records, X, 214.

²⁵ Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, North Carolina: The History of a Southern State (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 195, 196, hereinafter cited as Lefler and Newsome, North Carolina.

²⁶ Saunders, Colonial Records, IX, 271; Draper Collection.

²⁷ Saunders, Colonial Records, X, 538. Avery apparently was not able to utilize his franchise to establish a salt works because he was occupied with other duties. R. L. Hilldrup, "The Salt Supply of North Carolina during the American Revolution," The North Carolina Historical Review, XXII (October, 1945), 403.

²⁸ Wheeler, Historical Sketches, 85, 86.

²⁹ Lefler and Newsome, North Carolina, 211.

he felt however, should serve as long as they demonstrated good behavior. During his subsequent years in the legislature he consistently championed the cause of the underprivileged West against the more prosperous East. He took pains to protect those who occupied the land and looked on government land agents with cold suspicion.30 He led a vigorous and persistent attack against a real estate tax based on acreage, arguing effectively that tax should be based on the actual value of the land rather than on the number of acres. 31 Whether he was able to introduce all of his ideas on State government into the new constitution, is certainly open to doubt. On the subject of higher learning, however, his was a dominant influence. After having worked so diligently in an effort to establish a college in Mecklenburg, he now successfully sponsored Article Forty-one in the Constitution of North Carolina providing for the establishment of a State University. "The torch of higher learning in North Carolina, lit by Waightstill Avery, carried by Dr. McCorkle, and unsuccessfully offered by William Sharpe to an unresponsive legislature in 1784 passed as we have seen into the hands of William Richardson Davie." 82

During the summer of 1776, Avery was kept busy in the service of the new State. In the successful campaign that was waged at that time against the Cherokee Indians by forces from North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia he served as liaison between General Griffith Rutherford in his home State and Colonel Andrew Williamson, who was operating in the vicinity of Keowee and Tugaloe in South Carolina.³³

In April, 1777, at the first General Assembly of the newly independent State, he served as a member of a commission which codified and rationalized the body of law inherited from the colonial courts. In June, 1777, about two months later, Governor Caswell appointed him a commissioner with three others, one of whom was William Sharpe, to act in conjunction with commissioners from Virginia, and obtain a treaty with the Cherokee Indians. They met at Fort Henry near the Long Island of the main Holston River and on July 20, 1777, the treaty was completed.34

³⁰ Clark, State Records, XIX, 345.

³¹ Clark, State Records, XVII, 410; XIX, 811.

³² Archibald Henderson, The Campus of the First State University (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949), 29. To indicate that Avery was the only sponsor of this far-reaching article is perhaps misleading. For a detailed treatment of the subject, see R. D. W. Connor, "The Genesis of Higher Education in North Carolina," The North Carolina Historical Review, XXVIII (January, 1951), 1. From 1795 to 1804 Avery served the University as a trustee.

³² Saunders, Colonial Records, X, 651, 830.

³³ "So prominent was his leadership in negotiating the Treaty . . ., that it was afterwards commonly called Avery's Treaty." Archibald Henderson, "The Treaty of Long

On January 12, 1778, he received his commission as Attorney General-the first to hold this office in the newly independent State. 35 The duties of his office took him much to New Bern where he met the young widow, Leah Probart Franks. He was over thirty years of age at this time, a man intellectually and emotionally mature, and he doubtless found in Mrs. Franks those attributes that he had applauded a decade before in his diary: "Beauty, Wit, Prudence and Money." 36 She was the daughter of a British "mariner," a Welshman named William Probart of Accomack County, Virginia, who had married a young lady of Worcester County, Maryland, named Leah Lane. Later Leah's mother married a certain Collier and this union brought the family to New Bern, North Carolina. After her initial marriage, Leah and her husband settled at "White Rock" on the Trent River, ten miles from New Bern. She was said to be possessed of "large landed interests" ³⁷ and was a "lady of great intelligence and amiability." ³⁸ Within the year, Leah and Waightstill were married. Avery resigned his State office and moved to his wife's plantation in Jones County where he was appointed Colonel of the Jones County regiment of militia by Governor Caswell on July 3, 1779.39 He fulfilled this duty until the termination of the war in October, 1781, but his command was not in active service except on occasional brushes with the Tories until it was called out when Cornwallis invaded North Carolina. 40 On the whole, he did not distinguish himself as a regimental commander and his military career was marred by a controversy which gradually developed between him and Brigadier General Alexander Lillington and reached a denouement in July, 1781, when Lillington wrote Governor Burke roundly criticizing Avery's handling of his troops in a tactical situation and accusing him of failure to co-operate with the high command.41 Meanwhile, in retaliation for his Revolutionary activities, Avery's law office in Charlotte was burned with all his books and

Island of Holston, July, 1777," The North Carolina Historical Review, VIII (January, 1931), 60n, hereinafter cited as Henderson, "Treaty of Holston." An abstract of the report of the commissioners is reproduced in this article. In one of his recorded addresses to the Cherokee chieftains, Colonel Avery said, "Brothers; we are now about to fix a line that is to remain through all generations, and be kept by our children's children; and we hope that both Nations will hereafter never have anymore disputes." Henderson, "Treaty of Holston," 89.

***Draper Collection.**

***Draper Collection.**

***Linear Collection.**

Draper Collection.

*** University Magazine, August, 1855, 249.

*** Wooten, "Avery Family"; Draper Collection.

*** University Magazine, August, 1855, 246.

*** Draper Collection.

*** In a withdrawal from a skirmish with British troops under Major Craig, Colonel Avery commandeered a horse from a civilian to pull an artillery piece. The horse evidently vanished and the civilian sued Avery for the property loss. Avery's deposition regarding this matter is in the Princeton University Library. regarding this matter is in the Princeton University Library. Clark, State Records, XXII, 345.

papers when that town was occupied by Cornwallis in the fall of

In an attempt to escape the wretchedness of malaria, he acquired a tract of land in the valley of the Catawba River from "Hunting John" McDowell and removed his family from Jones County after his retirement from military service. Here in the newborn County of Burke he found an equable climate, palatable spring water, and insects which tended to be less harmful; the stately trees were loaded with nuts and mast while verdant wild grasses and wild pea vines waved in the open forests; rolling hills looked down on spacious river valleys and majestic mountains tinted the skyline to the north and south where the Appalachians jagged the Piedmont plateau; in short, like most of this westward country, the place he was to call "Swan Ponds" was not heaven, but it was attractive real estate.43

Here he resumed the private practice of law and again began to travel the western circuit. He plunged immediately into public affairs and in 1782, although he could not have been a Burke County resident for more than a year, he represented that county in the legislature, as he did in 1783, 1784, and 1785. His legislative career stretched over the years of the Continental Congress during the period between the Declaration of Independence and the ratification of the Constitution and before the States had delegated any important powers to the central government. States made treaties, issued their own currency, levied import and export duties, and otherwise considered themselves sovereign. He became an early member of the Quaker Meadows Presbyterian Church where he listened to the lengthy discourses of the Reverend James Templeton, a Princeton man himself. In the Legislature of 1783 he was instrumental in obtaining a charter for Morgan Academy, the first institution for formal education in Burke County and, together with other leading members of old Quaker Meadows Church, was designated as one of its trustees. 44 During the legislative session of 1784 he was appointed on a five-man commission to select a site and acquire land for the purpose of constructing a courthouse in Burke County. Two hundred and forty acres were purchased. A portion of this was set aside for public buildings and the residual sur-

Letter from Isaac T. Avery, August 19, 1821, to Archibald D. Murphey, William Henry Hoyt (ed.), The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 2 volumes, 1914), I, 233-236, hereinafter cited as Hoyt, Murphey Papers.

43 Reuben G. Thwaites (ed.), Early Western Travels, 1748-1846 (Cleveland, Ohio: 32 volumes, 1904-1907), III, 206-301, hereinafter cited as Thwaites, Early Western

[&]quot;S. J. Ervin, Jr., "The Genesis of the First Presbyterian Church of Morganton, North Carolina," published in a privately printed pamphlet commemorating the sesquicentennial of the First Presbyterian Church, Morganton, October, 1947, 11-19.

rounding acreage was retained for the establishment of a county seat which was eventually called Morganton.⁴⁵ Thus in a very short time, he had ingrained himself into the religious, educational, and political life of the western frontier.

A man of culture and great dignity, he wore the powdered wig, knee breeches, and full dress of the colonial gentleman and continued to do so until the day of his death. Endowed with a keen sense of humor, he was a courtroom favorite, particularly at Jonesboro. There he was held in high esteem because of his work on the Holston Treaty and his achievements in the North Carolina Legislature. Nor did he entirely ignore opportunities for pecuniary gain. In 1785 he took out "hundred of grants" covering almost the entire valley of the North Toe River and its tributaries, the lower valley of the South Toe and Linville rivers, and the upper valleys of Pigeon and Mills rivers.⁴⁶

In the late summer of 1788, as was his wont, he stowed his equipage in his saddlebags and made the jouncing journey along the leafy trails and over the rhododendron-shaded paths to the trans-Appalachian town of Jonesboro to attend the August term of court. Here, amidst a cluster of huts and cabins in a huge wild land, stood the log courthouse of Washington County, North Carolina—later to become a county of the State of Tennessee. Ribboned and bewigged, his sturdy figure attired in broadcloth coat, knee breeches, and silver-buckled shoes, Avery had long been recognized in this frontier settlement as a person of stature and significance. At forty-seven, he was at the zenith of his professional career and his name dotted the court calendar wherever he appeared.

On a warm afternoon in the stuffy little courtroom, he found himself confronted by the brash young lawyer, Andrew Jackson, who had come out to Jonesboro a few months before from Salisbury where he had studied law under Spruce McCay. Jackson had just turned twenty-one and in this particular instance was laboring under insurmountable handicaps. Not least of these was the fact that he had asked Avery to serve as his law instructor before he went to McCay but the older man had not seen fit to accommodate him, supposedly because of the limited housing facilities at "Swan Ponds." As the case dragged on, Jackson realized that he was losing it; yet Avery twitted him in a

de Clark, State Records, XXIV, 604.
de John Preston Arthur, Western North Carolina: A History from 1730 to 1913 (Asheville: the Edward Buncombe Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, 1914), 140, hereinafter cited as Arthur, Western North Carolina. According to records in the office of the Secretary of State, Avery filed 153 entries for 33,535 acres of land between 1778 and 1818; approximately 30 of these grants were never issued. In the main, his grants were located on the French Broad, Pigeon, Toe, Cane, Linville, and Catawba rivers and on many tributaries of these streams.

manner which lacked prudence and in ways which were most galling; doting on Jackson's untenable legal position, repeatedly lifting the beautifully preserved volume of his favorite legal authority-Matthew Bacon's Abridgement—from his green bag, quoting endlessly from its pedestrian paragraphs, and rolling out the long sententious sentences. Finally Jackson could brook his strictures no longer. "I may not know as much law as there is in Bacon's Abridgment, but I know enough not to take illegal fees," he blurted. Avery turned incredulously toward him and asked whether Jackson was accusing him of unethical practice. "I do make that accusation, sir," said Jackson. "It's as false as hell," retorted Avery wrathfully. For the proud and sensitive Jackson, this was too much. He tore off a scrap of paper, scribbled a challenge on it and after presenting it to Avery, stiffly left the courtroom. Soon Avery also stalked out and sent his written acceptance to Jackson by his second, John Adair, the entry-taker of neighboring Sullivan County and a powerful man on the frontier. It is believed that Jackson chose as his second Superior Court Judge John McNairy who had accompanied him to the West. Be that as it may, the choice of seconds was fortunate for through their mediations it was soon learned that Jackson did not wish to kill Colonel Avery and had intended to qualify his courtroom remarks by explaining that Avery was not familiar with the lawyer's fee schedule which had been most recently established by statute. Avery's impetuous reply carrying the accusation of falsehood had cut him short and he felt that his challenge was unavoidable; he had been insulted in public and had resorted to the customary method of righting such a wrong. As for Colonel Avery, he was no duelist, and was opposed to dueling on principle; middle-aged, scholarly, a man of order in a turbulent country, with a Puritan background and clerical associations, nothing could have been more distasteful to him than this "affair of honor." Nevertheless, after the sun had set and the air had cooled as well as their tempers, they faced each other on the high, wooded hill that dominates the little town on the south. A shot fired from each pistol well above the heads of the respective adversaries settled the matter and put everyone in a jocular mood.47

In spite of the fact that there are no contemporary accounts of this incident, the various reports that have been written show few inconsistencies. The Olds report was obtained from a member of the Avery family; the Allison report was most painstakingly obtained from older citizens of Jonesboro who were veterans of the War of 1812 and gave identical accounts of the duel story; the source of the Henderson report

⁴⁷ John Allison, Drop Stitches in Tennessee History (Nashville, 1897), 110-118, hereinafter cited as Allison, Tennessee History.

is not given but it differs little, if at all, from the Olds account. The major difference in the two authoritative accounts hinges around Bacon's Abridgment. Olds says that Jackson used it as his favorite authority and Allison contends that it was Avery who used it repeatedly as a courtroom reference.48 A humorous legend exists regarding the aftermath of the duel, and is reported by both Olds and Allison but apparently was never mentioned by either Avery, Jackson, or Adair. Allison's version fits in with his contention that Avery was the admirer of Bacon's Abridgment. He states that after the two principals had shaken hands, Jackson produced a package the size and shape of Bacon's Abridgment, saying, "Colonel Avery, I knew that if I hit you and did not kill you immediately, the greatest comfort you could have in your last moments would be to have Bacon's Abridgment near you; and so I had my friend bring it to the ground." Whereupon, Jackson's second stepped forward and presented Avery with the package, which when opened, proved to be a slab of cured bacon cut to suitable size. Olds and Henderson tell the story in a way which make Avery the prankster and Jackson the butt of the joke. 49 The entire incident, both duel and aftermath, was an empty farce which might have ended tragically and does not add to the stature of either man.

As the years rolled by Colonel Avery eschewed public office though he never lost his flare for politics. He made his last appearance in the legislature in 1793 and served one term in the State Senate in 1796, just fourteen years before his son Isaac appeared in the legislature. He continued the practice of law until 1801 when he was thrown from his horse, injuring his right lower extremity so severely that he was never again able to walk and this obviously restricted his professional activities, though he often served as a judge of the county court. 50

The later years of his life were spent largely at home in Burke County where he is said to have enjoyed peace and plenty and the love and regard of his neighbors. A transient promoter and land speculator who visited the area in 1795, scribbled in his diary as follows:

Out and on the 3rd I continu'd at my draughts to make the Returns in the after Noon Col Avery an attorney at Law who liv'd four miles out of Town waited on me to wride home with him and as we ware just setting out

⁴⁸ Allison, Tennessee History, 110-118; Arthur, Western North Carolina, 357-359, quoting Colonel Fred Olds in Harper's Weekly, December 31, 1904.

⁴⁹ Archibald Henderson, a newspaper clipping of November 7, 1926, on the Avery-Jackson duel, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

⁵⁰ Waightstill Avery to Dr. William Cathcart, December 15, 1804, Waightstill Avery Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Avery Papers; Selina Lenoir to W. A. Lenoir, June 20, 1837, Lenoir Family Papers; Minutes of the Burke County Court of Pleas and Quarter Session, 1807-1820, passim, State Department of Archives and History.

Mr. Devinport who was makeing the survey for Mr. Hugh Tate and myself arived and Col. insisted on his going with us accordingly he did we Rode out Mr. Avery has one of the finest Country seats I have ever seen in this State and live very well his wife is a very well Bred woman and appear mutch like a Lady the have a fine famly of Children and a daughter well Bred with a handsom fortune on the fourth We continu'd to Breckfast & I got the Col to take a list of his lands Enter'd within my surveys after Breckfust I held a Confab with his who I foun'd to be a Verey well bred Young woman.51

In the arrangement of all his affairs, both public and private, he was methodical and systematic. His library was the most extensive and well selected in the western part of the State. When the State House was destroyed by fire in 1831, the Governor was able to draw from the Avery library the only complete collection of printed copies of the Acts and Journals of the General Assembly known to be extant.⁵² Even when earlier in life he had been enmeshed in public affairs, his family stood foremost and his relations with his wife and children had been characterized by devotion, warmth, and affection; as the years rolled by, these tendencies were accentuated and he became the gentle patriarch-contented, wordy, and perhaps a little self-satisfied. He is said to have been unusually fond of sweets, particularly honey, and although he stoutly protested that butter did not agree with him, he was known to eat foods containing this delectable ingredient with the greatest avidity. He remained volubly religious and his moral and ethical concepts harkened back to the puritanism of his childhood. His last will and testament, which was drawn several years before his death, provided adequate land and slave holdings for each of his three daughters⁵³ and a dower for his wife but a major portion of his estate, including "Swan Ponds" plantation, went to Isaac Thomas Avery,⁵⁴ his only son; it also provided posterity with a lengthy instruc-

⁵¹ A. R. Newsome (ed.), "John Brown's Journal of Travel in Western North Carolina in 1795," The North Carolina Historical Review, XI (October, 1934), 309, 310.

⁵² University Magazine, August, 1855, 245.

⁵³ His daughters were Polly Mira, who first married Caleb Poore and later Jacob Summey of Asheville; Elizabeth or Betsy, who married William B. Lenoir and migrated to Tennessee; and Selina Louisa, who married Thomas Lenoir. Both William and Thomas Lenoir were sons of General William Lenoir of Fort Defiance in Happy Valley, now Caldwell County. In addition to their own children, the Averys took into their home and were instrumental in rearing the Lavender children, orphans of Leah's (Mrs. Avery) sister; several of the children of Waightstill's deceased brother Isaac also lived with them for a time. The seven minor children of their daughter, Polly Mira Poore were largely their responsibility, as she was divorced from Poore in 1813. Laws of North-Carolina Enacted by a General Assembly . . ., 1813, c. XCV; Minutes of the Burke County Court, April and July sessions, 1813, State Department of Archives and History.

⁶⁴ Two years before his death, Colonel Avery listed his property subject to taxation in Burke County essentially as reproduced in Table I. Property owned in other counties is, of course, not included.

tive discourse on Christian ethics and the joys of redemption. The following excerpts are from this instrument:

And I now will address a few words to those who may be interested in this my Testament after my decease. All may be assured that no part of what is here devised was acquired by horse racing, gambling or betting of any kind, but by sober, honest industry and full of cheerful hope and assurance that the same will not be squandered or desecrated by idleness and extravagance of any kind. . . . Let me entreat you that when I am laid in the silent grave you may not contend one with another about this property. I entreat you to aid and assist each other, do good to each other, let no one envy or covet the lot of another but each one receive the part here given as the bounty of Heaven. . . . Consider that the good things of the world are the gifts of God. . . . Drawing near to taking a lasting rest, let me address a few words to you, Leah, who have been the dear wife of my bosom, and to my dear children, and call upon you all in the first place to bless, to praise and to give thanks to God, the author of all good, that it has pleased Him in His kind and worshipfull providence to preserve our lives and spare us to each other. . . . This consideration ought to lead you to read and examine the scriptures, the divine creeds of truth, and may God grant that you may therein discover every duty.55

On the morning of September 30, 1819, while in earnest conversation with Judge Archibald D. Murphey, regarding education and internal improvements, in the judges' chambers at the courthouse in Morganton, he developed a cerebral accident which rendered him paralyzed on the right side. He never recovered from this attack. After a lingering illness, death came to this old Nassovian at three o'clock in the morning, March 15, 1821.56 His wife Leah survived him almost eleven years and died on January 13, 1832. Both were buried in the family burying ground at "Swan Ponds."

⁵⁵ A document purported to be the last will and testament of Waightstill Avery, written in longhand and dated February 20, 1819, is housed in the office of the Clerk of Court, Burke County. A certified copy is also in Burke County Wills, State Department of Archives and History.

⁵⁶ Isaac T. Avery to William B. Lenoir, October 7, 1819, Isaac T. Avery to Thomas Lenoir, March 29, 1821, Lenoir Family Papers; Western Carolinian, April 17, 1821; Draper Collection gives March 16, 1821, as the date of death of Colonel Avery and January 20, 1832, as the date of death of his wife, Leah.

TABLE I

A LIST OF THE TAXABLE PROPERTY OF WAIGHTSTILL AVERY IN BURKE COUNTY, 1818*

2,4021/2	Acres of land including the "Swan Ponds" of the Cataba [sic] River on the North Side and on both sides Canoe Creek and lands adjoining assessed by James Murphy Esqr. in 1817	8,105
105	Acres in a new grant adjoining Greenberry Wilson's old place and [illegible]	100
589	Acres of land on the South Side of Cataba [sic] River part thereof in South Mountain	
100	Acres in a new grant adjoining Brandon's Meadow	550
1,080	Acres in the Sugar Cove of little Rock Creek, and on the sides and spurs of the surrounding mountains assessed by Daniel Brown, Esqr. to 1,280	1,280
3,340	Acres including the Crabb Orchard of Toe River and disspersed [sic] in the mountains and up and down the River	2,572
2,130	Acres on Linville and disspersed [sic] on the mountains assessed by Daniel Brown Esqr. at 980	500
595	Acres in the North Cove	650
2,614	Acres on the waters of Linville and Toe River entered for the Range, of the value of 103	103
13,001½	Acres of the value of	13,300 200

W. Avery

[To be continued]

North Carolina State Library,

^{*} From Burke County Tax Lists, State Department of Archives and History.

THE BURNING OF WINTON IN 1862

By Thomas C. Parramore*

On February 20, 1862, between eleven o'clock in the morning and 2:00 p.m., the village of Winton on the Chowan River was burned by Union troops. The first burning of a town during the Civil War resulted in an entire regiment's failure to receive medals it had earned for earlier heroism and brought disgrace to the man who led the op-

position. The story is an object lesson of the futility of war.

Although North Carolina cast in her fortunes with those of the Southern Confederacy on May 20, 1861, it was not until early February, 1862, when Roanoke Island fell to Federal forces, that the Civil War made itself seriously felt in the eastern regions of the Tar Heel State. Overnight the sounds and rivers of the Albemarle-Pamlico region were exposed to the imminent possibility of being overrun and decimated under the heel of enemy armies. Terror and dismay fell upon the Coastal Plain population while the legions of the young Confederacy, busy with heavy fighting in other areas, looked back to discover themselves vulnerable far down along their own coast line. Their consternation was not unwarranted. Within a few days after the fall of Roanoke Island, Federal troops crushed the Confederate naval element bottled up at Elizabeth City and occupied that town and Edenton, opening up the Chowan River with all the prospering towns and villages along its winding shores.

Faced with the need for an immediate policy-decision as to the drastic situation along the Outer Banks, the military leadership of the Confederacy decided that it could not spare the large numbers of troops it would require to oust General Ambrose E. Burnside from his hard-won points of vantage. There being no indication that the Union strategists sought to create a large-scale front there, the Coastal Plain would, for the time being at least, be allowed to become a "no-man's-land," lacking the full protection of Confederate armies, deprived of the civil guardianship of the State government, helpless before lightning raids by both sides, and prey to the hordes of deserters and felons

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known as "buffaloes" who were to pillage and plunder the region for

the next three and a half years.

Among the token units hastened in to discourage Federal occupation of key river towns were the First Battalion of North Carolina Volunteers from a camp near Suffolk, Virginia, and Company A of the Virginia Mounted Artillery from the Portsmouth area, both of which proceeded in early February to Winton, a shipping point about forty miles up the Chowan from Edenton. It seemed likely that Union gunboats might at any moment strike in the vicinity of Winton, from which base the Federals could then move upon Norfolk or the vital rail junction at Weldon. At best, these southern units constituted but slight interference with whatever plans the enemy was to prosecute. The North Carolina Volunteers, under Lt. Col. William T. Williams of Nash County, numbered about four hundred raw soldiers, while Capt. J. N. Nichols' Southampton Artillery brought four pieces of light artillery having less aggregate fire-power than a single Union gunboat. Col. William J. Clarke, area Commandant whose headquarters were ten miles away at Murfreesboro, pled with Confederate Secretary of War Judah P. Benjamin that "these forces are wholly inadequate to the important services required of them, and [I] respectfully, but most urgently, request that an additional force of cavalry and artillery may be immediately placed at my disposal." Clarke went on to point out that the Roanoke-Chowan region contained enough provisions to supply the entire Confederate Army for at least six months and ought to be stoutly defended. But the die was cast; no help was forthcoming. Winton was a small town, prospering modestly by virtue of its fisheries and a traffic in naval stores spearheaded by the far-reaching enterprises of the late John A. Anderson. The main part of town comprised only about twenty houses, with a few others scattered about the outlying vicinity. Probably there were less than three hundred inhabitants within its corporate limits. So small was the town that the arriving Confederate soldiers under Williams and Nichols found it necessary to occupy nearly every building. Three office buildings and two stores of the wealthy widow Anderson were requisitioned by the soldiers as quarters, along with two buildings belonging to James Northcott, the office of Dr. R. H. Shield, a building owned by a Mrs. Halsey, four owned by Col. Pleasant Jordan (including his spacious hotel), James H. Gat-

¹R. N. Scott and Others (eds.), The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 70 volumes [127 books, atlases, and index], 1880-1901), Series I, IX, 439-440, hereinafter cited as Official Records.

ling's old store, and the courthouse and jail.2 Numbers of horses, mules, and wagons belonging to local people were also hired by Capt. J. L. Frinsley, the battalion quartermaster. Room was at length found for the Confederate defenders, including several companies of militia which raised the total number of soldiers at Winton above seven hundred, and the town entered upon a period of ominous anticipation. "I can tell you," wrote Hyram Freeman's colored servant Mariah Bowens to a friend at New Bern on February 19, "old Winton is coming out, she is in a stir from morning until night. The people of this place are expecting an attack here almost all the time. . . . Every house, room, and everything else that was vacant is full now. Mrs. Jordan moved all of her things out of town and they have got possession of every room in her house except one." Winton did not have long to wait. Early that same afternoon, Yankee gunboats were reported to be only a few miles down the Chowan, steaming toward the town.

Col. Williams laid his plans carefully, deploying his riflemen behind the bushes and oak trees along the top of the forty-foot high bluff behind which the town was situated, while Nichols directed the manning of his artillery, already in position on the bluff. With luck, an approaching gunboat might be lured so close to the bluff that her cannon could not be brought to bear, leaving her helpless under the southern muskets and artillery. To insure the effectiveness of his ambush, Williams hired a thirty-year-old mulatto woman named Martha Keen, if one may credit the testimony of tradition, to go down to the shore and signal to the approaching gunboats that it was safe to come in to the wharf. All eyes turned toward the bend in the river below Barfield's landing, a mile downstream, as the first sound of steam engines drifted

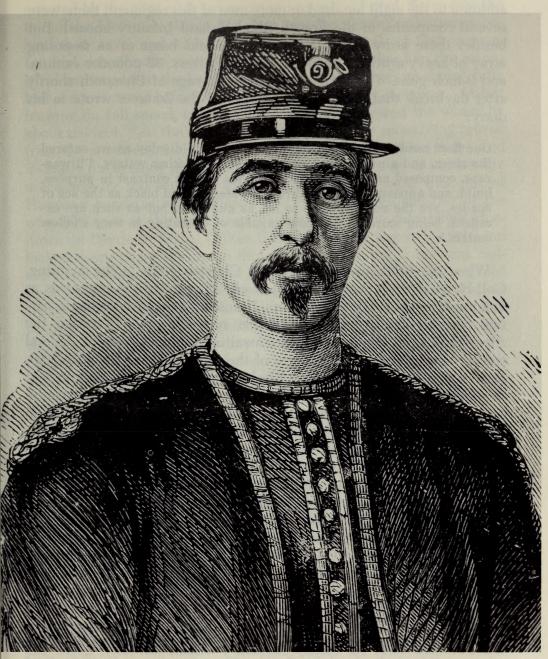
across the woods beyond.

The Federal expedition consisted of eight gunboats: the Flagship "Delaware" in the lead, trailed by the "Commodore Perry" about a mile farther down the river, with the "Louisiana," "Morse," "Hunchback," "Whitehead," "Barney," and "Lockwood" following some seven miles behind.4 On board were the Ninth New York Volunteers, known as the "Hawkins Zouaves" after their colorful leader, Col. Rush C. Hawkins, a group fresh from having tasted blood in the first

² "Exhibit A," which was originally attached to the report of Colonel Rush C. Hawkins. See Official Records, Series I, IX, 195-196. This exhibit, a letter found by the Union commander in the Winton Post Office, was omitted from the Official Records, but may be seen in the Civil War Division, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

² "Exhibit B," originally attached to the report of Hawkins, Official Records, Series I, IX, 195-196, was also omitted from the printed report.

⁴ Charles F. Johnson, The Long Roll; Being a Journal of the Civil War, as set down during the Years 1861-1863 by Charles F. Johnson, Sometime of the Hawkins Zouaves (East Aurora, New York: Roycrofters Printers [Duluth edition], 1911), 102, hereinafter cited as Johnson, The Long Roll.



RUSH C. HAWKINS

bayonet charge of the war two weeks before on Roanoke Island. In addition to the eight hundred or more men of this regiment, there were several companies of the Fourth Rhode Island Infantry aboard. But besides these army units, the gunboats could boast of an imposing array of heavy artillery, including boat howitzers, 32-pounder cannon, and 9-inch guns. The flotilla had left anchorage at Plymouth shortly after daybreak that morning. A member of the Zouaves wrote in his diary:

Our fleet headed by the Flagship made a lively display as we entered the river, and a novel one for these peaceful-looking waters, I'll warrant, composed as it was of vessels of the utmost contrast in purpose, build, and appearance. The old ferry-boats, painted black as the ace of spades, are the most strange to see as gunboats, but as such are excellent, being sturdily built and capable of operating in very shallow waters.⁵

When the "Delaware" entered the Chowan early in the morning, Col. Hawkins took the precaution of climbing up to the crosstrees as volunteer lookout. His orders from Burnside were to investigate certain reports that five hundred Union sympathizers had raised the American flag at Winton and were awaiting the protection of Federal troops, and to destroy the bridges of the Seaboard and Roanoke Railroad across the Nottaway and Blackwater rivers above Winton.6 At two o'clock in the afternoon, Colerain was passed, its wharf ablaze by act of retreating Confederates. About 4:00 P.M. the town of Winton came dimly into sight through the evening mist and the crew of the "Delaware" was piped to the messroom for supper. Minutes later the wharf at Winton was discerned and Lt. Quackenbush ordered the engines of his vessel slowed. Pilot Nassa Williams, a North Carolinian and familiar with these waters, turned the ship in toward the landing, unaware of the Confederate infantry crouching on the ridge above him. As they neared the wharf, flotilla-commander Stephen Rowan on the hurricane deck and Col. Hawkins in the crosstrees were cheered to see a Negro woman standing back of the landing motioning the vessel to approach by waving a piece of cloth. At this precarious moment,

Gush Christopher Hawkins, "Early Coast Operations in North Carolina," Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel (eds.), Battles and Leaders of the Civil War... (New York: The Century Company, 4 volumes, 1887-1888), I, 646. This reference will hereinafter be cited as Hawkins, "Coast Operations in North Carolina."

Thomas E. Quayle (on watch), "Remarks for February 19, 1862," Log of the United States Steamer "Whitehead," November 19, 1861-November 23, 1862, Naval Records Section, National Archives, Washington, hereinafter cited as Quayle, "Remarks . . ." Log of the "Whitehead."

when less than fifty yards from shore, the eagle eye of Hawkins was arrested by the glint of the evening sun upon cold steel. Surveying the top of the bluff at a glance, Hawkins saw the Confederate troops behind their cover and stared into the yawning barrels of four cannon. Let him describe the next desperate instant: "I shouted to the astonished native pilot at the helm, 'Ring on, sheer off, rebels on shore!' fully half a dozen times before he could comprehend my meaning. At last he rang on full speed, changed his course, and cleared the wharf by about ten feet." At the moment Hawkins began his scrambling retreat from the crosstrees, Col. Williams on shore gave the order to fire and instantly the evening air was thick with the thunderclap of musket-fire unleashed by the southern soldiery. The ratlines were shot out of Hawkins' hands as he slid down, and he plummeted the rest of the way. The men in the messroom raced up and threw themselves facedown on the deck; Signal Officer Gabaudan felt a tug at his side and looked down to see his sleeve shot away from an uninjured arm. Soldiers and sailors dived left and right for whatever cover the exposed deck would afford, as the "Delaware," her wheelhouse, sides, and superstructure peppered with shot, drew agonizingly off from shore and up past the town. Notwithstanding the torrent of bullets and buckshot, the vessel was not struck by any of the larger shells poured down by Nichols' artillery and escaped crippling injury. As soon as she was beyond musket-range, the "Delaware" was brought around in the narrow stream and her authoritative Dahlgren and Parrott guns trained on the bluff. Some of the Federal shells struck their mark while others flew on past to drop aimlessly into the woods and fields beyond Winton. As the "Delaware" opened fire, the "Commodore Perry," approaching the scene from below, opened upon the Confederates with more heavy artillery. Captain Nichols, directing his battery from the saddle, suddenly found himself thrown to earth, his mount shot from under him.9 A piece of shrapnel struck the cartridge belt of a Confederate soldier and the bursting cartridges brought him down also with painful injuries.10 Overcome by the Federal artillery, the southerners broke and dashed for whatever protection they could find. Another man and a horse were injured in the melee but no one was killed. Having temporarily silenced her adversary, the "Delaware" ran back down past the town, receiving only a scattering of shot as she passed, and joined the "Perry" in hasty departure from the scene of so inhospitable a wel-

⁸ Hawkins, "Coast Operations in North Carolina," 647. ⁹ Daily Express (Petersburg, Virginia), February 22, 1862, hereinafter cited as Daily Express.

¹⁰ Semi-Weekly Raleigh Register, March 1, 1862.

come. Despite all the bombardment of shell, shrapnel, and rifle-fire, the Union men were amazed to find that the only injury they had sus-

tained was to the battered ramparts of the "Delaware."

At Winton the Confederates were jubilant. Years later a Negro recalled them going past her home shouting: "We gave them hell, didn't we?" As the soldiers emerged from cover they could justly pride themselves that the town remained unharmed and the enemy gunboats retreated headlong in the direction whence they had come. Doubtless, as it seemed then, the Federals had suffered numerous casualties. That evening a celebration was held in Winton in honor of this fine victory in the name of secession.11 News went forward to Norfolk that the Yankees "were promptly repulsed and compelled to retire, their boats being in a damaged condition." 12 The Raleigh Register received a similar encouraging report, and Samuel Smith of Gates County, just across the Chowan from Winton, arrived in Suffolk next day to calm the fears of that anxious city.13

Meanwhile, the fleeing "Delaware" and "Perry" met the six other gunboats advancing up-river and Commander Rowan signalled for them to come around and follow him. Continuing some six or seven miles below Winton, the flotilla came to anchor for the night while the army and naval officers met aboard the Flagship "Delaware" to decide upon a course of action. Their decision was to return to Winton next morning and fight it out with the rebels. A member of the Ninth New

York recalled later that:

The guns were kept manned during the night, and we, of course, were ready. The wildest kind of conjectures prevailed as to the probable events of the morrow. Some said artillery as well as musketry had been used in the attack on the "Delaware," and that our landing would be desperately resisted; but we had an excellent night's sleep, the better because all unnecessary noise was prohibited.14

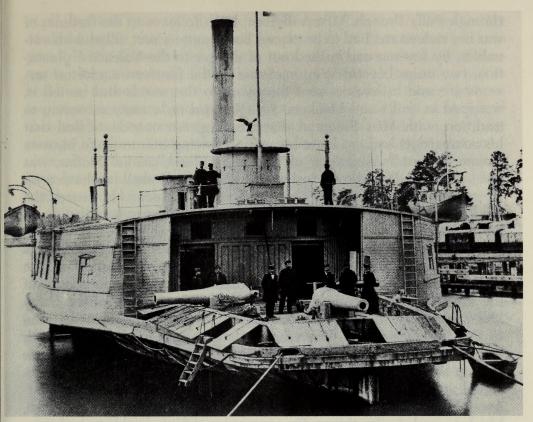
At 6:32 A.M. the sun rose out of the swamp on the right bank, casting its rays over a scene of vigorous activity. While still at anchor, the work-crews put up bulletproof casement around their ships, and quantities of cutlasses and navy revolvers were piled on deck for use by the crews if necessary.¹⁵ Packets of oakum and kindling were distributed

plundered."

12 The Daily Journal (Wilmington), February 22, 1862, hereinafter cited The Daily Journal.

[&]quot;Johnson, The Long Roll, 104. This Zouave wrote, "There had been a 'ball' or something in the way of rejoicing the night before on account of our repulse. But it turned out anything but brilliantly, as the village was miserably burned and

¹⁸ The Daily Journal, February 22, 1862. ¹⁴ Johnson, The Long Roll, 104. ¹⁵ Johnson, The Long Roll, 104.



THE GUNBOAT "PERRY"

to each man, to serve as incendiary material if any burning was needed. 16 Hammocks were lashed around the pilot houses and bags and mattresses were placed inside the bulwarks. 17 The "Delaware," despite her 185 bulletholes, gathered steam at last and at 8:00 A.M., under blue morning skies flaked with white clouds, the Union fleet weighed anchor and moved once more upon Winton, just then rising from her first restful night in weeks.

Many residents were still at breakfast when the news was brought in that the Federals, in flotilla strength, were returning rapidly up the river. Col. Williams, realizing that the small fire-power at his command could not deter a raid of these proportions, ordered his forces to the new breastworks at Mount Tabor Church, four miles out on the Murfreesboro road at Potecasi Creek.18 Shocked civilians snatched whatever they could carry and rushed out of town along the wooded paths

¹⁶ John H. E. Whitney, *The Hawkins Zouaves: Their Battles and Marches* (New York: Privately printed, 1866), 86.

¹⁷ Quayle, "Remarks for February 20, 1862," Log of the "Whitehead."

¹⁸ Semi-Weekly Raleigh Register, March 1, 1862.

through Folly Branch. Mrs. Anderson, loath to leave to the fortunes of war her rich estate, had to be placed bodily onto a cart, filled with valuables, by her son and rushed out of danger to the Valentine plantation, two miles beyond Winton. Some of the fourteen Anderson servants are said to have carried the piano to the woods and buried it, wrapped in quilts and blankets. Sgt. Watkins on a visit, according to tradition, with Miss Freeman that morning, ran outside to find that his compatriots had cut loose his mount, forcing him to make his own escape on foot.¹⁹ A member of Nichols' artillery, named Moffat, was lost in the woods in the confusion and feared dead until he showed up later, tired but unharmed.20 The last civilians had scarcely cleared the town when at 10:20 A.M. several of the Federal vessels began bombarding the woods between Barfields and Winton. Only a few shells were expended before it became clear to Commander Rowan that his assault was not to be contested and the shelling was broken off. As the vessels came to anchor, some above, some below, and some abreast of the town, several small boats were loaded with members of the Hawkins Zouaves, headed by Hawkins himself and Lt. Charles Williamson Flusser, skipper of the "Perry," who later would die a hero's death under the guns of the Ram "Albemarle." Charging past the ferryhouse and up the steep hill, the Zouaves ran into town to find it nearly deserted, evidently abandoned in great haste to judge from the appearance of the streets and roads, which were strewn with knapsacks, arms, blankets, and similar things. Six companies of Union soldiers took possession of the village; observation parties were dispatched in several directions; and three boat howitzers were placed by Lt. Flusser in position to command the main approaches to the town.21 A few inhabitants of Winton were found to be left behind, including a Negro woman who was sick with a newborn child in a house by the river, an aged and wrinkled old woman, and several Negroes.²² Col. Hawkins succeeded in locating Martha Keen, the mulatto who had almost been his ruination on the previous afternoon, and questioned her closely as to her part in the ambush. The wily wife of a brickmason, her safety hinging on her reply, rose superbly to the occasion by explaining to a sympathetic Hawkins that she was the slave of one of the rebel officers and drawling out that "Dey said dat dey wan't going' to let anybody lib

Louise Vann Boone, "Historical Review of Winton," in Roy J. Parker (ed.), The Ahoskie Era of Hertford County, 1889-1939 (Ahoskie: Parker Brothers, Inc. [Copyright, 1939], 1956), 138.

Wilmington Journal, February 27, 1862.

Official Records, Series I, IX, 195.

George H. Allen, Forty-Six Months with the Fourth Rhode Island Volunteers, in the War of 1861-1865, Comprising a History of Its Marches and Battles and Camp Life (Providence, Rhode Island: J. A. and R. A. Reid, 1887), 86, hereinafter cited as Allen, The Fourth Rhode Island.

at all, but was goin' to kill ebery one of 'em." (i.e., the Yankees), a bit of skulduggery that is preserved for posterity in Hawkins' official report.23 While these few inhabitants were being transported out of danger to the gunboats, Col. Hawkins made a personal inspection of the buildings in the main portion of town to determine which ones had been impressed into use by the troops of the Confederacy. Having found that nearly every structure appeared to have been used as quarters or storage by the military, the Union commander placed guards, as he claimed, in the buildings not indicating such use and proceeded to have his men apply the torch to all the rest. Tar barrels, of which large numbers stood in the storage area at the foot of Main Street, were rolled into the courthouse, a structure that had cost the county \$30,000 in 1853, burst in, and set ablaze.24 Evidently, the destruction of the town was not accomplished with the dispatch and orderly efficiency which Hawkins intended, for several buildings which had not been destined for the flames, including the stately Anderson residence, were fired, and a general ransacking developed.²⁵ A soldier who stayed on his ship later remarked that "of course the boys found plenty of everything, and soon came flocking back to the boats loaded with household goods, books, articles of food, and anything that suited their fancy." ²⁶ Ladies' and childrens' clothing and bedclothes were carried off, while featherbeds were pulled into the streets, split open, searched for hidden valuables, and finally burned.²⁷ Furniture was broken up; pigs and poultry slaughtered and carried away. While the contents of the post office were being rifled, the county records smoldered sadly to ashes in the vaults of the courthouse. At the height of the conflagration, two men were discovered to be locked in jail and a sailor from the "Barney" mercifully chopped them free, whereupon they took to their heels as much from southern justice as from Union armies.²⁸ A storehouse of bacon, possibly the smokehouse of the Anderson household, went up in aromatic flames. Military stores consisting of powder, mess-pans, camp-kettles, cornmeal, flour, sugar, haversacks, and canteens, estimated by Hawkins to be worth "not less than \$10,000" were also destroyed.29 In addition to the Anderson home and buildings, the old Franklin Hotel building, the homes of Mrs. Halsey, Dr. Shield, and a man named Northcott,

²³ Official Records, Series I, IX, 196.
²⁴ Semi-Weekly Raleigh Register, March 1, 1862.
²⁵ Daily Express, March 7, 1862.
²⁶ Allen, The Fourth Rhode Island, 86.
²⁷ Weekly Standard (Raleigh), March 12, 1862.
²⁸ Johnson, The Long Roll, 105.
²⁹ Official Records, Series I, IX, 195-196.

and Col. Jordan's hotel and buildings, were decimated.30 Col. Hawkins kept his men on shore until the fire was well under way and then marched them back down to the wharf and the waiting boats. While the regiment was embarking, a certain Overton, having arrived in town to find his clothing stolen, had the pluck to go down and board one of the gunboats and demand the return of his possessions. The Wilmington Daily Journal, duly reporting the incident, explained that "A search was ostensibly made, when the clothes could not be found, whereupon the Yankee captain offered to remunerate poor Overton in money; the promise, however, has not been redeemed." ³¹ Before leaving Winton, the Federals were informed that the railroad bridges over the Blackwater and Nottoway rivers could not be approached, the Confederates having previously taken the precautions of sinking vessels and felling trees near the mouths of both rivers and running chains from bank to bank.32 "So with a miserable village burned," as one Union chronicler ironically expressed it, "a couple of felons liberated from jail, and no particular harm done to an old lady, the fleet steamed down the Chowan again, quite bravely." 33

While his foe was engaged in plundering Winton, Col. Williams had inexplicably concluded from the Yankee's failure to come out and meet him on his own terms at Mt. Tabor Church that his services were no longer required in eastern North Carolina. A charitable historian would conclude that he intended to cover the railroad bridges. At any rate, he led his battalion through Murfreesboro and was across the Virginia State line at Newsoms before General A. G. Blanchard could get word to him to return forthwith to Winton. Blanchard promptly received Williams' report of his movements but could find "no reason or excuse for his retreat." 34 Capt. Nichols was at the same time moving his artillery rapidly in the direction of Suffolk, where he arrived on the night of February 21 to announce that his men had engaged

4,000 of the enemy at Winton, killing several.35

Newspaper presses creaked into action, the Norfolk (Va.) Day Book of February 21 proclaiming the perpetration of a "vile incendiary" at Winton, a sentinent endorsed by the Hillsborough Recorder on March 5th.36 The New York Times gave prominent display to the affair on the front page of the February 25 issue but James Gordon Bennett,

^{**}Semi-Weekly Raleigh Register, March 1, 1862.

**Wilmington Journal, February 27, 1862.

**Official Records, Series I, IX, 194.

**Johnson, The Long Roll, 105.

**Official Records, Series I, IX, 439. Williams' report was not found by the compilers of the Official Records.

**Daily Express, February 22, 1862.

**Hillsborough Recorder, March 5, 1862.

fiery editor of the New York Herald, preferred to ascribe the "act of vandalism" to the Confederates themselves.37 Newspaper reporters, of whom several accompanied the gunboats to Winton, were careful to put the Federal actions in a favorable light but the first hints of discredit were following apace. While rumors spread that the Zouaves had conducted themselves as barbarians at Winton, friends hastened to make assurance that the town had been burned only by order of the commander and that no soldier could be blamed for "plucking a few articles from a roaring conflagration," an interpretation coined by George Wilkes in his Wilkes' Spirit of the Times on March 8.38 On February 22, two days before news of the Winton Expedition reached New York, Editor Wilkes had initiated a fund drive in that city to raise \$1,000 to buy medals for the Zouaves in honor of their gallant charge at Roanoke Island.39 His \$50 was quickly raised to around \$300 by patriotic Gothamites but when the first ugly rumors arrived the contributions dramatically ceased. The influential Times on March 1 passed along a charge that the fund was "premature," the Zouaves having "defied all restraint of their officers, and when they had stripped the peaceful inhabitants of their property, they fired the houses over their heads." 40 A few days later Wilkes turned over his embarrassing fund to Judge James R. Whiting. For the next fourteen months the money lay in Whiting's hands, growing no larger, while the Hawkins Zouaves established for themselves a creditable record in fighting on several fronts. Wilkes' paper sounded one more faint appeal in early May, 1863, when the Zouaves, their term of service ended, returned to New York to be mustered out of ranks.⁴¹ At length, the original contributions were used to purchase a sword for Col. Hawkins, in appreciation for his brilliant services on behalf of the Union cause.42

The charges and countercharges in the newspapers were not reflected at higher levels. General Burnside stood by the intrepid Colonel he had recently placed in command of Roanoke Island and reported to the Adjutant-General the helpful advice that "The winds shifting after the fire was started caused the destruction of some few houses not occupied by the soldiers." 43 (An examination of the logs of the participating gunboats would have shown that the winds were steady from

⁸⁷ New York Times, February 25, 1862, and the New York Herald, February 25,

<sup>1862.

**</sup>Wilkes' Spirit of the Times (New York), March 8, 1862, hereinafter cited as Wilkes' Spirit of the Times.

**Wilkes' Spirit of the Times, February 22, 1862.

**New York Times, March 1, 1862.

**Wilkes' Spirit of the Times, May 9, 1863.

**Wilkes' Spirit of the Times, May 9, 1863.

**Official Records, Series I, IX, 194.

the west and southwest at two miles per hour.)44 Col. Hawkins' own report made no mention of winds and admitted that this appeared to be "the first instance during the war . . . where fire has accompanied the sword," seeking to justify the action by alluding to the attempted ambush and by the use of the town as quarters for rebel troops. 45 The War Department reviewed these reports for several days and concluded that the action was in order.46

Early southern newspaper accounts told of the Confederates at Winton having killed as many as twenty-seven of the enemy aboard the gunboats, including "a man dressed in the uniform of a major; he was in the rigging of the gunboat, making observations at the time of being shot; if not fatally wounded by the shot he must have been killed by the fall." 47 Col. Hawkins himself was of the opinion that it was "one of the everyday miracles of war" that he had escaped injury in his pellmell descent.48 Other newspaper reports passed along a rumor that "humbug C. H. Foster" was among those killed on board the Federal vessels.49 Charles Henry Foster was a former newspaper editor from Murfreesboro, North Carolina, who had been run out of that town for his Union sympathies the year before and who at the time of the Winton expedition was at Cape Hatteras preparing one of his four unsuccessful efforts to persuade the United States Congress to seat him as representative from the First or Second District. 50 Seventeen months later he was to show up in Murfreesboro in the company of a Federal raiding party to witness the destruction, among other things, of the grist mill of Perry Carter, his own father-in-law. 51

Lt. Col. Williams, a pall cast over his reputation by the affair at Winton, remained in the army until the summer of 1863 at which time he resigned. Major Edmund C. Brabble had already been elevated over Williams to command the battalion and had been given a full colonelcy.52 Rush Hawkins survived to acquire a reputation as one of the most daring and insubordinate officers in the Union Army. Twice thrown into prison for his unmilitary individualism, Hawkins outlasted all his trials to become a general soon after the war. He was run down by an

[&]quot;The log of the "Hunchback" states that the wind was WSW to 2MPH; the log of the "Delaware" makes it W at 2MPH; the "Commodore Perry" reports it SW at 2MPH; "Whitehead" says it was WSW at 2MPH.

"Official Records, Series I, IX, 196.

"Official Records, Series I, IX, 368.

"Semi-Weekly Raleigh Register, March 1, 1862.

"Hawkins, "Coast Operations in North Carolina," 647.

"Hillsborough Recorder, March 5, 1862.

"Report on the Memorial of Charles Henry Foster, House Report 118 (Committee of Elections), Thirty-seventh Congress, Second Session, 1862.

"Weekly State Journal (Raleigh), August 12, 1863.

"John Wheeler Moore, Roster of North Carolina Troops in the War Between the States (Raleigh: Ashe and Gatling, 4 volumes, 1882), II, 570.

automobile in New York in 1920 at the age of 89, having accumulated a fortune of \$800,000 which he bequeathed, with characteristic eccen-

tricity, largely to the S.P.C.A.53

When her fatal hour had passed, Winton lay a smoking ruin, only the Methodist Church and one or two other structures, possibly including Hyram Freeman's home, having withstood the calamity.54 A visitor to the town in 1864 remarked that he found "nothing but here and there a wall, a chimney, or foundation wall standing." 55 A correspondent who signed his name "Revoir" wrote on March 2, 1862, to the Petersburg Express that "the ladies [of Murfreesboro] nearly all evacuated town after they had sent off their valuables, the merchants spirited away their goods, and thus our once lively town became a very desolate place." 56 A few days after the burning of Winton, Col. Williams' battalion made its belated appearance and the Twenty-fourth North Carolina Regiment pitched camp in Murfreesboro, made a show of force, and eased the panic of the remaining inhabitants. 57 Yet the character of the military situation in this area was correctly forecast for the remainder of the war by the raid upon Winton. Federal gunboats roved the Chowan virtually at will during the following three and a half years and frequent raids, coupled with the depredations of the "buffaloes," caused once-flourishing farms to grow up in weeds and brambles and suspended most of the normal activities of the business and social life of Hertford and neighboring counties. After the war, Winton rose slowly again from the ashes and continued to function as Hertford's county seat, though she never afterward could boast of the prosperity of ante-bellum days. A historical marker in front of the courthouse is the single evidence today of Winton's sacrifice to the gods of war.

The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events . . . (New York: 11 volumes, G. P. Putnam, 1861-1863; D. Van Nostrand, 1864-1868), IV, 196.

55 John Mullen Batten, Two Years in the United States Navy (Lancaster, Penna.: Inquirer Printing and Publishing Company, 1881), 32.

65 Daily Express, March 5, 1862.

65 See report of Col. William J. Clarke, Official Records, Series I, IX, 439-440.

THE ROMANCE OF WOODROW WILSON AND ELLEN AXSON

By George Osborn*

In north Georgia in mid-April the peachblossoms give off their pleasing fragrance, pearblossoms larger than those of the peach entice bees with their sweet aroma, appleblossoms are in their fullest stage, and dogwood trees stand in woodlands, and along the banks of streams like silent ghosts in their white-crossed blossoms. Yellow jonguils and daffodils, mallow violets and dainty forget-me-nots-all these-give of themselves to make north Georgia a land of enchantment during the month of April. It was during just such a season, 1883, that a tall young man, "with a silky moustache and short side-whiskers," went from Atlanta northward some seventy miles to Rome. This young man, Woodrow Wilson, was the younger member of the law firm of Renick and Wilson of Atlanta. He carried himself with a definite dignity and an obvious assurance which certainly were not justified by any prominent position of legal leadership at the Georgia bar. In fact, this youthful barrister, after striving at law for nearly a year and hardly earning his salt, was giving up in defeat.

Wilson went to Rome to confer with an uncle, James W. Bones, about some legal matters pertaining to his mother's business. It was delightful to be in the home of the family of relatives. Although legal business for his mother, who incidentally was her son's chief client, brought Woodrow to Rome, he was in the frame of mind for fun while visiting among his kinsmen. Several times during the late 1870's, while a student at Princeton College, Tommy, as Wilson was called by his relatives and close chums during his youth, had visited in Rome in the home of his Aunt Marian W. Bones. In many instances, he was renewing acquaintances among the friends of his relatives. Among the friends of young Wilson's Cousin Jessie Bones, who recently had married A. T. H. Brower, and who lived in another part of Rome, was Ellen

Louise Axson.

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Ellen Axson, like Wilson, was a product of a Presbyterian manse. Ellen's father, the Reverend Edward Axson, began a pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church at Rome when only thirty years of age. By the spring of 1883, he had lived in Rome for sixteen years. Some two years earlier, his wife Margaret, had died from complications which followed the birth of her fourth child.2 Ellen, the oldest of the four children, was mistress of her father's household.

Now nearing her twenty-third birthday, Ellen Axson's hair was a golden bronze. She usually wore it parted in the middle, softly waved at the sides, and hanging in shoulder-length curls at the back. Large, deep-brown eyes looked straight at one from beneath wide, heavy eyebrows. Her nose was well-shaped; her rather thin lips formed a somewhat wide mouth. Rounded, full cheeks beckoned one's gaze towards slightly oversized ears which frequently were almost encircled by golden wavy hair done in miniature curls.3 With flower-like appearance, intelligent, demure Ellen must have been very attractive in April,

1883, when Woodrow Wilson first took note of her.

On Sunday morning Wilson accompanied his Aunt Marian, his Uncle James Bones, and his Cousin Helen Bones to the First Presbyterian Church in which James Bones was an elder and of which the Reverend Edward Axson was pastor. Located just off Rome's wide main street, the church stood among stately oak trees and large antebellum homes. The edifice was a dignified old building of red brick, constructed in the accepted style of southern church architecture.4 It was on that morning, at some time during the service, that Wilson, as he later wrote to Ellen, "saw your face to note it. . . . You wore a heavy crepe veil and I remember thinking 'what a bright, pretty face; what splendid, mischievous, laughing eyes! I'll lay a wager that this little lady has lots of life and fun in her!" After the service, a communion service, as Wilson remembered it, Ellen as she was leaving the church, spoke to a number of people including Mrs. Bones. At that moment, the slender Wilson, "with the silky moustache and short side-whiskers," took another good look at the minister's daughter and apparently concluded that it would be a very clever plan to inquire her name and to seek an introduction.

¹ Memorandum, Ray Stannard Baker Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, hereinafter cited as Baker Papers.
² Ellen Axson was born May 15, 1860, Stockton in 1867, Edward in 1876, and Margaret in 1881. Upon the mother's death, the baby, Margaret, was taken into the family of Aunt Louisa of Gainesville, Georgia.
³ See picture of Ellen Axson taken in 1883, reproduced in Ray S. Baker, Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters (Garden City, New York: 8 volumes, 1927-1939), I, 160. This reference will hereinafter be cited as Baker, Woodrow Wilson.
⁴ Memorandum, Baker Papers.

When the youthful Woodrow learned, doubtless from his hostess, that the attractive girl, with the mischievous, laughing eyes, was Ellen Louise (often shortened to Ellie Lou) Axson of whom he had heard so frequently in such glowing language, he made a resolution to meet her. Within the next day or so he took an early opportunity of calling on the Reverend Mr. Axson at the Manse. Vividly, Wilson recalled the meeting: "That dear gentleman," he informed Ellen, "received me with unsuspecting cordiality and sat down to entertain me under the impression that I had come to see only him. I had gone to see him, for I love and respect him and would have gone to see him with alacrity if he had never had a daughter; but I had not gone to see him alone." The truth of the matter was that ever since Wilson had taken note of Ellen's face, though heavily veiled, he could not remove it from his mind. He "wanted very much to see it again," so he asked rather pointedly of the preacher about his daughter's health. The minister, in apparent surprise, got up, walked out of the room into another part of the Manse, and summoned Ellen to the parlor.

Within the next few days Woodrow sought diligently to make engagements with Ellen. There were buggy rides along the picturesque, meandering country roads that led to Rome. Afternoons were spent in long walks northward along the shaded banks of the Oostanaula River near its confluence with the Etowah to form the Coosa River. Boat rides furnished a romantic setting for their conversations as they

became acquainted.

Immediately Mrs. Jessie Brower became aware of Woodrow's determination to see Ellen daily and she, hoping to do her cousin from Atlanta a good turn, arranged a picnic. It was held near a spring east of Lindale. The distance, eight or nine miles, was covered in two rigs. "The more attractive of the two for the young folks was Colonel Brower's wagon with side seats, in the body of which plenty of wheat straw had been piled." Naturally, perhaps, Woodrow and Ellen, the honored ones for the occasion, chose to sit on the straw in the back of the wagon so that they could dangle their feet as they went merrily along the winding dirt road. "After bumping along country roads for an hour and a half," they arrived jolted but gay at the spring where the picnic was to be held. Shortly, lunchtime came. Heavily laden baskets awaited them. Everyone, except two, had been playing vigorous games, or wading in the nearby brook. The missing two, who were rapidly falling in love, were industriously searching for four-leaf clovers on the pasture greensward, playing "Love me; love me not" with flower petals and blowing the downy tops off dandelion stems.

"I wonder where Ellie Lou and Woodrow can be?" asked Mrs.

Brower, as if aware of nothing.

"I know," piped one of the children; he's over there cutting a heart on a beech tree!" 5 When summoned by an obliging child, Ellen and Woodrow came. When told of Mrs. Brower's question and the quick retort, one can easily imagine that a Georgia belle blushed and a tall young Virginian laughed heartily as he stole side-glances at the latest object of his affection.

And so it was "a fast and furious courtship." The Presbyterian clergyman's son daily sought to woo the Presbyterian preacher's daughter. "Certainly he set to the task of making love to Ellen Axson, according to the Roman legend, in a business-like way." Woodrow might even be called red-blooded in this enterprise. A youth of exceptional culture, he was as "wise as the canny Scotch blood of him would make him. And with wisdom, he had charm; the bit of the Blarney Stone was on his tongue. And to top it all, he was handsome-tall, straight, agile, and flaxen fair; with his father's merry eye and his mother's gentle voice, both speaking in the persuasive fashion of the Celt when he had his say." 6 What young lady could resist such charm, such culture, such Celtic persuasion when flames of romance burned brightly?

If Woodrow spent his youthful years in a manse surrounded by books and religion, so did Ellen. If he had high ideas and noble aspirations, so did she. Woodrow's education was more formal than Ellen's but her intellectual interests were not narrowed by specialization as were his. Consequently, Ellen acquainted Woodrow with the literary world of William Wordsworth, or the exquisite imagery of Sidney Lanier's poetry, or the love sonnets of Robert and Elizabeth Browning. Moreover, gifted with an unusual artistic talent, Ellen introduced Woodrow to the world of art in which he had made no previous acquaintance.

In the meantime, Wilson withdrew to Atlanta to resign from the law firm of which he was a member. By the middle of June he had taken down his professional shingle, had disposed of his share of the meager office equipment, had shipped his books and bookcase to Wilmington, North Carolina, where his father, Dr. Joseph Wilson, was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, and had said good-by to his friends. Woodrow did not go immediately to Wilmington but spent the

⁵ George M. Battey, A History of Rome and Floyd County, 1540-1922 (Atlanta, Georgia: 1922), 290 ff.

⁶ William Allen White, Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924), 97, hereinafter cited as White, Woodrow Wilson.

latter half of June in Rome with his relatives and in the company of Ellen Axson.

Wilson decided upon a persistent courtship. A young man of quick decisions, he moved swiftly to carry out those decisions. To one of his dearest chums, Woodrow, with disarming frankness, wrote: "You will smile to learn I . . . am falling in love with a charming brown-eyed lassie who is attractive not only because of her unusual beauty, but also because of her unusual accomplishments. She belongs to that class which has contributed so much both to the literature and to the pleasures of social life. She is a clergyman's daughter. The conditions of her life and her natural inclination have led her into extensive reading of the best sort, and the dear lassie has become learned without knowing it, and without losing one particle of freshness or natural feminine charm. But I can't describe her. If Fortune favors me, you shall know her some day and find her out for yourself for I've made up my mind to win her if I can." ⁷

In August Wilson escorted his mother, who only recently had been desperately ill with typhoid fever, and his sister Anne to North Carolina.⁸ While these three members of the Wilson family were at Arden Park, Arden, North Carolina, Ellen Axson visited them. Immediately, she endeared herself to Woodrow's sister and mother as she had to him. To the mother, Ellen seemed "so sweet, so bright and intelligent—

that it was impossible not to love her."9

Shortly, Ellen went to visit other friends vacationing in the nearby mountains, and Woodrow departed for Wilmington to get ready to go to Baltimore, where he was to enter the Graduate School of The Johns Hopkins University. Stopping off in Asheville, North Carolina, Wilson was strolling up the street when he noted a girl silhouetted against a window in a nearby hotel. Recognizing instantly the peculiar braid of her hat, he sprang up the steps to meet her. Ellen had been summoned home by the serious illness of her father. She had gone to Asheville to catch a train, had to wait several hours, and was whiling away the time by reading a book. With Ellen's train due to arrive shortly, Woodrow lost not a moment in pressing his affections. Only five months had elapsed since that afternoon when Woodrow asked, rather pointedly of the Reverend Axson, about the health of his daughter. "It needed just

Woodrow Wilson to Robert Bridges, July 26, 1883, Karl A. Meyer Collection of the Correspondence of Woodrow Wilson and Robert Bridges, Library of Congress, hereinafter cited as Meyer Collection.

Wilson to Bridges, August 10, September 12, 1883, Meyer Collection.
 Mother (Jessie Woodrow Wilson) to Wilson, September 19, 1883, Woodrow Wilson Papers, Library of Congress, hereinafter cited as Wilson Papers.

the unexpected encounter in the North Carolina mountains to show them what life meant for each and for both of them." ¹⁰

Ellen rushed home to her ailing father. On the evening of her arrival she made her father comfortable and when he had fallen asleep, Ellen joined her younger brother, Stockton, in the small sitting room of the Manse. With flushed face and bright eyes, she spoke softly. "Can you keep a secret?" Upon his assurance that he could, she confided to him the joyful news of her engagement to be married. "He is the greatest man in the world and the best," Stockton remembered being told by his happy sister. To Anna Harris, a long-time friend, Ellen wrote that she accepted Woodrow knowing that she "was willing to be his wife some time." 12

After his arrival in Wilmington, Woodrow penned a note to his mother and told her of his happiness. Although "very, very glad to hear the good news," the mother replied, "I was not very much surprised for I thought I could discover that she cared for you when she was here . . . and now that she is my precious boy's promised wife, I shall love her very dearly." In thinking of Woodrow's entrance into the Graduate School at The Johns Hopkins University in the near future, his mother added: "And now that your heart is at rest you will be able to give yourself to the work before you with all of your heart—and I have no fear for the result." 14

To Heath Dabney, a fraternity brother and dear friend at the University of Virginia, Woodrow explained his emotional reactions: "I'm bagged! Indeed, having been engaged already five months, I am beginning to feel quite staid and settled! It is wonderful how literally exact the saying is that one falls in love. I met a certain Miss Ellen Louise Axson in Rome, Georgia, in April, 1883, and by the middle of the following September I was engaged to her! That's decisive enough action for you! Of course, it goes without the saying that I am the most complacently happy man in the 'Yew Nighted States.' If you care to listen a moment, I will tell you what the unfortunate lady is like. She . . . grew up in that best of all schools—for manners, purity and cultivation—a country parsonage. She has devoted the greater part of her time to art—having relieved her father's slender salary of the burden of her own support by portrait drawing and painting which have given her quite

¹⁰ Stockton Axson, "The Private Life of Woodrow Wilson," New York Times Magazine, October 8, 1916, hereinafter cited as Axson, "Private Life of Wilson."

¹¹ Axson, "Private Life of Wilson." The date of the engagement was September 16,

<sup>1883.

12</sup> Ellen Axson to Anna Harris, March 8, 1885, Ellen Axson—Anna Harris Correspondence, Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey, hereinafter cited as Axson-Harris Correspondence.

Axson-Harris Correspondence.

¹⁸ Apparently this letter was lost but the date must have been September 17, 1883.

¹⁴ Jessie W. Wilson to Wilson, September 19, 1883, Wilson Papers.

a reputation among the best people of Georgia—but she is also devoted to reading of the best sort, so that, without any pretense to learning and without the slightest tinge of pedantry she has acquired a very remarkable acquaintance with the best literature. If you add to this the fact that she is, in her tastes, the most *domestic* of maidens, you will see how well fitted she is to become a *student's* wife." ¹⁵

Not even to his dearest friend at Charlottesville could the serenely happy Wilson claim that he had the wisdom to fall in love with Ellen because he was justified "after a philosophical and dispassionate consideration of her taste and attainments, in concluding that she would be a proper help-meet for a professor." Quite the contrary, Tommy wrote: "I fell in love with her . . . because she was irresistibly lovable. But why did Ellen fall in love with him? Let Woodrow answer: "Why she fell in love with me must always remain an impenetrable mystery. I look upon my wonderful success as one of those apparently fortuitous and certainly inestimable blessings which one must content himself with being thankful for and trying to deserve ex post facto, as it were, without seeking to understand it-as something sent to strengthen and ennoble me." 16 Never did Woodrow deviate from his complete faith that Ellen's love was something sent to strengthen and ennoble him. It was a chivalrous southern gentleman's idealization of the lady he loved, and she reciprocated his innermost affection.

Immediate marriage was out of the question. The plans for more formal education which Woodrow had made must be carried out as pre-arranged. But now the young Wilson, having won the heart of the lady of his affections, was a different student from the one who, four years earlier, had entered the law school at the University of Virginia. Gone was any doubt of failure in the adventure of romantic pursuit. As Tommy's mother, with full understanding, had written him, his heart was completely at ease and he could apply himself without emo-

tional obstacles or mental obstructions to his work.

Apparently, from the day Ellen accepted Woodrow's proposal, he resolved to relate to her the emotional feelings of his heart, the deepest thoughts of his mind. From the environs of The Johns Hopkins University campus, he confessed to Ellen that he was a proud and wilful man beyond all measure; that he used to think, as did many other young men, that he would never pay any homage, except that which came entirely voluntarily, to any woman. Now, however, he realized how utterly foolish such thoughts were. He had even dared to think he

¹⁵ Wilson to Robert Heath Dabney, February 17, 1884, Robert Heath Dabney Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, hereinafter cited as Dabney Papers.

¹⁶ Wilson to Dabney, February 17, 1884, Dabney Papers.

might be able to live happily with a wife "as a leisure-moment companion, dispensing with intellectual sympathy." He knew that he wanted such sympathy; indeed, there would always be a dismal, dreary side of his life without it. Did he deep down somewhere have a mental resservation that women, generally speaking, were unable, mentally or emotionally, to extend such sympathy or that his wife would be intellectually his inferior? If Woodrow ever held such thoughts he now knew they were erroneous. Now he believed "it would be unreasonable to expect" his wife to go with him, "even in spirit, into all the so-esteemed dry paths" into which his graduate studies in economics, history, and

political science were inevitably compelling him.17

Ellen herself had tactfully sown the seed that bore fruit in Woodrow's opinion about his future wife's intellectual sympathy with the dry paths of his continued studies. It was probably during Ellen's visit with Woodrow, his mother and his sister that, as he and Ellen were returning from a "certain walk up a hill," she discussed at some length the character of Lydgate's *Middlemarch*. Not having read the play, Woodrow interrupted with an occasional question which she answered with impressive understanding. Not only was he impressed with Ellen's explanation of the plot of the drama but from that conversation he made a discovery that, he remembered, thrilled him. In Woodrow's own words the discovery was that Ellen "knew what sort of wife I needed—though you were not applying the moral to my case, and did not know how directly the story came home to my experience." ¹⁸
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Wilson did not intend, he said, to place himself in a class with Lydgate. With modesty, he stated that he had not given proof of any unusual talents. Moreover, he could not, in truth, claim that he was an exception intellectually, until he rid himself of all discursive habits and focused what mental faculties he possessed into concentrated efforts towards goals worthy of attainment. Having contrasted himself with Lydgate, Woodrow, with confidence, pointed out the "very distinct parallel between Lydgate's aspirations" and his own, between the conditions of home life "necessary to my ultimate success and those which might have ensured his." Wilson did not believe that any man who had a heart molded for domestic relations, as he did, and who was not "merely a student, simply a thinking machine, could wish to marry a woman—who expels sentiment from life." John Stuart Mill, the brilliant English thinker and writer, bragged that his wife knew as much as he about matters of his professional study and that she gave him expert

Baker, Wilson to Ellen Axson, October 18, 1883, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 165-166. Only Baker, Wilson's official biographer, has seen the Wilson-Axson letters. All quotations from these letters will be from Baker, Woodrow Wilson (see note 3, above).

Bight Wilson to Ellen Axson, October 18, 1883, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 165-166.

opinions and thus encouraged his logical faculties. This was not for Wilson, he confided to Ellen. He wanted a wife to administer to his

compelling need for love.¹⁹

Having assured Ellen of his complete emotional satisfaction in their pledged agreement for their future together, Woodrow took his wife-to-be into his confidence in regard to his own reading habits. Never a widely read person, Wilson was aware of his narrow intellectual horizon and explained his reasons for retaining it. "The man who reads everything," he informed Ellen, "is like the man who eats everything: he can digest nothing; and the penalty for cramming one's mind with other men's thoughts is to have no thoughts of one's own." Only that which was valuable in aiding one to do his own thinking, Wilson contended, should be permitted. That other men had formed habits of restrictive reading was one explanation of history's revealing "so many great thinkers and great leaders who did little reading of books—if you reckon reading by volumes—but much reading of men and of their own times." 20

Ellen appreciably broadened Wilson's horizons in literature, in art, and in architecture. Frequently, she received from her "passionate lover," as Ellen confidentially began to refer to Woodrow, tokens of his increasing interest in the fields of knowledge in which she was most conversant. Once Wilson sent her a "clumsy volume" of John Ruskin and commented that he read only enough of the Englishman to realize the fascination of his wonderful prose. These two southern lovers agreed that Ruskin possessed greater gentleness and tolerance in his later judgments. As Wilson put it, age mellowed Ruskin-"made him broader and more catholic in his sympathies." 21 Woodrow copied a few passages from Swinburne's "Tristram of Lyoness" for Ellen to enjoy with him.22 Ellen was advised to read Harnerton's Intellectual Life, and she learned of Wilson's fascination for Augustine Birrell's Obiter Dicta and of his enthusiasm for Richard Doddridge Blackmore's Lorna Doone. Wilson never shared Ellen's great enthusiasm for Robert Browning and he denounced Matthew Arnold's literary and theological criticism.23

wilson to Ellen Axson, October 18, 1883, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 165-166. Wilson to Ellen Axson, April 22, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 201-202. This letter is also found in Donald Day (ed.), Woodrow Wilson's Own Story (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1952), 25, hereinafter cited as Day, Woodrow Wilson's Own Story.

²¹ Wilson to Ellen Axson, March 11, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 201.
²² Wilson to Ellen Axson, April 22, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 201-202.
²³ Wilson to Ellen Axson, November 22, 1884, and January 10, 1885, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 202-203.

Ellen Axson brought to Woodrow Wilson her experiences of wide reading, her taste for poetry, and her enthusiasm for fiction. The two of them began months before they were married to supplement each other's reading. As Wilson put it: "We will purvey for each other in separate literary fields." He had thought through "several very simple, feasible and delightful plans" by which she could give to him "the best possible aid merely by doing, as my proxy and for my benefit (you see how selfish I am!), such reading as you delight in doing." Time would not permit him to read many things which he really wanted to know about; he must labor unceasingly in one or two rigid fields of specialization. Ellen could ascertain for him what was going on in the world of literature and what subjects were currently being discussed in the periodicals. Having gathered this information, she could recite to him the plots and read to him "the choice parts of the best novels of the day, and fill my too prosy brain with the sweetest words of the poets; can, in short, keep mind from dry rot by exposing it to an atmosphere of fact and entertainment and imaginative suggestion." 24

When Woodrow fell in love with Ellen he had no interest whatever in art and his knowledge of architecture was negligible. Within a short time after their engagement, Wilson began to show a neophyte's interest in art. On occasion he visited art galleries and looked into some of the books on art. Early in December, 1883, he went to see a collection of Whistler's etchings and wrote Ellen in detail of his reactions which, by no means, were enthusiastic. As he entered Peabody Library in Baltimore where the collection was on display he was "constrained by a handsome young woman to buy a catalogue which I did not want. I set myself to as critical an examination of Mr. Whistler's productions as my ignorance of artistic canons would allow. Well, I must confess that, in my unenlightened soul, I was disgusted, and more than ever indifferent to the possession of the catalogue, except that it was much more interesting as a curiosity than the etchings are as pictures." Some of Whistler's critics, wrote Wilson, objected to the artist's later productions on the basis that they were mere suggestions. He thought the critics would have been more truthful if they had denounced the paintings as suggesting nothing-"a few lines, a possible face, a conjectural group, a hazy beginning of something-one cannot tell certainly what the picture might have been, had it been completed; though here and there one does find a sketch suggestive of life and beauty." 25 Although Wilson never became an enthusiastic devotee, he did develop into a passive admirer of art.

Wilson to Ellen Axson, January 23, 1885, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 204. Ellen Axson, December 18, 1883, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 204-205.

In the fall of 1884, when Ellen went to New York to study at the Art Students' League, Woodrow confessed his own ignorance as he wrote encouragingly to her: "I have the sincerest sympathy with your present studies," he wrote, "and for various reasons. First and foremost, of course, because they are yours; but scarcely less," he admitted, "because I have always had, and been conscious of having a great store of potential enthusiasms for just such occupations and accomplishments." Never had he suspected himself of possessing artistic talents, but he had always known himself "capable of entering into the artists's feeling and of understanding his delights." As between artistic creation and poetic creation, he had "always reverenced the power of artistic creation above the power of poetic creation." Moreover, Wilson visualized a kinship of creativeness between the artist and the orator. "I suppose that it would be idle for me to hope ever to be an orator if I did not have these artistic sympathies." In fact, one of his few grave misfortunes was that he had known least of the two things that moved him most deeply-painting and poetry. "My sensibilities in those directions," he concluded, "seem to me like a musical instrument seldom touched, like a harp disused." 26

If Ellen created in Woodrow a respect for art, if she won from him attention to the reading of poetry, if she conveyed to him much of literature, if she informed him of current discussions in magazines, certainly Woodrow confirmed Ellen's religious faith. Ellen could, and did, pore over the writings of philosophers like Immanuel Kant, and works which dealt with the conflict between religion and science. The reading of such authors sometimes pulled at the anchor of Ellen's religious faith. Although she, as Woodrow, was the product of a Presbyterian manse, for Woodrow there was never any doubt about his faith, nor would he ever argue religion. He *knew* that he was among the Calvinistic elect and that his future, whatever it might be, was predestined. In this belief he was as steadfast as an Old Testament

prophet.

At times, however, Wilson, in writing to Ellen about his attendance at religious services, veered greatly from the stern theological terminology used by John Calvin: "I recently made a great 'find,'" he once wrote, "namely a Presbyterian Church where there is first-rate preaching—first rate by the Baltimore standard, which is not very high or exacting—and plenty of pretty girls." He was a regular attendant at its services. Seldom did one find attractive orthodoxy in a Presbyterian pulpit and beauty in the pews, so that he added, "I am specifically

²⁶ Wilson to Ellen Axson, November 23, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 205-206.

gratified because of this discovery." There was for Woodrow a decided advantage in having a strict training in the Calvinistic doctrine. "No amount of beauty," he continued, "in the damsels of an Episcopalian or Methodist or Baptist Church could have led me off; but beauty in one's own church may be admired weekly with a conscience void of offense." Apparently, nothing could shake Woodrow from complete loyalty to his Presbyterian faith. Indeed, he boastfully informed Ellen that his orthodox faith had successfully stood another test recently. Extended a cordial invitation to sing in the "finest choir in town," he declined because "it was a Methodist choir." The controlling motive, as he himself stated to Ellen, was the question of religious doctrine.27

No one could be close to Woodrow Wilson very long without learning of his vaulting ambition. Ellen Axson, and naturally so, was Wilson's complete confidant about his professional ambition. Within weeks after their engagement Woodrow was making Ellen acquainted with his aspirations for the future. "I want to contribute to our literature," he wrote shortly after he entered the graduate school at Johns Hopkins, "what no American has ever contributed, studies in the philosophy of our institutions, not the abstract and occult, but the practical and suggestive, philosophy which is at the core of our governmental methods; their use, their meaning, 'the spirit that makes them workable.' I want to divest them of the theory that obscures them and present their weakness and their strength without disguise, and with such skill and such plentitude of proof that it shall be seen that I have succeeded and that I have added something to the resources of knowledge upon which statecraft must depend." ²⁸

Such an ambition as that, obviously, must go unfulfilled in the life of a barrister. Indeed, the studies of history and political science for which Woodrow, "both by nature and by acquired habit," was best fitted could not be pursued in the lawyer's office. Consequently, he was forced, in justice to himself, to find a vocation which best suited his talents and his ambition. "A professorship," he concluded, "was the only feasible place for me, the only place that would afford leisure for reading and for original work, the only strictly literary berth with an income attached." 29 If Woodrow were thinking in terms of an endowed chair they were scarce and hard to secure. He thought that the time required for him to rise to a professorship would not be longer than the time required for him to achieve competence at the bar.

²⁷ Wilson to Ellen Axson, March 23, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 209.
²⁸ Wilson to Ellen Axson, October 30, 1883, Day, Woodrow Wilson's Own Story, 22.
²⁸ Wilson to Ellen Axson, October 30, 1883, Day, Woodrow Wilson's Own Story, 22; Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 170-171. These two books, while supposedly quoting the same letter, do not always tally accurately.

Moreover, he realized that pedagogues, as a rule, did not participate actively in politics but the holding of public office had now become a nonessential part of his political program. As he wrote Ellen, he realized, and correctly so, that a man without an independent fortune "must in any event content himself with becoming an outside force in politics." With this reality before him, he would be satisfied with the prospect of exerting whatever political influence he could "through literary and non-partisan agencies." 30

Learning to write with dynamic power in the political realm was one of the main reasons why Wilson, after failing as a lawyer, returned to his formal education. With utter frankness he confessed to Ellen that he came to the university at Baltimore "to get a special training in historical research and an insight into the most modern literary and political thoughts and methods." He hoped to become "an invigorating and enlightening power in the world of political thought and a master

in some of the less serious branches of literary art." 31

As a graduate student, Woodrow encountered many things that were new to him. To some of them he objected, perhaps not vigorously on the campus, but he confided to Ellen his dislike of circumstances as he found them at Johns Hopkins. For example, he objected to what he termed a sleight of style. "Ideas," he wrote, "are supposed to be everything—their vehicle comparatively nothing." To Ellen, he maintained that an author's influence, in both its amount and in its length of life, depended "upon the power and the beauty of his style; upon the flawless perfection of the mirror he holds up to nature; upon his facility in catching and holding, because he pleases, the attention." Under his father's guidance, style had been a major study for Tommy and he pledged himself to continue it so. "A writer," he concluded. "must be artful as well as strong." 32

Whether Wilson was taking notes on lectures, or writing an essay for publication, or serving as scribe for a graduate seminar, or penning a letter of love and affection to Ellen, he endeavored to improve his power of expression. He was aware of some improvement as time went on. "I know that my careful compositions of today," he declared confidently, "are vastly better than I could have written five, or even three, years ago-and that's very encouraging." He had "imagined a style clear, bold, fresh, and facile; a style flexible but always strong, capable of light touches or of heavy blows; a style that could be driven at high

³⁰ Wilson to Ellen Axson, October 30, 1883, Day, Woodrow Wilson's Own Story, 22; Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 170-171.
⁵¹ Wilson to Ellen Axson, October 30, 1883, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 168.
⁵² Wilson to Ellen Axson, October 30, 1883, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 184.

speed-a brilliant, dashing, coursing speed-or constrained to the slow and stately progress of grave argument, as the case required; a style full of life, of colour and vivacity, of soul and energy, or inexhaustible power—of a thousand qualities of beauty and grace and strength that would make it immortal." 33 If Wilson, as a graduate student, imagined writing in a style like that, he probably was in a class by himself. Moreover, under such circumstance, it was no wonder that he was "disgusted with the stiff, dry, mechanical, monotonous sentences" in which his meager thoughts were "compelled to masquerade, as in garments which are too mean even for them." 34

In January, 1884, Wilson published an article, "Committee or Cabinet Government?" in the Overland Monthly. The article, apparently, had a wonderful reception on the university campus. Woodrow, in a delightful mood, wrote Ellen that it was lauded for "both the matter and the style," which he labeled "too staccato." In amusement, he informed Ellen of the comments from the fellow graduate students:

"Wilson," said one critic, "you've picked up a capital literary style somewhere ("Picked up," indeed! Hasn't my dear father been drilling me in style these ten years past?) Upon whose style did you form it? Did you come by it naturally, or have you consciously modelled after Macaulay?" (Poor Macaulay!) Another friend, who has to follow me in the course of "lectures" inaugurated by the reading of that remarkable essay upon Adam Smith, coolly asked whether I would be willing to take his materials and "put them into literary form"! I'm sure I have pain enough in putting my own materials into literary form without going through like labours for other people.36

Not only did Woodrow confide in Ellen about his struggles, his disappointments and his ambitions, but he told her of his practicing oratory, of his renewing some friendships that were formed in Princeton, of his occasional attendance at the theater, of his joining The Johns Hopkins University Glee Club, of his activities as a member of the Hopkins Literary Society, of his religious faith and philosophy-indeed, there seemed to be no activity of his too insignificant to mention in his letters. Just as naturally, he apparently, wrote Ellen his day-to-day thoughts and musings.37

Ellen learned most about Woodrow's determination, during his postgraduate days, to write a book of some permanent value on American

Wilson to Ellen Axson, January 8, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 185.
 Wilson to Ellen Axson, January 8, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 185.
 Woodrow Wilson, "Committee or Cabinet Government?," Overland Monthly, Series 2, III, 17-33.

**Wilson to Ellen Axson, January 16, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 186.

**Consult Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 158, passim.

political institutions. In August, 1879, Wilson's article, "Cabinet Government in the United States," appeared in the *International Review*. Doubtless he received favorable comments on it and some suggestions from older men about discussing at greater length some of the ideas contained in the essay. Wilson had continued to read intensively in the two fields of his major interest—history and political science. In his reading in American constitutional history and in English constitutional history, he found the idea which he wished to develop as a book. He desired to write of the United States government, he confided to Ellen, not as a mere treatise of facts, not as a finished machine, but as a living organism, a functional approach as it were. In Walter Bagehot's *The English Constitution*, 38 Wilson found the example which he

determined to follow in a book on the American government.

He became so intensely interested in his reading and in making plans for the writing of his book that he decided against any Christmas trip home or any vacation at all during the winter of 1883-1884. "I am beginning to think," he confessed, "that I made a mistake in working all through the vacation without allowing myself any respite at all." Except for the time which he spent writing to Ellen or to his family, he had studied almost all of the time. He did not go near any of his Baltimore friends. Being "such an excessively proud and sensitive creature" and looking upon the Christmas season as one "specially sacred to family reunions and festivities," he did not choose to visit any of the families of his acquaintance, lest he might interfere in some way with the freedom of their holiday plans. In order to escape intolerable loneliness, he went, in self-defense, day and night to his work. As a natural consequence, he overdid the business of work. He was not often subject to the domination of his nerves, he concluded to Ellen, and it usually required only a little prudence to enable him to maintain mastery over himself and to keep a free spirit of courageous, light-hearted work in which he frequently prided himself.39

On New Year's Day, 1884, Wilson began writing on his book and eagerly wrote Ellen that he had started the New Year with a "day of diligent work on my favourite constitutional studies." He planned a series of four or five essays on the general subject, "The Government of the Union," in which he wished to show, as well as he could, the American constitutional system as it looked in operation. His one desire and ambition, as he stated it, was to treat the American Constitution as Bagehot treated the English Constitution. To Wilson, Bagehot brought a fresh and an original method in treating the English

³⁸ Walter Bagehot, The English Constitution (American edition, 1873).
³⁹ Wilson to Ellen Axson, January 4, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 188-189.

Constitution and thereby made the British system of government much more intelligible to the average person than ever before. If only such an innovation in methodology could be applied in an exposition on our Federal Constitution, Wilson believed, the result would be a revelation to those who were still reading the *Federalist* as an authoritative constitutional manual. Woodrow wrote Ellen that, of course, "an immense literature has already accumulated upon that subject," but he thought that the greater part of it was either irrelevant or already antiquated. In fact, any close observer who sought to compare the national constitution with the living organism of the government would at once realize the great contrast between the documentary description and the reality. Such a person, declared Wilson, would see in the life of the government "much which is not in the books; and he will not find in the rough practice many refinements of the literary theory." 40

As Woodrow continued to reveal his ambition to Ellen, he, with humility, added: "Of course, I am not vain enough to expect to produce anything so brilliant or so valuable as Bagehot's book." But by following the one he wished to emulate afar off, Wilson hoped to produce a book that would be at least worth reading. In any event, the manuscript or book, if he were fortunate enough to publish it, would serve as material for college lectures. In such capacity, his work would place old topics about the Federal Government "in a some-

what novel light."

On that particular day-New Year's Day, 1884,-Wilson wrote "an historical sketch of the modifications which have been wrought in the federal system and which have resulted in making Congress the omnipotent power in the government, to the overthrow of the checks and balances to be found in the 'literary theory.'" This sketch, Ellen read, would be used as an introduction to some essays on the Congress in which he planned to examine at length the relations between the congressional and the executive branches of the government. He wished to investigate thoroughly that legislative machinery which contained the mainspring of federal actions. Suddenly, Woodrow realized that possibly his Ellen was not as intrigued with all of his work as he was and half apologized to her. "But what sort of New Year's letter is this I'm writing!" he exclaimed. Frankly, he was so absorbed in his pet subject that he forgot himself. He could not easily think of anything else to write about, he lamented, and promised that some day he would appall her by reading the introductory essay, or one of its

⁴⁰ Wilson to Ellen Axson, January 1, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 213-215.

successors, to her just to show her how dull he could be upon occasion.41

In addition to the planned book, at which Woodrow was working every spare moment, he had an impending examination on the constitutional history of England which was to be held the first week in January. 42 He bore the mental exertion, the nervous tension and the physical exhaustion to which he relentlessly drove himself during the holiday vacation and to the conclusion of his examinations. Then, as Ellen learned, his usual physical maladies of upset digestion, headaches, extreme nervousness, and insomnia overcame him. He left Baltimore for Wilmington and remained for months. While at home, Wilson apparently made a visit to the family physician, who told him that he was working himself to death. 43 Regularity of habits, easing up some on the work, lessening of tension, brought about improvement.

While he was at home recuperating, Wilson continued to work on his book. Progress, he lamented, was slow. Late in March he informed Ellen that his calligraph had been "going all day long" for three days. Essay number three was completed but had to be copied. "Copying," he continued, "is a terribly tedious business-especially copying one's own work; and the copying of these three essays is by no means a small job; there will be about a hundred and seventy pages ofcalligraphiscript-by the time I have copied the forty pages that remain; and you can imagine the effect upon my spirits of this task of grinding off hour after hour the sentences of which I am now so tiredof spending a whole day with the style which is so disgusting to me."44

A feeling of disgust towards one's intellectual offspring, to Wilson, was very unnatural, but he just could not help feeling that way towards these essays. There was comfort for him, however, in the reflection that others into whose hands the book came would probably read them only once and thereby escape the overwhelming contempt that was bred by intimate familiarity.45

Late in May Wilson wrote to Bobby Bridges that he "expected to tackle again constitutional history." He may, however, "fly the track" and go to see a "certain charming young lady in Georgia in whom I am somewhat interested. Courtship," he added humorously, "beats constitutional questions any day." 46 Not only the romantic lure of

⁴¹ Wilson to Ellen Axson, January 1, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 213-215.
42 Wilson to Bridges, December 15, 1883, Meyer Collection.
43 Wilson to Ellen Axson, January 10, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 213-215.
44 Wilson to Ellen Axson, March 30, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 215.
45 Wilson to Ellen Axson, March 30, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 215.
46 Wilson to Bridges, May 31, 1884, Meyer Collection.

courtship prompted Woodrow to think seriously of paying Ellen a visit. She needed him, for she had just undergone a tragedy. Her father never recovered from his illness of the preceding autumn. Fatigue, worry, and physical illness all united to affect his mind. Physicians noticed with alarm the Reverend Axson's extreme mental involvement. His death, later in May, 1884, was a blessing in disguise. Stricken with grief, Ellen needed the comforting presence of her lover and the assurances of his words of sympathy. Seemingly, Woodrow remained in North Carolina but wrote a note of condolence:

Your dear father, however sad or tragic his death may have been, is happy now. His Savior, we may be sure, did not desert his servant at the supreme moment; and it is a joy to think that he is now reunited to the sweet, noble mother who went before him.47

The death of Ellen's father left her homeless. She visited with relatives and friends in Gainesville, Georgia, and in Savannah, while she pondered her immediate future. As Ellen tried to shape her plans for the next year until Woodrow could complete his work in graduate school, the latter revealed his desires to a former Princeton chum-Charles Talcott. Tommy was immoderately eager to take into partnership a little Georgia girl. Indeed, the only thing that prevented this "consummation devoutly to be wished" was the lack of an adequate salary; hence, Wilson's extreme interest in securing that ne plus ultra. He had no idea of doing such a thing, he declared, "until I met the young lassie aforesaid away up in one of the northwest counties of Georgia, and then I did it in spite of myself and in the teeth of all discretion. And the worst part about it is that I am not the least bit sorry for it; on the contrary, I so much approve myself for it that I wish I could induce my friends to do likewise." 48

Although Woodrow obviously gave much thought to Ellen in her bereavement and to their plans for a future together, his work on the book manuscript was never far removed from his thought. Information on his progress was regularly forwarded to Ellen. The fourth essayon the senate-was not progressing very rapidly. The going was slow and difficult, but every day saw some advance. He realized, nevertheless, that the slow, labored pace was probably indicative of thoroughness. He would be satisfied, he wrote on July 3, if he could finish the essay on the senate by the end of the month.49

⁴⁷ Wilson to Ellen Axson, June 1, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 208. ⁴⁸ Wilson to Charles Talcott, July 5, 1884, Baker Papers. ⁴⁹ Wilson to Ellen Axson, July 3, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 216.

In Wilmington, Woodrow found no intellectual companionship, no mental stimulation save in his own work. At times he was lonely; frequently he was just plain bored. Whatever his mood, Ellen always knew of it. "Dear Mother," he wrote on one occasion, "makes pastoral calls, and I make some or none according to my mood." Usually Wilson spent the mornings writing on his book. Frequently, he drove his mother in the afternoons and after supper habitually read aloud, while his mother sat nearby, sewing or embroidering as she listened attentively. These things Woodrow grumblingly regarded "as much too big a price to pay for the privilege of devoting my mornings to study. And yet a chap," he confessed to Ellen, "does need some powerful antidote when he takes original composition in large doses." There was not half as much wear and tear for Wilson in mastering the contents of a score of books as in writing one. He was dead certain that no amount of reading taxed him as severely as two or three hours of concentrated writing.⁵⁰

Throughout the summer Wilson continued to write concentratedly in the forenoon, to take his mother for leisurely drives in the afternoon, and to read to her in the evenings. When he returned to Johns Hopkins early in October, the book manuscript was practically completed. He hastened to finish the task and proudly announced its completion to Ellen. Now he was free to turn to his university studies, that is, until the manuscript was returned and had to be sent to another prospective publisher.⁵¹ In this not unnatural feeling about his manuscript

Wilson was too pessimistic.

Shortly after dispatching his manuscript on Congressional Government to Houghton Mifflin and Company, Wilson had most interesting news from Ellen. She had decided to spend the winter, 1884-1885, working at the Art Students' League in New York. From her father she had a small inheritance and decided to spend it in further developing her artistic talent. Furthermore, New York was not very far from Baltimore. When the train on which Ellen was traveling stopped at the Baltimore station, Woodrow rushed in, found a seat beside her and announced that he was going to New York to aid her in getting located.

To all of Woodrow's expressed doubts about the acceptance of his book manuscript, Ellen gave her most optimistic assurances of its acceptance. After Woodrow's return to the University campus. Ellen wrote seeking information for her own satisfaction. "No," came the reply, "I haven't heard a word from H. M. and Co., though it is now five weeks since I sent them my mss." Seemingly, the publisher was

⁵⁰ Wilson to Ellen Axson, August 31, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 217.
⁵¹ Wilson to Ellen Axson, November 11, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 218.

either considering the matter with unusual care or had rejected the manuscript and forgotten to return it. "The only certainty," Wilson concluded, "was that I am very anxious and have suspended all definite expectations in the matter." 52 More than two weeks more elapsed before he, with restrained enthusiasm, sent "some exceptionally good news." Indeed, Houghton Mifflin offered him "as good terms as if I were already a well-known writer! The success is of such proportions as almost to take my breath away—it has distanced by best hopes" 53 Wilson was elated, but only momentarily. It was not his nature to

remain exhilarated for long.

Quite naturally, when Woodrow escorted Ellen to New York City, he told her that his dearest friend, Bobby Bridges, lived there. He expressed the hope that the two could meet and become fast friends. Within a few days after his return to Baltimore, Tommy took the initial step in helping Bobby and Ellen to get acquainted: "I should be delighted if you could find time some evening to call on her [Ellen Axson]. There would seem to be some necessary fitness in a fellow's best male friend knowing the lady who is nearer to him than all the rest of the world; and one of the first things I thought of when Miss Axson decided to study in New York this winter was that that might bring you two together-should bring you together, If I was to have a say in the matter. I hope, old fellow, that our homes won't lie so far apart that you can't get to know all about her house-keeping when she becomes Mrs. Wilson!" 54

Shortly after receiving Tommy's letter which contained Ellen's address on Fourteenth Street, Bobby called on her. From both of them Woodrow learned of the visit. When Ellen, with unbounded enthusiasm, told Bobby that Woodrow's manuscript on Congressional Government had been accepted for publication, he was delighted. Bobby wrote Tommy that he thought his Princeton friend should have told him. Wilson confessed: "I should have told you of the acceptance of my book but Miss Axson wanted the fun of telling somebody and so I left you to her." 55

While rejoicing over the acceptance of Congressional Government for publication, two significant problems arose from which Wilson had to find answers. The first was that of trying for the Doctor of Philosophy degree. Woodrow was definitely against striving for the

Wilson to Ellen Axson, November 11, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 219.

Swilson to Ellen Axson, November 28, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 219.

Wilson to Bridges, November 19, 1884, Meyer Collection.

Wilson to Bridges, December 20, 1884, Meyer Collection. Bridges' letter to Wilson written a few days before December 20, has been lost but Wilson in his letter mentions the one from Bridges.

doctorate, not that he anticipated failure, but because he did not want to do the reading and study that would be necessary, In doubt, perhaps, that his decision not to try for the degree was a mistake, he appealed to his father in "sixteen pages . . . on the pros and cons of cramming" for the required examinations. Dr. Wilson, having received his professional title honoris causa, naturally, perhaps, advised against the special study necessary for the degree. As soon as Wilson learned that his father's opinion concurred with his own, he assured Ellen that "father advises me not to try for it [the doctorate]: and, since his advice coincides with my own coolest judgment in the matter, I have concluded to make no special effort in reading for it." He was positive that he would profit much more substantially from reading according to his own tastes and choosing than he would from the reading necessary for the Ph.D. degree-although his inclinations would take him through the most important topics of that course. The chief difference, as he analyzed the situation to Ellen, was that he would read, "outside of the prescribed lines, a great deal that will be of infinitely more service Ito himl than the volumes of another sort which I should perfunctorily peruse, to the mortification of my own tastes and desires, were I to goad myself to the tasks heaped upon the degree candidate."

Did Ellen approve of the decision? Woodrow wanted to know: "You certainly have a right to be consulted, because it is probable that a degree would render me a little more *marketable* next June than I shall otherwise be." Indeed, this was the only condition which caused him any hesitancy about the decision he and his father had made. It was a choice, he concluded, "between pecuniary profit and mental ad-

vantage." 56

The wisdom of Wilson's choice was questionable. In fact, about a year and a half later he received the Ph.D. degree from The Johns Hopkins University. It came upon the urging of Ellen, now Woodrow's wife. She wisely chose as his fiancée not to oppose his decision when supported by his father. Later, however, as Mrs. Wilson, she exerted the necessary pressure. She was assisted by Wilson's professional employer, Dean Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr College. The faculty of the university co-operated splendidly by accepting Wilson's book, *Congressional Government*, as his doctoral dissertation and by omitting all language requirements.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Wilson to Ellen Axson, November 8, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 235-236.
⁵⁷ Wilson to Herbert B. Adams, April 2, 8, 1886, Herbert B. Adams Papers, Library of The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, hereinafter cited as Adams Papers. The important letter from Adams to Wilson, dated between these two from Wilson to him, seems to have been lost but Wilson's second letter to Adams discusses the faculty's decision in his "case."

Wilson's other problem was that of finding a teaching position. If there were several professionally desirable places open, as Ray Stannard Baker stated in his official biography of Wilson, there is no documentary evidence in the Wilson Papers that he was offered any of these positions, nor that he was even sought. When a new Quaker College-Bryn Mawr-located in a suburb of Philadelphia, desired young men to aid in organizing the various department, Wilson was recommended by his professor. Immediately, he revealed the details to Ellen: "Just before lecture lit was late in November, 1884], Dr. Adams came to me and asked me if I wouldn't come into his office a moment and meet some persons who were interested in me and in historical work." A few moments later as Woodrow entered his professor's office, he was introduced to Miss Carey Thomas, Dean of Bryn Mawr, and to Dr. James E. Rhoads, a trustee of the recently organized girls' school. According to Woodrow, Dean Thomas was choosing her faculty with great care "because each teacher chosen will, of course, have to lay the foundations of his, or her, department-will have to organize it and give it direction and plan." 58 Other conferences between Dean Thomas and Woodrow followed. Out of these meetings came Woodrow's first job.

When Ellen learned of Woodrow's position at Bryn Mawr, she wrote bemoaning the fact that she, a faculty member's prospective bride, did not know as much as the Bryn Mawr girls were expected to know. Woodrow answered that she was a "little goose" to permit herself to think that way about the situation and asked her to think of his case. "I am to be one of their instructors," he wrote, "and yet I not only could not pass the entrance examinations without special preparation, but could not even be an advanced student, much less a Fellow, in my own department—because I can't read German at sight! Both you and I," Woodrow reassured Ellen, "have what is immeasurably better than the information which is all that would be needed for

passing Bryn Mawr, or any other college examination!" 59

Moreover, as Woodrow explained to Ellen, he had no desire to carry in his head more information. He wanted to forget the figures in the column whose *sum* and *result* he had ascertained and wanted to keep. "I must *scan* information," he continued, "must question it closely as to every essential detail, in order that I may extract its meaning; but, the meaning once mastered, the information is lumber." Obviously, it would be necessary to know where to find the information when

⁶⁸ Wilson to Ellen Axson, November 27, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 237.
⁵⁹ Wilson to Ellen Axson, November 30, 1884, Day, Woodrow Wilson's Own Story, 27-28.

needed for illustrations or for corroboration. Moreover, one could not make himself familiar with facts for such purposes without remembering some of the more essential ones. Woodrow concluded, "it is sheer, barren, ignorant waste of energy to try to remember a fact for *its own sake*." ⁶⁰

Woodrow and Ellen were seeing each other during these months of their engagement before their marriage as frequently as the exigencies of their respective student careers would permit. After a week-end visit in New York, Woodrow returned to Baltimore to write that it wasn't "pleasant or convenient to have strong passions. I have the uncomfortable feeling that I am carrying a volcano about with me." His salvation was in being loved. Furthermore, Ellen was "the only person in the world—except the dear ones at home" with whom he did not have to act a part, to whom he did not have to deal out confidences cautiously. Ellen was the "only person in the world—without any exceptions" to whom Woodrow could confide all that his heart contained. "There surely never lived a man," he concluded, "with whom love was a more critical matter than it is with me." ⁶¹

Upon returning to the campus after a delightful visit with Ellen, Woodrow soon experienced the greatest thrill of every young enterprising author. He held in his hand the first copies of his book "over which he had toiled long, hoped greatly, and despaired bitterly!" Woodrow answered the question to whom he should send the first copy of his book: "I received two copies of Congressional Government last evening and immediately reversed the wrappers about one of them and sent it off to you—in hopes that you would get it before Sunday." He took the time only to write Ellen's name upon the fly-leaf which required about ten minutes because of the difficulty in deciding what to write. As he stated: "I had to say everything or nothing—and what I wanted to put would have been out of place on the public face of a book."

Social etiquette did not keep Wilson from saying in a love letter to Ellen what he felt: "I wanted to say," Woodrow confided to Ellen, "that everything in the book was yours already, having been written in the light and under the inspiration of your love; that every word of it was written as if to you, with thoughts of what you would think of it, and speculations as to your delight should it receive favour from the publishers and the public; that, as your love runs through this my first book, so it must be the enabling power in all that I may write

[∞] Wilson to Ellen Axson, November 30, 1884, Day, Woodrow Wilson's Own Story, 27-28.
⁶¹ Wilson to Ellen Axson, December 7, 1884, Day, Woodrow Wilson's Own Story, 29.

hereafter, for without your entire love and faith and sympathy it must be also the last book into which I could put any of myself; that, in presenting it to you, I was presenting it to one whose praise and approval are a thousand times sweeter and more essential to me than the praise and approval of the whole world of critics and readers. In send-

ing you my first book, darling, I renew the gift of myself." 62
Ellen expressed to Anna Harris her delight with Congressional Government's public reception. The book had a wonderful success where success was most valuable, among scholars. It was delightfully surprising, said Ellen to Anna, the number of enthusiastic letters Woodrow was receiving from such men. The reviews were laudatory and the book was selling well. 63 Indeed, it was in truth an epoch in the lives of these two young people, Ellen remembered, and she "for one

could scarcely sleep for happiness because of it."64

In the meantime these youthful lovers were discussing plans for their marriage in the summer. For a while they toyed with the idea of a June wedding and a honeymoon in "some quiet picturesque spot in New England." Here they would rusticate, making themselves happy "with books and pen and pencil and each other until it is time to come back to the work a day world!" 65 But even as Ellen described these plans to Anna Harris, she added there were a great many practical difficulties in the way. Although the New England honeymoon was given up for a mountain spot in the South, Wilson pled so earnestly and so determinedly for their wedding in June that Ellen promised to do all in her power to make it possible.

As Ellen informed her dear friend, the trouble with her was "simply a want of time and money." She did not finish at the Art Students' League until the first of June and then she would be completely bankrupt. But, to let Ellen continue: "I ought really to spend the summer mending my broken fortunes-and, yet, again perhaps, I ought not. I am afraid it wouldn't be just to him, after my hard winter's work to spend the summer in the same way and then go to him worn out, perhaps broken down in health. It would perhaps be wiser to sacrifice a portion of my little principle, buy my trousseau ready made and take no thought of the morrow." 66 There were economic matters reserved in Ellen's mind. Her heart also had its reasons and these she in complete confidence revealed: "I am anxious to do as he wishes;

⁶² Wilson to Ellen Axson, January 24, 1885, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 220-221.
⁶³ Ellen Axson to Anna Harris, March 8, 1885, Axson-Harris Correspondence.
⁶⁴ Ellen Axson Wilson to Gamaliel Bradford, Jr., August (?), 1912, Baker, Woodrow

Wilson, I, 224.

65 Ellen Axson to Anna Harris, March 8, 1885, Axson-Harris Correspondence.
66 Ellen Axson to Anna Harris, March 8, 1885, Axson-Harris Correspondence.

in fact, I wish it so strongly myself that my judgment is apt to be biased. This separation is becoming unbearable, almost, to me as to my passionate lover. Formerly I was willing to be his wife some time -now I long to be, as soon as possible. I thought I loved him at the first, but I find I had only begun to love, but then he has given me so much reason to love him. No one will ever know all he has been to me. I think he made life itself possible. Without him I should have been utterly crushed and broken in body and spirit. I have terrible days or rather nights sometimes now but on the whole I am happy, wonderfully happy, and it is altogether owing to his wonderful love."

To Bobby Bridges, Tommy wrote that he and Ellen were "to be married in Savannah, on June 24-the wedding is to be a private, family affair, with no formal invitations sent out." Woodrow wanted to write each member of his Princeton gang to come to see him set out on a new

and better stage of his career. 68 But none came.

At the conclusion of his university work, Woodrow went to the home of his sister, Mrs. Anna Wilson Howe, in Columbia, South Carolina. Ellen reached Savannah a few days later. In the Manse of the Independent Presbyterian Church of Savannah, on June 24, 1885, Woodrow Wilson and Ellen Axson became husband and wife. Ellen's grandfather, the Reverend I. S. K. Axson, who was minister of the church, performed the ceremony. He was assisted in the simple ceremony by Dr. Joseph R. Wilson, father of the groom. The two lovers "stood in the corner of the quaint old parlour with its high ceiling, its fireplace, its dignified furniture." 69 Woodrow, born in a Presbyterian manse, was married in a Presbyterian manse to a girl who, also, was born in a Presbyterian manse.

Years later, Stockton Axson remembered how Woodrow and he "chatted about the books in my grandfather's bookcases while we waited for the bride to come downstairs." He also recalled a "less idyllic circumstance, how bliss was jarred and the scent of orange blossoms temporarily annulled while two small boys, the bridegroom's nephew, William Howe, and the bride's brother, Edward Axson, 'mixed it up' in a gorgeous fight over some difference in boyish opinions. The bride was much shocked; but I caught a twinkle in the bridegroom's eye, which seemed to say, 'let's separate them; but don't let's be in too desperate haste about it." 70 Any man who "could re-

TEllen Axson to Anna Harris, March 8, 1885, Axson-Harris Correspondence.
Wilson to Bridges, May 21, June 10, 1885, Meyer Collection.
Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 238.
Axson, "Private Life of Woodrow Wilson."

joice in a kin fight on his wedding day surely has that broad catholic

taste in joy which shows the understanding heart." 71

After a few days in which they visited with Woodrow's sister and her family, the George Howes, the newlyweds went to the North Carolina mountains. The village, which "bore the idyllic name of Arden," was located in Buncombe County. They stayed at the Park Hotel.72 Much of the time during the day was spent outdoors walking along the mountain trails, viewing the lovely scenery, listening to the calls of the many birds.

Wilson's marriage meant everything to him. It would be almost impossible to overemphasize its importance in his life. To Ellen he had written of their love, their marriage, their future together so many times and in such words of dedication. In one such letter Woodrow declared that "the intellectual life is sometimes a fearfully solitary one. ... "Give him one friend who can understand him, who will not leave him, who will always be accessible by day and night-one friend, one kindly listener, just one, and the whole universe is changed. "It is deaf and indifferent no longer, and whilst she listens, it seems as if all men and angels listened also, so perfectly his thought is mirrored in the light of her answering eyes. . . . There surely never lived a man," he concluded, "with whom love was a more critical matter than it is with me." 78 And with Wilson, this continued to be true.

White, Woodrow Wilson, 102.
 Wilson to Talcott, June 9, 1885, Baker Papers.
 Wilson to Ellen Axson, December 7, 1884, Baker, Woodrow Wilson, I, 242.

THE PRISON DIARY OF ADJUTANT FRANCIS ATHERTON BOYLE, C. S. A.

EDITED BY MARY LINDSAY THORNTON *

Published accounts of prison life during the Civil War have often been reminiscences written long after the close of hostilities. Bitter in their accusations with a tendency to stress atrocities more and more as years intervene, they can hardly be accepted without reservation. In recent years, the so-called realistic novel has added new horror to the story. On the other hand, diaries written as day-by-day records while in prison may be softened by a lack of privacy and an enforced reticence for fear of discovery by some zealous guard. The diary of Francis Atherton Boyle written during his imprisonment at Fort Delaware is almost always expressed in a restrained tone. It is reserved in its comment on physical hardship with attention directed to a thoughtful and skillful survival. It is remarkable as the expression of a spirit that sought and found escape from the monotony, sordidness, and indignity of prison life in books and study, and in religious activity.

Francis Atherton Boyle was born in Plymouth, North Carolina, July 9, 1838, the oldest of a family of eight children. He was the son of John McCausland Boyle (1803-1867) of Ballymena, County Antrim, Ireland, and Maria A. Plumbe, of Neath, Glamorganshire, South Wales.¹ He was a student at Dartmouth College in 1858, but did not graduate,² returning to Plymouth to take over his father's lumber business in 1859.3 He enlisted in the Confederate Army, May 16, 1861, in a company that was being organized in Tyrrell and Washington counties with Edmund C. Brabble as its captain.4 It later became a part of the

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¹ Tombstone inscriptions and baptismal records, Grace Church (Episcopal), Plymouth.

² Alumni Records (manuscript), Dartmouth College Archives, Hanover, New Hampshire, hereinafter cited as Dartmouth Archives.

³ Francis A. Boyle to S. L. Gerould, Secretary of the Class of 1858, March 25, 1904, Dartmouth Archives.

Dartmouth Archives.

⁴John Wheeler Moore, Roster of North Carolina Troops in the War Between the States (Raleigh: Ashe and Gatling, 4 volumes, 1882), II, 571, hereinafter cited as Moore, Roster of North Carolina Troops.

First Battalion of North Carolina Volunteers which was absorbed in the Thirty-second North Carolina Infantry in the summer of 1862. In May, 1863, it joined the Army of Northern Virginia, and took part in the campaign that culminated in the Battle of Gettysburg. Boyle was promoted from First Sergeant to Adjutant of the Regiment, June 27, 1863,6 and remained in active service in the field until he was captured during the desperate fighting around Spotsylvania Court House early in May, 1864. He was sent to Point Lookout for a short time, and from there to Fort Delaware where he was imprisoned until July, 1865. After the war he returned to his home and continued in the lumber business at Hamilton, and later at Jamesville, until his death, July 4, 1907. He was married on October 19, 1865, to Annie A. Hemick, of Baltimore, with whom he corresponded while in prison.7 The diary, which is in the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina Library as the gift of Mrs. John S. McEldowney, Boyles' niece, begins a few days before his capture and continues with fair regularity until shortly before his release.

1864

Left camp Wednesday 4th May. Moved to Mine Run, lay there three hours, moved to Parker's store, encamped for the night, moved down the turnpike late Thursday morning—and met the enemy about noon.8 Supported Stuart's brigade; Our right charged the enemy. Moved to the right & then to the rear. Rested till sunset, then moved to the right till after night, about two miles. Threw up breastworks till day.

Friday 6th. Remained quiet on the main line. Skirmishers actively engaged. Artillery used upon the enemy's position. Slight shelling in return.

Saturday 7th. Still comparatively quiet. At night moved to the right about a mile. Moving nearly all night.

Sunday 8th. Marched to a position near Spottsylvania C. H. Day very hot, many men fainting and exhausted. Reached our position about sunset and charged the enemy immediately. Moved about a mile forward till dark coming on, halted and threw up entrenchments.

⁶Walter Clark, Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina, in the Great War, 1861-'65 (Raleigh and Goldsboro: State of North Carolina, 5 volumes, 1901), II, 521-536, hereinafter cited as Clark, Histories of the North Carolina

^{**}Moore, Roster of North Carolina Troops, II, 571.

**Boyle to Gerould, March 25 and May 17, 1904, Dartmouth Archives.

**This encounter marked the beginning of the Battle of the Wilderness, May 5-7, 1864. Mine Run is a little stream near Orange Court House where Lee had his head-quarters. Parker's store was one mile from the Orange Plank Road.

Monday 9th. Another fine day—comparatively quiet in our immediate front. Perfected our entrenchments.

Tuesday 10th. Opened quiet. About noon Doles Skirmishers in our front driven in. Enemy began shelling heavily—till dusk. Then they charged our lines in solid columns of regiments, broke Doles line and taking ours in reserve captured the position and about 700 prisoners. The position was in a very few minutes retaken, but too late to rescue us.9 About 225 enlisted men of our Regt captured & six officers We were hurried to the rear and remained for the night under guard.

Wednesday 11th. Moved under a cavalry guard to the Camp of the Provost Guard, in all about 3,000 prisoners here.

Thursday 12th. Moved prisoners camp a mile or two in the direction of Fredericksburg. Heard heavy firing all day from Grants desperate but unsuccessful assaults upon our lines. About 3,000 prisoners captured from Maj. Gen. Johnstons Div. came in making about 6000 in all captured from our army in the nine days fighting. This is very nearly correct.

Friday 13th. We were carried through Fredericksburg to Belle Plain a distance of about 15 miles. 10 After an hours rest the officers were put on a steamer. Moved out to the mouth of Potomac creek and anchored for the night. This has been a very fatiguing day. The heavy mud and rapid marching, being very severe upon those of us unaccustomed to marching.

Saturday 14th. We moved down the river to Point Lookout where probably owing to the crowded condition of the boat 100 of us were put off, registered, examined and marched to our Prison quarters. 11

Sunday 15th. My first day of prison life, as little unmarked by incident as most of them will probably be.

Sunday May 29th. Heard preaching from an old gentleman a fellow prisoner & a Methodist. Read the church service in the afternoon to a pretty good congregation.

I have written during the past week to a good many of my quondam Northern friends and acquaintances. Have heard from none of them as yet excepting from Dr. Kerfoot promising to send me some books that I have

General Lee's Report, May 10, 1864, says of this engagement: "Today the enemy shelled our lines and made several assaults with infantry against different points. . . . They were easily repulsed, except in front of Doles' brigade, where they drove our men from their position. . . . The men soon rallied, and by dark our line was reestablished." R. N. Scott and Others (eds.), The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 70 volumes [127 books, atlases, and index], 1880-1901), Series I, XXGVI, Part I, 1,029, hereinafter cite as Official Records.

10 Belle Plain was a temporary camp for the reception of prisoners. Francis Trevelyan Miller (ed.), The Photographic History of the Civil War (New York: The Review of Reviews Company, 10 volumes 1911) VII 19

views Company, 10 volumes, 1911), VII, 42.

¹¹ Point Lookout is surrounded by Chesapeake Bay, Potomac River, and Tanner's Creek. It was established as a prison in July, 1863, with a guard of 300 men to accommodate about 10,000 prisoners. Official Records, Series II, VI, 141-142.

asked him to send me. Written home two or three times in hopes that some of them might get through, though it is said that Flag of Truce communication has been suspended. Not being able to get any money, we are confined to prison fare. Bread, weak coffee, Beans, Beef, Pork and Potatoes.

Sunday (May 29) June 5 Owing to the influx of prisoners into the privates camp the boundary line has been moved, reducing the limits of our enclosure very much. As we are still allowed the privilege of the beach for bathing etc. the reduction of space is no material deprivation. We have still space enough for tents, Streets, mess Hall, Hospital etc. without crowding. I have received a letter from Messrs. Benton & Sons & from Cousin Mary Tucker enclosing \$20 from Mr. Southgate kindly offering to let me have what I may need. Have written to both in return, asking latter for \$50. Read service again today.

I have made a mistake in my dates; the above ought to be 29th May & June 5 instead of May 22, & May 29. The first week was unmarked by

anything of especial interest.

Wednesday. June 8th. Received in the past few days letters from Mr. Bolton, absence from home prevented his writing sooner—from Cousin Mary Tucker stating that Mr. Southgate had sent me \$50—from Benton & Sons saying that they shipped clothing to me on the 4th inst. & from Maj. Lewis. Have written since reaching here to Benton 3, Bolton 2, Norcross 2, Wendell, Hilliard 2, Edgeworth F. Sim. 1, Terry—Clay—Davis—Maitland—Lewis 3, Stephenson, Tucker 2, Southgate—Santos—Home 5, Frensby, Wright, Plumbe, Witmer & Bronson & Kerfoot, 34 in all, certainly enough to *start* a correspondence.

Have been reading Wayland's Moral Philosophy and 3 novels, Maryatts Percival Keene, The Ogilvies by ———— & Bulwers Last of the Barons. I am very anxious to get the books promised me by Dr. Kerfoot. Fortunately I had my Bible & Prayer Book on my person at the time of my capture.

Friday. June 10th Quite an eventful day for prisoners considering the usual monotony of our life. During the last fortnight several prisoners have been attempting in various ways to make their escape, generally succeeding in getting outside the enclosure, but so far as we have heard they have all been arrested and brought back before getting very far. Last night some one or two officers escaped by means of a rope ladder, which was found this morning hanging against the fence. Soon Maj. Weymouth & Staff 13 rode into camp, ordered us all out on the beach and made us an eloquent harangue threatening us to deprive us of (bedsteads?) seats, &c &c if we didn't stay peacably in durance vile, and by way of proving that he meant what he said, ordered that all our valises, trunks, carpet-bags, boxes &c, in short everything that would hold anything should be taken away. Consequently all our clothing, eatables, trinkets of all kinds are bundled out on the floor or ground until we can collect new receptables for

¹² Major Henry G. Lewis, Thirty-second North Carolina Infantry, was wounded and made a prisoner at Gettysburg. Moore, *Roster of North Carolina Troops*, II, 570.

¹⁵ Major Harrison G. O. Weymouth, First U. S. Volunteers, Provost Marshal, Point Lookout, *Official Records*, Series II, VII, 385, 1,364.

our use. I have received to day and answered letters from Mr. Bronson,¹⁴ Maj. Tenny & Miss Lizzie Hilliard. 15

We have had a change in Sutlers too, today, and it is to be hoped that under the new Regime things will be a little more reasonable. White sugar 30 cts, Brown 20, Eggs 40 cts per doz, Butter 60 cts per Lb. are the present rates. Wrote to Lt. Doles today. 16 Heard from him yesterday. Heavy rain last night. The weather for the past ten days has been remarkably cool and pleasant, winds & frequent showers.

June 14, Tuesday. Received express package today from Benton & Sons containing shirts, drawers, pair of shoes, pants and coat. Received \$50 on Sunday from Mr. Southgate. Finished reading Waylands Philosophy, & have nothing now to read excepting periodicals which Lt Bond has kindly given me the use of.¹⁷ There is a good deal of interesting matter in them, most of them are nos. of Littell Living Age. They have been allowing papers to come into camp again today. Received a letter from Cousin Edward Plumbe yesterday from Dacotah Territory. Have met here a Captain Chinn from Baton Rouge La. who was very well acquainted with Uncle Anderson and Uncle William and their wives families.¹⁸ Have had good deal of chat with him about them & about Louisiana generally.

June 23d Thursday. The days slip by so rapidly and uniformly that unless one were able to keep a regular diary (which the lack of incident will not afford) the entrys are not so frequent as they might be. Last Sunday I read as usual the afternoon service and an excellent tract entitled "All to Jesus." The congregation was quite good, numbering about 80, and the responses so much better than heretofore. I have found here five or six churchmen. I have recently heard from Miss Hattie Fitch. She wrote me a very kind letter and sent me her photograph.

I received the other day three packages of books from whom I do not know. I suppose however from some of Mr. Bronson's parishoners or perhaps from himself. They embrace novels, church books & Tracts. All exceedingly welcome. [Written across this entry] Came from Dr. Kerfoot Recd a letter a day or two since from Maj. Lewis. Rolls have been taken it is said preparatory to removing all the officers to Fort Delaware and I should not be surprised if my next entry were made there as we are momen-

¹⁴ Probably the Reverend Benjamin Swann Bronson, who came to North Carolina in the early 1850's. Lizzie Wilson Montgomery, Sketches of Old Warrenton, North Carolina; Traditions and Reminiscences of the Town and People who Made It (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Company, 1924), 186-187, 212.

Lizzie Hilliard was the daughter of the Reverend Francis Hilliard, Rector of Grace

Church, Plymouth. She was identified by Mary Cotten Davenport of Plymouth, who had known her personally.

Moore, Roster of North Carolina Troops, II, 590.

17 Lieutenant William F. Doles, Company H, Thirty-second North Carolina Infantry. Moore, Roster of North Carolina Troops, II, 590.

17 Lieutenant William R. Bond, Company F, Forty-third North Carolina Infantry, and aide de camp to General Junius Daniel. He was made a prisoner at Gettysburg. Moore, Roster of North Carolina Troops, III, 210; Clark, Histories of the North Carolina

Regiments, IV, 518.

18 Captain B. R. Chinn, Company C, Ninth Battalion Louisiana Infantry, was captured in Port Hudson, Louisiana, July 9, 1863. Andrew Booth (comp.), Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers (New Orleans: 3 volumes in 4, 1920), 1, 328.

tarily expecting orders. The negro regiment has been away from here for some time on a stealing expedition in Va. They have returned I hear, with any quantity of plunder, and made their appearance on guard again today for the first time since their return.

The manner in which the rations of prisoners are managed here is curious and must redound to the benefit of somebody very extensively. The first item after our arrival was the entire withdrawal of the coffee & sugar rations. Next the quantity of meat was reduced one-third. Then, molasses till this time issued tri-weekly disappeared from the festive scene. Then as the only thing left to operate on, the loaves one of which was issued to each man daily, began to grow smaller by degrees and beautifully less, till they suddenly increased perceptibly, and henceforth two men were to divide each loaf instead of each one holding undisputed right thereto. This ingenious dodge in the art of subdivision was neverthless too patent to pass undiscovered, for as we had anticipated the new edition began to show the same propensity for shrinking that the original one had done. No one knows where this business would have ended had not a summons come for us to leave today for Fort Delaware.

Tuesday June 28th Here we are in Yankee prison No. 2, after such a trip as I have heard of, but never experienced before, 540 of us crowded on the main deck and forward hold of a transport screw propeller. We were packed as close as herrings and the weather was unconscionably hot. Most fortunately for us the sea (for we came via Cape Henry, outside) was perfectly smooth, so that though we of course had many green hands on board, no one was made sea-sick. Had the passage been a rough one, it would have been perfectly awful in our crowded condition. As it was it was bad enough. About 50 of us were allowed to be on the upper deck at one time. The Yankee guard was stationed up here, so that any idea of seizing the boat was entirely precluded. A gun boat accompanied us all the way, to guard against the possibility of a rebel cruiser.

We have now been at Fort Delaware long enough to compare it with Point Lookout. I will therefore sum up the comparative advantages and disadvantages of the two places.

ADVANTAGES

Point Lookout 19

Cooler water, if bad. A more reasonable sutler.

The advantage of less men to-

gether.

More punctuality in sending letters.

More room.

A very accommodating ass't

provost.

Fort Delaware20

Fair water & the chance of improving it by ice.

An ice cream stand. Barracks instead of tents

More punctuality in *delivery* of let-

ters, money & express packages. A decent commander.

Less dust.

¹⁹ James H. Thompson, Surgeon, U. S. Volunteers, reporting on Point Lookout, June 23, 1864, says the water was unfit for use and the diet insufficient. There were 20,000 prisoners on the Point with 1,300 wounded. Official Records, Series II, VII, 399-400.

The prisoners of lead the peak of Potals Island. The prison between the peak of Potals Island.

Philadelphia on a piece of land known as Pea Patch Island. The prison barracks were similar to long cowsheds and were directly under fire from the guns of a fortress built

ADVANTAGES (cont.)

Good sea bathing. Chance of getting Southern news in Baltimore Gazette

Two meals a day. Later news.

DISADVANTAGES

Point Lookout

A rascally Provost Marshall. Great delay in the delivery of money negroes to guard us. a great deal of dust. Tents, which though more convenient are not adapted to windy situations. For a long time no newspapers. A very strict patrol at night. Very poor soup. The cooking in-

ferior to Ft. D.

Fort Delaware Delay in sending letters. No opportunity to hire extra cooking done. A very rascally sutler who charges triple prices.21 No opportunity to get "Copperhead" Journals. No good place to bathe. Less room. Smaller rations. &c &c &c

I think that thats what may be calling "striking a balance" and on the whole a pretty even one. I wouldn't stand the terrible trip between the two points to go to either. The rations here are about as small as can well be imagined. About six ounces of bread and 4 oz of meat to each man and the government no doubt charged full rations. What a harvest for somebody!

Wednesday June 29. We are enjoying just now a very opportune cool spell.

Friday. July 1st Only four days left for Grant to capture Richmond. Gold quoted at 2.50. We certainly ought to be in good spirits and we are. We live here in a large barn like barracks, from 75 to 125 in each. The bunks are ranged in three rows like immense shelves, one above the other, on each side, and in some cases across the ends, with some space on the floor between. These "cuddies" can be arranged so as to be quite comfortable. The lower ones however labor under the disadvantage of having to take all the dust sweeping &c from those above. A very hot day again.

of stone. Each building, about 300 feet long, was divided into compartments occupied by 400 prisoners. There were eight or ten rows of these buildings. Officers' barracks were separated from privates' quarters and no communication allowed between them. The whole was surrounded by a high plank wall with parapets on top for sentinel guards. It had been condemned as a prison because of the unhealthy location, yet the government continued to use it until the end of the war. George H. Moffett, "War Prison Experiences," Confederate Veteran (Nashville, Tennessee: 1893-1932), XIII (March, 1905), 106-107. Randolph Abbott Shotwell also describes Point Lookout and Fort Delaware in J. G. De Roulhac Hamilton and Rebecca Cameron (eds.), The Papers of Randolph Abbott Shotwell (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 3 volumes, 1929-1936), II, 118-119, 131-134, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, Shotwell Papers.

21 Money received by prisoners was held and checks were given to be honored by the sutler. There were many whose families were able to send them money, but those who were not so fortunate had to use their wits to avoid hunger. One major washed

who were not so fortunate had to use their wits to avoid hunger. One major washed soiled clothes at five cents a piece. Shotwell says the profit of the sutler was often more than 500 per cent. Edward R. Rich, Comrades Four (New York, 1907), 143-144, hereinafter cited as Rich, Comrades Four; Hamilton, Shotwell Papers, II, 168.

Friday. July 15. The unusual time that has elapsed since an entry in my journal would indicate, I fear too truly an increase of laziness on my part. Such a life as this is even worse than ordinary camp life for the promotion of laziness. Beyond the calls of a sluggish conscience, there are positively no demands upon one's time. Cooking, eating, playing chess, and sometimes the less noble game of backgammon and such reading as the before mentioned occupations and laziness in general leave time for occupy the day. As far as I am individually concerned, I cannot complain of ennui. The above occupations with the addition of writing to my numerous correspondents fully occupy my time. Said correspondents are a source of great pleasure to me. Receiving and writing letters form a pleasurable excitement. Almost the only events that prison life can boast are the reception of letters, I was made happy on the 6th (I think) by the reception of a letter from home, date of June 13, brought through to Balt. & mailed there. It acknowledged the recpt of mine of May 15 (written the day after our arrival at Pt. Lookout) also the convalescence of Col. C and the death of Col Lamb from his wounds²² Since my last entry I have recd \$10 from Mr. Bolton, \$5 from R.W. Santos of Norfolk, & \$10 from Uncle Richard, 23 and letters from Miss Fitch, Miss A. Hemmick,24 Mrs. Gertrude Palfrey, Mr. Bronson, Dr. Kerfoot & cousin Mary. The latter has sent me a box recd in bad order part of the articles being stolen. Have also recd a box from Mr. Witmer Paradise, Pa. and another package of books from Dr. Kerfoot. The box from Mr. Tenny has never come to hand. Heard yesterday from Mr. Bowen. He wrote an intense Union letter, but somewhat to my surprise, said that he had made arrangements to send Latham his brother, Ben Norcum and myself \$20 each, and would continue to send us what money we might need.

Prison life remains pretty much the same. One of the prisoners a militia Colonel Jones, was shot by a sentinel for not "moving on" as quickly as he might as the Colonel was quite lame it is probable that he was not to blame. He was carried to the Hospital and died next day.²⁵ In consequence of the good news from the operations of our army, arriving Balt. and Washington papers have been interdicted in camp but we manage to get the news and are all on tiptoe with anxious expectation.26 The weather has been very hot and cooler by times. We have since last Sunday been meeting for the purpose of holding Family prayers reading the Bible, Psalter, etc at the

²² Lieutenant Colonel John C. Lamb, Seventeenth North Carolina Infantry, who died of wounds received at Drewry's Bluff, May 17, 1864. Moore, Roster of North Carolina

Troops, II, 39.

23 Uncle Richard Plumbe, who sent money regularly. His name appears in some financial notes on the leaf preceding Boyle's diary.

²⁴ Annie Hemick of Baltimore, whom Boyle married after the war. Boyle to Gerould. May 17, 1904, Dartmouth Archives.

May 17, 1904, Dartmouth Archives.

26 Colonel Edward Pope Jones, One Hundred and Ninth Virginia Militia, of Middlesex County, Virginia, who was captured May, 1863. Shotwell says, "Bill Douglass, the assassin, was promoted to sergeant for this crime." One hundred dollars was raised among the prisoners to send Col. Jones' body home, but permission to do so was refused. Hamilton, Shotwell Papers, II, 145-148. See also Isaac W. K. Handy, United States Bonds; or, Duress by Federal Authority (Baltimore, 1874), 473-476, 478, hereinafter cited as Handy, United States Bonds.

26 "Good news" may refer to Early's successful raids around Washington when he threatened the city.

threatened the city.

bunk of Captain Cantwell of Wilmington.²⁷ Only two or three of us meet regularly. I trust that we shall keep up the habit at any rate, and perhaps we may be able to read the service in public. The great trouble is to get a suitable place for the purpose. Heard from Bob Webb today. The poor fellow is I am afraid lonely and homesick. He complains of being unwell. We live pretty well now, as all of us have rec'd boxes. My mess recently formed consists of Barlow, a Kentuckian, Bairde,²⁸ a Missourian & myself.

Wednesday August 3. One day in prison is so like another that the time passes away, one knows not how, & in consequence my entries are at more distant intervals than they should be. Last night an officer was drowned

in attempting to make his escape, & another captured.

I have received from Mr. Clay \$10, & from Uncle Richard \$10, both came yesterday. The former has sent me a box wh. I hope to get tomorrow. I now read service on Sunday morning and afternoon and have excellent congregations and very good responses. A Christian Association has just been formed for supplying wants of different kinds. I am Chairman of a Committee for the Procuring and Distributing Religious Reading. We have ascertained that about 300 Bibles & 200 Prayer Books are wanted in the Barracks, and have written to several persons soliciting contributions. We were thrown into a good deal of excitement a day or two since, by a sentinel ordering an officer engaged in no more obnoxious pursuit than reading aloud a newspaper just rec'd, to mark time at the point of his bayonet. The officer in charge of the camp Lt. Wolfe, being sent for rebuked the soldier severely, punished him and released the officer with an apology. This scoundrel was a deserter from N. Carolina.

The weather for the past few weeks has been excessively hot and dry. No rain with the exception of two days for nearly a month.

Monday Aug 8th. Still excessively hot. The Surgeons and Chaplains left yesterday on exchange. Services yesterday as usual. Heard from Cousin Mary on Saturday. She has expressed to me a box of provisions. Rec'd a box from Mr. Clay, containing boots, hat, carpet bag, and a fine variety of vegetables—potatoes, onions, beets, apples, cabbage &c all very acceptable. Wrote home yesterday by the Surgeons.

Sunday August 21st. From date of last entry up to a week since the monotony of our life was not broken by anything worth recording. But the past week has been one of unusual excitement. First came the announcement that 600 of us were to be sent to Charleston for—something but whether for retaliation or exchange was not so clear. Most of us however, seemed to think it a sure road to Dixie—and those whose names were

²⁷ Colonel John L. Cantwell, Fifty-first North Carolina Infantry. Moore, Roster of

North Carolina Troops, III, 448.

²⁸ W. B. Baird is recorded as a member of the Christian Association of Fort Delaware. The manuscript records (July, 1864-1865) of this association, also called the Confederate States Christian Association for the Relief of Prisoners, are housed in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, and will hereinafter be cited as Christian Association, Minutes. They include a list of members, constitution and bylaws, and minutes of meetings. Some of them were published in Handy, United States Bonds, 625-632.

selected were deemed lucky. It was expected that they were to leave immediately, but day after day has passed and not until today did they leave us.29

Sunday August 22. Prisoners here decidedly "come to grief." During the past week two orders have been posted materially affecting our interests. The first forbid all correspondence except with immediate relatives. This is in army parlance easily "flanked." Many a newly found "sister" has brought joy to the hearts of the rebels. But the next is a more serious matter. We are to receive no more boxes &c from our friends in retaliation it is said for the treatment of Yankee prisoners in the South. But the "unkindest cut of all" is the shutting up of the Sutler. He has "closed doors" and left us to mourn.

Sunday Aug 29. The Sutler has opened! But alas, only to sell needles pins thread stationery, &c &c. But we live in hopes that Yankee cupidity will yet evade the order and let us have something to eat. Received letters from several friends all regretting that the recent order prevents their supplying my wants. They cant be more sorry than I am. This order came a little too soon for my mess. A few days more and we should have received a sufficient supply for some months. As it is we have a pretty good stock of tea sugar coffee &c &c which will last for some time and as the rations issued to us have materially improved of late we manage still very well. We buy milk every morning, a pretty good article with not much water in it.

We have just received a large awning made of a second hand sail, a present from a gentleman in Philadelphia, for holding our daily prayer meetings³⁰ It is very convenient and is daily filled to overflowing & a goodly crowd outside. Our services have been regularly attended and the effect is very encouraging. We used to hold service in one of the divisions, and the lack of room was a serious drawback. We have received two accessions to our numbers, the first crowd numbering over 100 arrived four days ago. They consist of captures from all parts of the army for the last two months.

This is in gratifying contrast to the large number of us arriving at this delightful retreat during the early part of the campaign, The other batch of eight came in last night. These officers report all right in Dixie.

Sept 14. I have recently received 3 letters from Uncle Richard containing \$5-\$5- & \$4 respectively. Total \$14. Recent orders almost entirely prevent me from writing. I have heard of late from Miss Gibson and Maj. Lewis.

The Christian Association raised \$35 which was sent to Mrs. A. W. Emley of Philadelphia for the purchase of an awning, but a man named Demilt of New York presented a sail and Mrs. Emley returned the money. Christian Association, Minutes, August 2, 26, 1864; and Handy, *United States Bonds*, 624-625.

²⁹ These officers were not to be exchanged but were to be carried to Morris Island in Charleston Harbor and placed under the fire of Confederate guns in retaliation for treatment of fifty Federal officers who were sent to Charleston to be exposed to fire as a possible deterrent against the shelling of the city. Official Records, Series II, VII, 185, 216-217, 567-568.

Yankee rascality has certainly reached its climax. In direct violation of the order from the Yankee Sec. of War our Sutler is selling us eatables and other contraband articles and charging us extra prices for the risk!!!! Of course this could not go on without the consent of Gen. Schoepf.³¹ Sugar quoted in newspapers at 20 cts sold before the order referred to at 40 cts and now at 60 cts. Ham 20-30 & 45. Paper \$1.00 per quire—just double—other things in proportion. Average profit 200 per cent.

On Saturday last 26 citizens arrested in Loudon Co. Va arrived here, amongst them Gen. Asa Rogers, Rev. Mr. Kinsolving of the Episcopal Ch. & Rev. Mr. Harris, Baptist ³² There are no charges against these persons except perhaps the vague one of being bushwhackers. They are probably held as hostages for citizens alleged to be confined in Richmond. How long!

oh how long!

The weather is becoming very unfavorable for our comfort. Dull, gloomy days, a good deal of rain, and an atmosphere too cool and damp to allow our barn like barracks to be very comfortable abodes. Just such weather as would make a comfortable parlor, a good fire and pleasant society enjoyable. We are all in hopes still of an exchange ere the real cold weather sets in, though recent political developements in the North indicate that Lincoln will succeed in being re-elected without any such concession to the people as an exchange. Of course he will never let us go if he is not compelled to do so by popular clamor, for it would be equal to giving us so many men to fight our battles while the time of most of his men prisoners in the South has expired. Consequently he has no further use for them.

A most excellent institution here is our "Christian Association." Had it not been for the recent restrictions imposed upon us this Association would have been the means of great good in every imaginable way. Its various committees were ascertaining and taking measures to supply by soliciting contributions from those persons who have been in the habit of supplying the wants of prisoners upon application, the various wants of all the prisoners. The Com. of wh. I am Chm. had already rec'd and distributed a large number of Bibles, Prayer books &c when our labors were almost entirely stopped by the order referred. Through much of its usefulness has thus been lost, it is still a source of interest and of good to its various members as our situation here enables it to attend to many matters of use to us. The Educational Committee, the Committee on Devotional Exercises and others of like character have still work to do. Much of the success of the Association is due to the energy and labors of its President Rev. Dr. Handy. This gentleman a victim of Federal oppression has been imprisoned here for more than 14 months for I may say no cause just or unjust. He has labored most faithfully and has done much good amongst his fellow

22 Reverend Ovid A. Kinsolving and Reverend George A. Harris. Handy, United States

Bonds, 548.

⁸¹ General Albin Schoepf of Maryland, a native of Hungary, was the commanding officer at Fort Delaware. At the outbreak of the war he was a clerk, or draughtsman, engaged in the Federal Coast Survey of North Carolina. Shotwell hated him, but he was fairly well liked by some of the prisoners, to whom he represented himself as one powerless to make orders from above more lenient. Handy called him "a man of humane feelings but coarse in manner, and of variable temperament." Handy, *United States Bonds*, 28, 115-116; Hamilton, *Shotwell Papers*, II, 169, and passim.

prisoners. He has preached more than 300 sermons since his imprisonment.33

Monday Sept 26. One of those changes in our prison discipline, which come upon us like changes in the weather, without any apparent cause, sometimes for the better, and at others for the worse—has just occurred. this time for the better. We have been unofficially informed that our correspondence will now be subject to no restraint save the old standard ones of examination and limitation to one page, excluding public matters. We are allowed too to receive clothing by special permit, the value of which privilege the increasing coolness of the weather warns us to appreciate. Yesterday was a blustering cold, windy day. Dr. Handy preached in one of the Divisions in the forenoon & Rev. Mr. Kinsolving read service in the Afternoon & Mr. Harris preached at night.

I have neglected chronicling the departure a week since of 26 of our number, wounded men for Richmond, in Exchange. With many others I availed myself of the opportunity to write home. I have also written during the last day or two to all of my friends announcing the opportunity afforded of renewing our correspondence. Have recently received letters from home and from Mrs. Maigne as late dates as the 10th Inst. Write home again today. Am engaged in reading "History of the Reformation" by D'Aubigné; studying "Evidences of Christianity" by Alexander under Dr. Handy. I have also been reading several little Manuals setting forth the Doctrine and Discipline of the Roman Catholic Church. We are all

rather blue over the news from Early and Sheridan.34

Tuesday, Oct. 18. Three weeks since my last entry. Well should I forget the few incidents of this time it would not much matter—except one or two. But in all they are not so many that there is much danger of their being forgotten. But after all I find on reflection that this period has served to alter the complexion of several incidents chronicled in the preceding pages. On the 1st Inst a sudden change in the weather took place. It became (for the season) intensely cold, or so it seemed to us with our insufficient bed covering, open barn like habitations and scant clothing. It was the first taste of real winter that we have had, and until we became accustomed to the change it was very unpleasant. It have gradually become milder, and we now have bright soft days and clear sharp, cool nights. The Divisions have been put upon a "winter footing" and by the closing of the open space in the roof left for ventilation and stoves are now being introduced. One stove, however large, will not however be sufficient to make us comfortable. I have taken to myself a new messmate who had a straw "tick" and plenty of blankets, so that we shall sleep warm at all events which is a great point gained.

One very important event has occurred quite recently in our midst. Last Thursday Dr. Handy left us, his Exchange having been finally effected for

³³ Reverend Isaac William Ker Handy was a Presbyterian minister of Portsmouth, Virginia, who was arrested while visiting in Delaware for remarks he made about the United States flag. Handy, *United States Bonds*, 5-9.

Early had been driven up the Shenandoah Valley by Sheridan and was defeated at Fisher's Hill.

a West Virginian named Culbertson.³⁵ He will be very much missed, for his labors have been the source of much good here. At the meeting of the Christian Association last Saturday suitable resolutions were introduced

and adopted in reference to this event.

We have for the past few weeks been having Morning instead of the Afternoon Service on Sunday read by Mr. Kinsolving in one of the Divisions. Owing to the coolness of the weather, the awning has been taken down and all prayer meetings are held in the Divisions alternately. Last Saturday week a very important recommendation passed the Christian Association, recommending that each of the Divisions have Family Prayers each evening, and a committee was appointed to confer with the chiefs of the divisions. The auspicious result has been that now Prayers are held nightly, in all the Divisions by unanimous consent of the officers. If the Association had never done any other good this would repay all the trouble of forming the Association.

In consequence of the increasing coolness of the weather, the awning has been taken down & put away and prayer meetings &c are nightly held in

each of the Divisions alternately.

Friday, Oct 21—A month ago we were all blue, very blue, about affairs generally. A more cheerful hue now pervades the prison. Recent military events look encouraging. I do not wish to make my diary an epitome of the news of the day, but this period may well be noticed as one of expectancy cheerful expectancy generally. The news from Price is glorious so far. Hood so far as the ambiguous dispatches show is doing good work in Sherman's rear,³⁶ and we have just heard of the fight between Longstreet & Sheridan claimed it is true in the final result as a Federal victory. This may be so, but certainly meets with few believers amongst Confederate Prisoners, who are exceedingly sceptical on the subject of Yankee news.

I believe that I have entirely omitted one feature of the "Christian Association." This is the inauguration about a month since of a series of addresses from officers invited by the Com. on Education to address the Association. Capt. Sturdivant of Va.³⁷ delivered the first address, Gen. Vance,³⁸ the second, and last week Capt. Seaton Gales³⁹ of Gen. Ramseurs staff delivered the third. All these lectures bore more or less directly, upon the subject of Moral Progress. Capt. Gales address was specially worthy of note. Taking into consideration the circumstances under which it was pre-

³⁸ Brigadier General Robert B. Vance, commanding the Military District of Western North Carolina, was captured in the winter of 1864, while engaged in a movement in Tennessee. Handy, United States Bonds, 359-360; Clark, Histories of the North Carolina Regiments, IV, 379-380, 463.

See Major Seaton Gales, Assistant Adjutant General, Cox's Brigade, Second North

Carolina Infantry, who was captured at the Battle of Fisher's Hill. Clark, Histories of the North Carolina Regiments, IV, 463.

³⁶ Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton had consented to release Handy in exchange for John P. Culbertson. *Official Records*, Series II, VII, 849-850.

³⁶ Sterling Price was actively engaged in Missouri; Hood had raided Sherman's com-

munications and begun the Tennessee campaign.

Start Captain N. A. Sturdivant, Boggs' Virginia Artillery, was captured June 15, 1864, at Petersburg, Virginia. Roster of Confederate Soldiers of Virginia (manuscript), Virginia State Library, Richmond, hereinafter cited as Virginia Roster of Confederate Soldiers.

pared (if *prepared* at all) and delivered, with no quiet, no books, it was remarkable. It was a beautiful production. Its tone elevated and its matter pure. I have received a letter from Uncle Richard enclosing \$5. I hear still with tolerable regularity from most of my correspondents.

Last week 116 officers left on Exchange—sick & convalescent. It is worthy of note that while some few really sick were left a large number were as well as could be. Most of them got off by bribing the Yankee Sergeants. Some paid \$100—some \$50—and so on—the highest price having the best chance—and first. We hear that 12 of these however, failed to pass the board at Pt. Lookout and were retained there. This can only be accounted for on the supposition that their money gave out. I wrote home by these officers—by one of them Capt. Chinn of La.—to Aunt Anne. Capt. C. owned and took with him the copy of D'Aubigné that I was reading, thus stopping my search after knowledge in that direction. I am now reading Gibbon & Pope. Weather still bright & cool nights. Warm days.

Sunday November 6, 1864. Last night we had ice for the first time. A new squad left for the South a few days since and I deemed it fortunate that among them were persons going to those parts of the South where I have friends. Capt Sharp expects to go to Windsor. 40 I sent messages & letters home by him. Capt Sturdivant promised to see my cousins in Petersburg, whom it seems, he knows very well, and bear them tidings of me. On the first of the month stoves were put up in all the divisions. They are fine large ones and we have plenty of coal to burn in them. The upper bunks are particularly warm of course, on mild days too warm. These Yankees are a queer mixture. The great trouble about their treatment of prisoners is that they have no system everything being left to the disposition of those officers immediately in charge. They are so mendacious and deceitful that orders from their own superiors are not obeyed. If we complain of anything, the unfailing answer is that the Order is still more severe than their practice and that they are thus kinder than they ought to be. A day or two since they had a general examination of our blankets and took from us all but one each of U.S. blankets, and allowed each one to retain any private blankets they may have. I learn that there are many privates entirely without covering and they must suffer greatly this winter. There is no excuse for such retaliation as this. It must be plain to them that the Confederate government is unable to supply its prisoners with blankets, as its soldiers have not even a supply.

Conducted prayer meeting last night, and attended service this morning as usual.

Received this week from Mr. Southgate \$25 & the promise of the same Am't soon in answer to my application and \$20 from Benton & Sons.

Have sent letters to Mrs. Palfrey & Miss Gibson for clothing. It is strange that Mr. Clay has never replied to my letters on this subject. Received some days ago an impudent letter from Norcross & Sheets refusing me any aid, as I was a rebel and did not deserve any.

Received \$25 from Mr. S. \$50 in all recently.

^{**} Captain William Sharp, Company D, Fifty-ninth North Carolina Cavalry, who was captured at Gettysburg. Moore, Roster of North Carolina Troops, III, 661.

Tuesday Nov 15, 1864. Heard Yesterday from Mrs. P. saying that my permit had been rec'd and box would be started immediately, but that the overcoat was marked off. What this may mean I cannot imagine. We have heretofore been allowed to receive overcoats but now that we most need them they are interdicted. It has become quite cold but the stoves keep the rooms quite warm. Rec'd Seddins ferrotype a new name for a new style of likenesses.41 I am getting quite anxious to hear from home again. Poor old Plymouth has I see been retaken by the enemy.⁴² We have about gotten over the shock of Lincoln's reelection, and made up our minds to indefinite war & imprisonment. Nevertheless exchange rumors prevail but I dont believe a word of them.

Saturday, Dec 10th 1864 Nearly a month has elapsed since my last entry—a period unmarked by anything unusual to break the routine of our life. The enemy has made no demonstrations upon our peace and confort since the raid upon the blankets; every day sees the same quantity of false reports, technically termed "grape," come into existence, mostly relative to exchange, and die out almost as soon as uttered. The rations have become if anything a little worse—several days no meat for dinner—and recently very little fresh beef has been issued, rusty pork or rustier corned beef taking its place. My correspondence continues unabated, a letter or more coming for me nearly every day. I have received from Mrs. P. Shirts, Pantaloons, Drawers, Over-Shirts, Hdkfs & Shoes. Part of these things Col. Benton furnished—the remainder Mrs. P. makes me a present of. Miss Gibson has sent me two very nice flannel over shirts. I am still trying to

procure a permit to get my overcoat.

Mr. Kinsolving has been in the hospital for a few days and Sunday before last in his absence I read service, and the Sunday before assisted him in reading. Have received \$5 from Uncle Richard since last entry. Rec'd a letter a week since from L. W. Hixon of Lowell a classmate of Brabble's enquiring as to the truth of the report of the latters death and asking for particulars if true.43 I replied, and today rec'd a second letter from him expressing his regret and conveying a very feeling tribute to his worth, which I shall take good care of for the sake of his (B's) family. My time is more than ever occupied with reading. I have recently read Kirks Charles the Bold, part of Calvin Institutes and several novels. No news from home since Sept 2. The Christian Association is doing pretty well, though its usefulness is sadly limited by the restrictions upon our receiving supplies &c. Last Night an interesting report was read by a member of the Com. on the state of the Church, giving a history of religious progress amongst us from the coming here of the first prisoners in the early spring, up to the end of June. I must not omit a notice of the celebration of the Holy Communion by Rev'd Mr. Kinsolving in Div. 22, three weeks ago tomorrow.

A positive photograph made by a collodion process on a thin iron plate, having a darkened surface.

Plymouth, North Carolina, was retaken by Federal troops after the destruction of the "Albemarle," October 27, 1864. Richard Rush, and Others (eds.), Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion (Washington, D. C.: Naval War Records Office, 30 volumes, 1894-1914), Series I, X, 610-624.

**Colonel Edmund C. Brabble, Thirty-second North Carolina Infantry, was killed, May 10, 1864, at Spotsylvania Court House. Moore, Roster of North Carolina Troops, II, 570.

About 50 persons communed. I was very unwell, having caught cold the day previous, but was enabled to attend, but was confined to my bunk & blankets for the next two days—about the only illness I have been visited with since my imprisonment. Mrs. P. sent me several interesting books Collections for the Curious and some half dozen pretty good modern novels. The first snow of the season fell last night and is rapidly melting today. It has been very cold for 2 days past, but is moderating.

Tuesday Dec. 20, 1864. Weather for the past few days mild, damp & wet. Colder and clear to-day. We are all very blue over the news from Hood & Sherman.⁴⁴ What *is* the end to be! I began today to take French Lessons under Col. Hooper of Ga.⁴⁵ On the 18th a large number, about 70, of officers came in, among them Lt. P. H. Winston, Jr. of the 11th Regt formerly Sgt Major of the 32d.⁴⁶ He brings me news from home as late as Oct. 15. All well then. Permits have again been stopped, I *suppose* because a large quantity of clothing from the Confederate government is expected here soon. The estimates has already been furnished for this clothing.

Sunday, Dec. 25, 1864 Christmas Day at Fort Delaware! The fourth one away from home, three a soldier in the field, the fourth a prisoner! Will yet another see this state of things? I pray not. A bright and beautiful day, though clouding up in the afternoon. Mr. Kinsolving read the service in this Div. (25) this morning. We made our Christmas dinner of a can of Tomatoes and a bread & molasses pudding. The Yankees gave us a double ration of bread for breakfast—just about the quantity they ought to give every day. They did the same generous deed on Thanksgiving day. We are all gloomy enough over the news from Sherman and Hood, Rec'd \$10 from Uncle R.

Tuesday Jan 10, 1865 A New Year entry certainly ought to have graced (?) my pages. But let this be instead thereof. Still no news from home. A very short line and easy to write, but expressing how much of anxiety and sickness of heart! The Christian Ass'n has elected officers for the next three mos. Gen Vance, Pres't & myself to the office of Recdg Secy. General Rogers has gone to Richmond to effect the exchange of his party & in the mean time Mr. Kinsolving has found a more comfortable place than the barracks at the hospital where he nominally assists Mr. Paddock Hospital Chaplain in his duties.⁴⁷ The weather is very changeable alternate freeze & thaw, rain and sunshine. We are very comfortable (my chum and I) having fixed up our share of the third story shelf that we occupy quite snugly. I am occupying myself quite closely with my studies having been at last enabled to devote my time pretty constantly to them—a great difficulty at first. I generally rise at 8, (all our time being regulated by guess) cook

[&]quot;Sherman had marched to Savannah, December 1-14; Hood had been defeated at Nashville, December 1-16.

⁴⁵ Colonel T. W. Hooper. Christian Association, Minutes, October 25, 1864.

⁴⁶ Lieutenant Patrick Henry Winston, Jr., Company C, Eleventh North Carolina Infantry, was from Bertie County. Moore, Roster of North Carolina Troops, I, 384.

⁴⁷ Reverend William H. Paddock, was Federal Chaplain at Fort Delaware. Handy, United States Bonds, 115, 126, 187-188, and passim.

& eat breakfast till 9—devotions one hour—till one occupied miscellaneously—then French till 3 p.m. including recitation. Dinner, cooking (my chum does the washing up) & eating till 4—exercise till 5, and History & whatever writing I have to do till 12. Am now reading Motleys Dutch Republic and D'Aubigné's "Reformation."

Wednesday Jan. 18, 1865 I have to record a sample of Yankee inconsistency today. I am very much vexed but have only the recording thereof upon these pages to comfort me. It seems that our quarters were not quite clean enough to suit the critical eye of Capt. Ahl lately so the Sergeants were sent to seize upon all the shelves, boxes, &c that they could find, thus depriving those of us most disposed to do so, of the means of keeping things clean and in order.48 We manged to conceal a good many boxes plank stools small tables &c under our floor, some of which were discovered. My corner just fixed up so snugly presented a sad scene. Sent message to Jno. Tucker by surgeons leaving today on exchange [evidently written in afterward] Everything tumbled down on the floor & the shelves on wh. they ought to have been hid beneath the planks of the Division Floor. I have gotten things somewhat straight again, after the loss of two or three days time but how long our friends will allow them to remain so, is still to be seen. They yow that they are determined to make us keep clean, so today we have had a grand scouring. I learn that Gen Rogers and Revd Mr. Kinsolving have obtained for themselves an unconditional release from the Prest. I have received this week from Mrs. Palfrey a package containing overcoat, hat, knife, books, chessmen, &c &c &c. From Uncle Richard \$5. From Dr. S. W. Hixon Lowell \$3. We are having some of the coldest weather yet felt this winter. The river as far as we can see it is full of floating ice. The current is so strong when the tide ebbs & flows that it cannot remain frozen entirely across. Last night Capt Gales gave us another lecture on the "Influence of Woman," the only fault which was that it was too short. There is to be a debate tonight in 22—subject an old one "Form of Government which is preferable? Monarchy or Republicanism." This is the first thing of the kind attempted here. A new feature has been introduced into the regular meetings of the Chn Asson. A contribution from some member is read by the Secretary, or some member delivers a short address, or in the absence of both a selected article is read.

Wednesday Jan 25, 1865 I must record a bright day in my journal. In the language of the newspapers "4 months later from Home" 3 letters from Mary dated in Oct. one from the same in Nov. and one from "Sissie" H.⁴⁹ Dec. 27, giving the gratifying news that all are well. I feel indeed thankful that my dear ones so far have been mercifully spared, and it gives me renewed hope that the same Providence that has been thus so kind will enable us to meet again on earth.

Strange that no letters come from Windsor. Mary sends me Mrs. Smith's

11, 169.

40 His sister, Harriet Sophia Boyle, born in 1841, who married Brinkley C. Howell in 1871. Baptismal and marriage records (manuscript), Grace Church, Plymouth,

⁴⁸ Captain George W. Ahl, Assistant Adjutant and Inspecting Officer, Fort Delaware. He exerted more authority over the prisoners than General Schoepf and was hated by them. Official Records, Series II, VII and VIII, passim; Hamilton, Shotwell Papers, II, 169.

address to whom I have just written. The papers speak of an unprecedented rise on the Roanoke said to be eight inches higher than ever before. Received a small dictionary from Cousin Mary.

I have just been for three days to the hospital and have had enough of that institution. A feast on what under other circumstances would have been a very harmless dish, viz. fried potatoes brought on a violent fit of indigestion on Friday last and on Sunday I was obliged to go to the Hospital. A timely course of medicine prevented any further ill effects and after a few days dieting I today returned to my quarters, very glad to get back to them, though in a prison. Everything it seems is only bad or good by comparison. The Hospital arrangements on this Island are in many respects, good, but the supply of food is entirely insufficient for many patients. Convalescents and men with wounds that rapidly exhaust the system are in common with those who require less, fed upon \(\frac{3}{4} \) of a pound loaf per day or 3 slices of said loaf, very light, spongy, innutritious and dry, and a few mouthfuls of unsweetened coffee at breakfast, a cup of thin, very thin soup at dinner, and at night a cup of gruel. During my three days stay this was all the patients on full diet received, except once a small piece of cold beef & twice a very small quantity of mush (one time with about a spoonful of molasses upon it.) The patients must stay in bed from 9 p.m. till six a.m. although in my narrow iron bedstead I was nearly frozen. The wards are kept very clean and are under rigid discipline. Each ward is warmed by 4 stoves (enough in ordinarily cold weather) and contain about 30 or 40 beds. On entering, each patient is required to strip off his clothing (which is bundled up, labeled and put away) and after bathing to put on clean cotton underclothing and under no circumstances is he allowed to resume any part of his outer clothing till he leaves the Hospital. This is not convenient to those who sit up, but perhaps for general health, desirable. The Barracks are much agitated with news flying round. First comes the fall of Fort Fisher to depress us,⁵⁰ then the flag of truce mail to cheer us, and now the rumors of exchanges, seemingly assuming a more definite form than ever, debates in Yankee Congress to retaliate upon us unfortunates, Peace negotiation, &c &c &c keep us in a perfect mist of doubt and speculation, & produce not a few warm arguments. While at Hospital I read an interesting book from the Library there, "Science a Witness for the Bible" by the Revd (Gen) W. N. Pendleton. Our French teacher has gone to the Hospital leaving us without recitations since Saturday Jan 21st. Since commencing we have before missed in all 5 recitations. At the last Asson meeting \$35 was raised to buy books for persons wishing to study & unable to purchase books, & about \$50 more have been raised throughout the barracks. Still very cold & plenty of snow.

Sunday Jan 29, 1865 I am suffering from a practical illustration of the proverb "Great oaks from little acorns grow." A few days since *rubbing* my instep produced a slight abrasion of the skin. It became soon inflamed and I am now a close prisoner to my bunk, being unable to bear my weight on my foot. Captain Dwight read since last Sunday in my absence and he

¹⁶⁰ Fort Fisher, guarding the last harbor open to blockade-running, fell on January 15, 1865.

again is reading this morning.⁵¹ Yesterday was an exceedingly cold day, the coldest so far this winter. Letters from home still come in shoals, but no late dates. 5 came yesterday. Received two books from Miss Lizzie H. Finish tomorrow the History of the Rise of the Dutch Republic, Lt. Bullitt delivered a very neat little address on Friday before the Ch. Asso. subject, Siege of Leyden.⁵² Wrote today to Mrs. Phillips, England, also wrote home.

Monday Jan 30, 1865 Commenced French again today. Am mainly engaged in preparing an address to be delivered befor the Assoc. next Friday week. Subject, "The Human Aspects of the Bible." Have been making a review of the style in wh. I have lived since a prisoner. During the first month at Point Lookout the purchase of underclothing, little conveniences for cooking & eating, and the indulging in such unaccustomed rarities as shown in the acct kept at the time caused my expenses to run up to \$60 per month. The month after reaching here we received a number of delicacis in boxes and only spent \$15. After Brand left & boxes were stopped, it cost \$30 per month of wh Barlow paid very little. Since messing with Maynadier, 53 we have averaged about \$25 or \$12½ each per month and intend for the future if prices do not rise to spend about \$10 each on mess expenses. It costs about \$4 per month each for tea, coffee & sugar. Our present bill of fare is pretty uniform, thus Breakfast, hash made of rations of beef & potatoes seasoned with onions & a cracker to thicken, and coffee. Dinner, either the ration plain with tea, or mush & molasses. For a rarity, toast at breakfast & a pudding made of bread and molasses at dinner. Very seldom do we have anything else. Sometimes, a slice of ham, a bit of cheese, or once in a long time a can of tomatoes or oysters for Christmas, birthday or the like. Weather decidedly milder. Foot still sore but improving. Several large boxes of blankets &c have been received for the needy and Cols. Maury⁵⁴ and Hooper are paroled to distribute this and what is expected from N. York Consequently French stops again Feb. 6.

Thursday Feb. 9, 1865 A heavy snow storm, rain, sleet, wind & thaw, and fine weather again is the record of the last few days.

We have had a period of unusual excitement, and with some cause. The peace negotiations, at least the first phase of them, are over, leaving some too sanguine ones very blue. But ere this was settled, came the startling announcement of a general exchange! Even those who had been victims of the peace mania were incredulous. But the authority is incontrovertible Gen. Schoepf told Col. Maury. If the Gen. be not indulging in the the favorite occupation of the Yankees, & if no new complication arises, we may hope to see "home sweet home" once more. We hear that 3,000 privates are already paroled & ready to leave.

⁵¹ Captain W. M. Dwight, Second Regiment, South Carolina Volunteers of Winnsboro, South Carolina. Autograph following Boyle diary.

52 Lieutenant Thomas W. Bullitt, Second Kentucky Cavalry, Morgan's command.

Autograph following Boyle diary.

Sa John Maynadier, Private, Company K, First Virginia Cavalry. Autograph following Boyle diary.

Lieutenant Colonel J. M. Maury served in the Virginia Artillery. Virginia Roster of Confederate Soldiers.

Sunday, Feb. 12, 1865. Read service in Div. 22, and a sermon by Bp Atkinson entitled What is Truth? A most unpleasant day the coldest of the winter, the wind blowing a gale and snowing the whole day most furiously. For a day or two past we have been entirely without water owing to some derangement of the machinery used to force it into the tanks, and have been compelled to thaw snow & ice and even to use the by no means clean water from the moats, impregnated with soap-suds &c. But the inconvenience has been too transient to annoy us much. The ground, owing to the high wind is nearly bare of snow, it being drifted in the corners in heaps. For the first time since being in prison I am out of money, though some being due on mess acc. and having some provisions on hand prevents me from feeling entirely destitute. Rec'd on Saturday a French Grammar and Wells Philosophy from Miss Hattie Fitch. Letters from home up to Jan 7. Heard also from my Petersburg cousins a day or two since. Have written home by the officers now waiting the breaking up of the ice to depart. Begun Robertson's Charles V, but the owner going South I have had to give it up. Shall begin D'Aubigné again. Have just read Dr. Ives Trials of a mind and am studying now Foster's Book-keeping.

Sunday Feb 19, 1865 We have had several days of warm rain and open pleasant weather alternately causing the ice to disappear from the river.

We are all much interested in this for the ice has prevented the boats coming for us to go on exchange. We are all much excited on this point of course. It is now said that orders have been received to parole all the prisoners on the island. The privates are still being paroled but none in the officers barracks except the small party already mentioned who have not yet left. We see accounts in the papers of our men passing from various prisons through Baltimore on their way to City Point, and of Yankees being returned for them. Exchange is the one engrossing topic. Some fear a sudden stop thereto even yet, while others are sanguine of an entire exchange. Certainly the pressure upon the Yankee government must be intense to cause them thus to recruit our armies. Am reading "D'Aubigne" & Philosophy.

Received \$5 again from Uncle Richard. Heard again from Miss Gibson. The Sutler shop has been open today in order, I suppose, to sell the more in expectation of our early departure. The barracks have been filled to their utmost capacity by frequent accessions of small parties. There are now about 1400 in these barracks. Heard again from home up to Jan 11th. The Sutler has been keeping flour for sale and making biscuits, etc. is all the

rage.

Monday, Feb 20, 1865 Excitement increasing. An order has just come in for all having watches or Confederate money in the hands of the authorities to come forward and get them. I recd a letter enclosing \$5 from Hixon this morning.

The weather is very pleasant. Just cool enough not to be unseasonable. It would almost seem to be the opening of Spring. Just such weather as we often have at home at this season. Read service yesterday in Div. 28. Two officers have been paroled to attend to the distribution of clothing,

blankets & tobacco, proceeds of the 1,000 bales of cotton sent by government from Mobile to New York. These goods are now here but not yet distributed.55

Saturday, Feb 25, 1865 Still fine, pleasant weather and still we wait in vain for the departure of the first batch of prisoners. We hear that they are leaving Johnstons Island in considerable numbers. This suspense is

worse than imprisonment.

We are anxiously waiting too for news from the South. So far as we know the aspect of things there looks badly for our cause. The only hope that any entertain is that Beauregard may turn upon and drive back Sherman.⁵⁶ Many have not even this hope. Disasters have come so thick upon as that before the mind has well received one, another comes to shock and stupify. Out of money for the 1st time in prison.

Sunday, Feb 26, 1865 A real Spring day. Bright and warm. Read service in Div. 34 this morning. All the Virginia citizens taken as hostages with Gen. Rogers some time since were taken out today and offered the oath. All but four or five took it. One of the gentlemen refusing to do so, tells me that he believes that the exchange of the whole party has been effected, and that this is a trick to induce the young men who would on reaching Richmond, be conscripted, to take the oath and to substitute in their places other citizens over age and therefore useless to our government. The paroled party after waiting all day are now positively informed that they leave to-morrow. I have sent letters home by Capt Dwight & to Cousin Jennie by Adjt Blackwell of Petersburg and also messages by Capt. Wolf. 57 The latter gentleman was an old acquaintance of my father during his residence in Petersburg, and though we have been imprisoned together since June last, he never knew of my paternity until I today requested him to call on my cousins. Heard yesterday from Mrs. Palfrey and Cousin Mary and rec'd \$25 from Benton & Sons. Sent messages to John Tucker and Mrs Maigne by Lt Southgate. Quite a number of my acquaintances leave in this boat. Met yesterday Maj. Taylor of Norfolk whom Cousin Mary has often mentioned.58

Monday Feb. 27th. Another beautiful day. Early this morning about 125 officers and 1300 men left on Exchange. It is now said that about 2000 per week will leave here till all are exchanged. At this rate it will take one month to get us all off.

⁵⁷ Captain James E. Wolff, Company B, Second Virginia Militia. Autograph follow-

⁵⁵ Cotton had been sent to New York via Mobile Bay to be sold for the purchase of uniforms and blankets for the use of Confederate prisoners, who had been deprived of all blankets except one each. Official Records, Series II, VIII, 241-242; Hamilton,

Shotwell Papers, II, 181-182.

Shotwell Papers, II, 181-182. his orders.

ing Boyle diary.

Sample Major Richard C. Taylor, who commanded a Virginia Artillery Battalion, was wounded and made prisoner at Fort Harrison, September 29, 1864. John W. H. Porter, Record of Events in Norfolk County, Va. (Portsmouth, Virginia: 1892), 31.

For some time past it has been impossible to read or to study. The constant excitement and suspense regarding our exchange, and the bad news from the South &c &c &c all has conspired to keep our minds in a state entirely unfit for doing anything. I play chess a good deal and loaf around to hear the latest "grape" the rest of the time. This is the general occupation.

Sunday March 5, 1865 Another bright and pleasant day. Some hard rain during the past week and yesterday a regular March wind. Two lots of officers are now paroled waiting for transports to take them off—about 200 in all; amongst them Lt. Bond who goes to the neighborhood in which Dr. Hardison lives.⁵⁹ As a good many Gettysburg prisoners are being taken, my time will probably come ere long. Have heard during the week from Uncle R. enclosing \$10-Cousin Fannie P. Mrs Palfrey enclosing photographs of Mrs. and Miss W. to be sent by me to Mr. Watson, and from Miss G. Met yesterday Capt Cherry captured in Jan. in Bertie⁶⁰ also Col. Clark captured Feb 5 at Dinwiddie C. H.61 Another officer from my regt. Lt Winston also just came here. Captured last Aug

Yesterday morning a young man whose bunk immediately adjoins mine, so close indeed that as we lie at night we touch, was taken to the hospital with the small pox broken out upon him. It is strange how indifferent one becomes to such risk when it is unavoidable. No one seems to mind seeing an officer lie in a crowded division containing over 100 men until the disease makes its appearance upon him, when he is leisurely removed to the hospital. This summer it has made its appearance all around me, but never quite so close before. Although hundreds of cases are treated here there have been very few deaths from this cause, only one or two officers that I have heard of. It is as wonderful as fortunate that it does not spread more than it does.

Wednesday, March 8th 1865 One lot of paroled officers left yesterday. Another is still waiting. It is said that a delay of a few days will now be made on account of the too great number accumulated at City Point. The remainder of the Loudon Co. citizens, including Messrs Harris, Gallaher⁶² &c. went off yesterday to Richmond Most of this party have taken the oath and gone home directly to avoid conscription in Richmond One of these, a sorry specimen Simmons by name, on refusing to be exchanged was severely threatened by some officers of his division with hanging, and finally they tossed him in a blanket and turned him out of doors. He complained to the Yankees, whereupon the three officers principally engaged in the affair, were taken out, severely reprimanded and then carried into the "pen" occupied by the "galvanized" or oath takers and tossed by them in a blanket by way of retaliation for half an hour.⁶³

⁵⁹ This may be Dr. Hardy Hardison who married Hannah Maria Boyle, December 13,

[&]quot;This may be Dr. Hardy Hardison who married Hannai Maria Boyle, December 13, 1842. Marriage records (manuscript), Grace Church, Plymouth.

"Captain J. O. Cherry, Company B, Fourth North Carolina Battalion (Cavalry). Moore, Roster of North Carolina Troops, IV, 244.

"Colonel William J. Clarke, Twenty-fourth North Carolina Infantry. Moore, Roster of North Carolina Troops, II, 288.

"F. L. Galleher. Handy, United States Bonds, 582.

"The "galvanized" term applied to those who not only took the oath of allegiance to

The weather is mild, soft and springlike.

I am reading "End of a controversy" by Milner, and Cardinal Wiseman's lectures, & have just finished D'Aubigné, Cobbetts' history of English Reformation, Pope and Maginnis Debates and have taken up French again. My foot has hardly become entirely well yet. It has been a very obstinate affair for so small a one.

Wednesday March 15, 1865 Last Sunday 450 officers arrived from South Carolina. They are the same that were sent from here last summer. Of the remaining 150 about 30 have died, 20 taken the oath and 100 been exchanged. Their sufferings have been awful. 64 By way of retaliation they were kept upon one pint of miserable wormy sour meal and pickles per day for 45 days. Some actually starved to death upon this diet. Many others have been afflicted with scurry in its worst form, some still dying from its effects, and all whom I have seen show their bad treatment plainly. At one time one-half their number were unable to rise from their beds. This diet was continued even after many had been sent to the hospital in little better than a dying condition. After reaching Hilton Head they were kept for three weeks on board ship below decks in a most filthy and horrible condition. They were then placed in a stockaded pen immediately under the guns of the Yankee battery. Besides being subject to the fire of friends, the Yankee gunners would cut the fuses of their shells short, so that they might explode over the stockade in which our men were confined. But very few casualties occurred. They were guarded by brutal negroes, who fired upon them several times. Part of the number were removed to Fort Pulaski and there kept all winter with no fire except for cooking, in damp casemates, very much crowded. One officer told me that he was locked up one night before he could cook his meal and so hungry was he that he mixed it with cold water and ate it so. All the cats were killed and eaten that they could catch, and one was eaten that had gnawed off the nose of a corpse in the dead house the night before. The condition of the meal can be imagined from the fact that one hundred and thirty worms were picked out of days rations (a pint) and the owner only stopped picking them for fear of thus losing his whole ration. They were finally sent to Norfolk whence they expected exchange, but were sent back here to take their turn, I suppose, according to the date of capture with the rest of us. Amongst the number returned here are all my old friends and acquaintances, Charley Brand my old messmate⁶⁵ Nat. Latham has returned to me my long letter to my mother and the one sent to Mrs. Hunter by Miss Hattie F. It is now said that the whole number will be speedily exchanged. There cannot be less than 1500 officers in these barracks. During the past week a large quantity of tobacco has been received here. Everybody is luxuriating in plenty of what has been so scarce. Individuals have from 20 to 150 lbs Heard from Miss G. today. The sutler who has been selling very inferior stuff at about \$3 per lb, offers the owners of this most of it a very excellent article, from the Federal government but also enlisted in the Federal army and wore its uniform.

They were not allowed to leave the island. Hamilton, Shotwell Papers, II, 155.

Their story is told in John J. Dunkle, Prison Life During the Rebellion (Singer's Glen, Virginia: 1869), 48.

⁶⁵ Lieutenant George C. Brand of Holly Springs, Missouri. Handy, United States Bonds, 643.

50 cts to \$1 per lb. and as some of the owners are almost paroled they must sell at these rates or lose it altogether. If we were going to remain here any length of time, the sutler would not get any of it. Said sutler has come down in the tariff of prices on account, he says, of the fall of gold. Butter 60 cts instead of 90, sugar 50 vice 60, coffee \$1 vice 120, other articles about the same as before. He has stopped keeping meal and flour and sells instead small loaves of bread at 10 cts each. A good change for him. I have received \$20 in two instalments from Uncle Richard.

Thursday March 16, 1865 Lt Shank who was taken from the next bunk with small-pox is nearly dead. His life is despaired of. His case was of the worst kind, called black smallpox, and if he recovers, or rather if he has recovered (for he may be already dead) it will be the first case of the kind that has been successfully treated here. Heard again from Lidden. She has been quite sick for some time past. She says that Mr. M. has continued to send me papers regularly, but I have received none. I get very few letters or papers now, as my friends doubtless think that I am exchanged or will be very soon. We had a violent storm last night of wind hail & rain.

Sunday March 19, 1865 Poor Shank died yesterday. This will be sad news for his young wife. He was one of those quiet, modest and yet upright natures so rarely seen in the world. The man next him on the other side has gone out today to the hospital; whether he has smallpox or not does not yet appear. This is a charming day. Indeed this has been a most remarkable March. It is like May at home. Read service this morning, quite a large number attended, many more than for some past. Tomorrow we are to move out for whitewashing. We have not been troubled by our guardians for some time in this way or indeed in any other. An order has been issued prohibiting the owners from selling their tobacco. Why does not appear.

Saturday April 1st 1865 A cool windy day. During the past week we have had real March weather but the rest of the month was like May. Yesterday about 100 more officers came in, mostly Fort Steadman captures.⁶⁷ One officer from the 32d Lt Mitchell ⁶⁸ among them and several from the Brigade. Major Demill was also in this arrival.⁶⁹ He was captured at Greenville in Feb. by a raiding party. He has taken the place next me vacated by Lt Shanks death. Another officer Capt Sellers of Kentucky has gone to the hospital with smallpox. He lay just on the other side of Lt Shank. This makes three cases in this little corner, why the rest of us do

⁶⁶ Gabriel Shank, Ensign, Tenth Virginia Infantry, of Harrisonburg, Virginia, Autograph following Boyle diary.

⁶⁷ Fort Stedman was a square earthwork located east of Petersburg. The Confederates made an unsuccessful attempt to break the Federal lines here and open a way to send aid to General Johnston on March 25, 1865. Many prisoners were taken. Philip Van Doren Stern, An End to Valor (Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958), 62-81.

<sup>62-81.

&</sup>lt;sup>®</sup> Lieutenant John H. Mitchell, Company G, Thirty-second North Carolina Infantry, was from Bertie County. Moore, Roster of North Carolina Troops, II, 588.

⁶⁰ Major William E. Demill was received as an active member of the Christian Association on April 7, 1865. Christian Association, Minutes.

not have it is indeed incomprehensible. These barracks are now very much crowded. There are over 1800 officers in 16 rooms or Divisions, averaging in size 50 x 20. Each man has a space 6 X 2 for lying, sitting & everything in fact, besides the use of the floor between the bunks 8 X 50 in common with 130 others. We held last night our election for the next three months for officers of the Ch. Association. I was elected 1st Vice President. An organization of officers have of late been giving concerts in the mess hall, the proceeds for the benefit of sick & destitute officers. 2 concerts have already been given, at the first about \$100 were raised.

Wednesday, April 5, 1865 The fall of Richmond. This is of course the all engrossing topic now. Many and varied are the comments, need I say that they are generally of a desponding character? Further news is anxiously looked for by all.

I rec'd yesterday letters—one from home Feb. 14, the first for some time and from Mrs. Palfrey enclosing two photographs of herself, one for me the other for Mr. P. The weather is still bright and pleasant.

Received \$10 from Mr. Clay \$5 of it sent by Mr. Bolton. Heard from Hixon again. The weather is cool rainy and gloomy in good accord with the news. Everybody is discussing our prospects and it is impossible to do any studying.

Wednesday April 12th 1865 The news of the surrender of Gen. Lee's army falls like a clap of thunder upon us—even those who feared and expected this thing are astonished, even stupefied, at the terrible news. Though a *very* few affect to consider that there is still some hope for our cause they can neither deceive themselves nor any one else. Gen Lee was the last hope—with him goes everything. An order has just been posted allowing us to send again for boxes of provisions &c, the whole permit system has been abandoned. This is a great help to us. Prison is now almost unendurable. We feel that there is no use remaining here longer than we can help.

Sunday (Easter) April 16, 1865 Major Demill read the service for us in Div. 23. Quite a large number attended. The sad fate of President Lincoln affects us greatly, but though I trust we all feel proper abhorrence for the deed the principal cause of our feeling the matter so strongly is the question of how it will affect us. Of the results of the change from Lincoln to Johnston for the country generally I have here [no] room to speak. The effect in prison is already marked. Our mails are stopped, the newly restored privilege of receiving supplies from friends taken away, the arrangement by which some of us received ready cooked meals from the Sergeant of the kitchen broken up, and on the days the news was received orders were issued to fire upon anyone who expressed satisfaction at the news.⁷⁰ The prevailing impression however is that by degrees things will

⁷⁰ Rich says, "Not a sound of exultation was heard, not a word commendatory of the act was ever even whispered." Rich, *Comrades Four*, 179-180. Shotwell says, "The general feeling among the prisoners is sincere regret." Hamilton, *Shotwell Papers*, II, 196.

resume their accustomed routine. What is of more importance than all else there is now no hope of effecting our release on parole or even on oath of allegiance until perfect peace shall have been restored, and when that will be there's no telling. I find it very difficult to pay attention to anything—even to my daily French lesson—the grand interest is in hunting up news, which is very scarce as newspapers are interdicted.

Sunday April 23, 1865 Read the service to-day. I have at last finished Cardinal Wisemans lectures. It has been very hard (and still is) to attend to anything except a newspaper or a novel. My state of mind is indeed an unenviable one. The Sutler shop has been moved and enlarged, the barracks of the "galvanized" men emptied of their occupants and turned into ours giving us additional room, wh would be very desirable, did it not indicate that we are not to be released for some time to come, and everything concurs to show that our day of deliverance is not yet. The mail and other privileges are being restored and things assuming their normal routine.

Sunday April 30, 1865 An important week has just passed. Last Sunday all the field and Staff officers were removed to the barracks formerly occupied by men under probation to take the oath. These had been thoroughly cleaned and the men removed to the privates barracks. Being less crowded and off somewhat from the rest they are cool and quiet. This page must contradict the last. Much sooner than I or anyone here had anticipated, the offer to the prisoners of the amnesty oath has been made. The privates accepted it en masse there being out of the whole number, say 6,000, not more than a dozen refusing and these last are said to have at last yielded, and out of about 2,000 officers 1680 is said to be the exact number applying. Many refused when publicly called on, but sent in their names afterwards. Yesterday we heard of Johnstons surrender of all the troops east of the Chattahoochee. Thus end the Confederacy! We hope to leave now in a very short time. On Thursday 300 officers, amongst them Maj. Lewis and my old orderly Sgt of the Macon Vols Irving reached here⁷¹ They were sent for exchange from Johnstons Island, stopped about a month at Pt. Lookout on acc of active operations commencing at Petersburg, and now sent here. I have recently heard from Mrs. Palfrey, Uncle Richard, & Hixon. Major Demill and I now mess together, as my old chum Maynadier had to remain in the upper barracks.

May 4. Mrs. Palfrey sent me a box of provisions some time since which has doubtless been confiscated as it has never been delivered. Received from Mr. Clay \$25, \$15 from Mr. B. and \$10 from himself. Another opportunity has been given to take the oath and only 160 refuse to do so—of these 60 have petitioned since to be allowed to take it.

Sunday May 6, 1865 A pleasant day. Col. Clarke & Maj Demill read service in this Div. to a large congregation. We have had during the past

Thirty-second North Carolina Infantry. Moore, Roster of North Carolina Troops, II, 586.

week several very cool unpleasant and rainy days. No definite news yet of release—this suspense is very trying. Everyone admits that during the past week they have suffered more than during years of imprisonment We all anxiously await news that has not yet come. The Minstrels gave their last concert on Friday evening last. I have written to my correspondents not to write again, but I fear I have been too sanguine.

Sunday May 21, 1865 Contrary to all expectation no general release has taken place yet through special ones are of every day occurence. The past fortnight has been a miserable one, the weather rainy and hot alternately, but worse than all this constant state of expectancy. Read service today in Div 38.

[The diary ends here abruptly. Autographs of some of the other prisoners appear on the remaining leaves of the book]⁷²

⁷² Field officers were not all released until July 25, 1865. Official Records, Series II, VIII, 714.

Book Reviews

A Collection of Many Christian Experiences. By Clement Hall, with an Introduction by William S. Powell. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History. 1961. 25, 53. \$2.00.)

This is the first nonlegal book printed in North Carolina, written by the Reverend Clement Hall, an Episcopal minister of the early Colo-

nial period in North Carolina.

The introduction, pages 1-25, by contemporary William S. Powell, is a commentary on the author and his work, as far as there is extant material. The original book by Hall, pages 26-53, a reprint of the work by James Davis, New Bern, who established his print shop in 1749, first

appeared in 1753.

Hall was a missionary in eastern North Carolina for the Established Church of England, of which country he seems to have been a native. He saw difficult times as to travel (2,200 miles a year on horseback), labored against odds (scattered population, absence of churches, ignorance of the people, opposition), and sustained loss (specifically the destruction of his home in 1755 by fire). His extraordinary ministry is epitomized in the fact that he baptized 10,000 persons in the thirteen years of his ministry, i.e., between 1745 and 1758.

The brief volume by Hall contains "a Collection of Many Christian Experiences, Sentences, and Several Places of Scripture Improved. . . .) After a short Preface, addressed "To the Candid Reader," there follows the "Miscellaneous Collection . . ." which is a "Book of Proverbs" or "Poor Richard's Sayings." These are wise observations, deeply religious in character, and often supported by Scripture. The "sayings" urge discipline and reflect rigorousness, yet are not without "the quality of mercy," and sometimes remotely provide humor, as is indicated in the aphorism:

"'Tis better to have a Wife without a Portion, than a Portion

without a Wife. A meer Help."

The second part of the book is entitled, "Serious Advice to Persons Who Have been SICK; With a Thanksgiving for RECOVERY." This is a treatise in depth though short, in which the author with great tenderness, if firmness, holds that sickness is a symbol of death for sin; that the merciful God is the physician who heals when "the Eye is chiefly upon" Him. Sickness should result in reflection upon the one's former

state of disinterest in spiritual matters and the consideration of "the Goodness and Mercy of God." Recuperation should effect reformation of character and industry in regard to the "precious Talent of Time."

Sickness is "Chastisement of a tender Father," intended to bring His

children to His ways which eventually lead to Eternal Life.

There follows after the discourse a prayer of thanksgiving from sickness, and several additional prayers for the sick, for families as morn-

ing and evening devotionals, for a child, and graces for meals.

Mr. Powell, in his commentary on Hall's book, has delineated the religious life of the first half of the eighteenth century through the eyes of the ministry of that day, which indeed was limited to almost this one man alone in North Carolina. The accounts of the rigors of travel in Colonial times are graphic, and serve to impress on us the greatness of the sacrifice of men like Hall.

Mr. Powell has made use of valuable source materials, in both America and England, in an effort to furnish us a well-rounded picture of the man and his times.

Those whose interests are inclined towards pietism will appreciate and benefit by this book, and those who have endured illness will profit from the essay on sickness.

Harold J. Dudley.

Presbyterian Synod Office, Raleigh.

The Poems of Governor Thomas Burke of North Carolina. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Richard Walser. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History. 1961. Pp. x, 69. \$3.00.)

For a culture that today ignores Shelley's visionary poet-legislator, no longer produces its own Sidneys and Miltons, but glances uneasily at a poet named Mao, the first collected edition of poems by a doctor, member of the Continental Congress, and Governor of his State constitutes some measure of value. For Thomas Burke, no matter what his poetic limitations, reveals here an integrity between his active life and his creative response to it. To be sure, reflective poems like "Benevolence" and "Hymn to Spring" have little intrinsic worth, being painfully imitative of James Thomson. Nor do the numerous love poems often rise above the conventionality of their pastoral poses and exaggerated compliments, though there is biographical interest in their picture of a juvenille southern gallant, foreshadowing the debonair delegate in Philadelphia, who polished graceful, if sterile, compliments to the ladies.

When poet and revolutionist unite, however, the result is occasion-

ally vigor and intensity of feeling. While his satires fail in imitation to achieve Pope's or Dryden's pose of approbation which thinly conceals the intent of scorn, the "Address to the Goddess Dulness" is lusty political raillery, and "An Epistle" heaps scatological abuse on Thomas Paine for meddling in the Silas Deane affair. In such satires, what felicities exist stem less from Burke's mediocre talent than from a commitment to an ideal which impells expression; and the same factor enervates his non-satiric pieces in the cause of independence, as when Pitt's defense of the colonies arouses his acclaim, or the gallant death of a Tory receives his salute mixed with pride in an American triumph. Indeed, in "Ruthless War" his convictions as to the rightness of the colonial cause triumph over the dead pastoralism of the poem's framework to find expression in a sustained passage of rhetorical power far

above his usual level of mere fluency.

While certainly not of major literary worth, these poems are valuable to the historian, the student of eighteenth-century letters, and to all who regret the passing of the universal man. For this value we are indebted to Mr. Walser, who has edited the twenty-three poems, all but two of which come from fragmentary manuscripts in the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, and seventeen of which had never been published. His notes clarifying historical contexts and local personages increase our debt (in spite of advice that "Mantuan refers to Anacreon" or that mythological characters played on tender Lotuseaters). However, highly debatable editorial practices modify this debt rather severely. First, there is what the editor calls "styling," the printing of the volume in eighteenth-century fashion, with the long s," archaic contractions, "generous Capitalizations particularly of Nouns, and frequent Italics for proper Names and important Words." This effort at quaintness (extended even to the editorial apparatus) may titillate the "booklover" but will hinder the general reader and fail to impress the student. More serious, even, is the claim that "the Poems have been regularized" as to spellings, capitalizations, and punctuations. The corruptions of Shakespeare's texts alone by such eighteenth-century improvers should be warning enough against emulation. Finally, not to dwell upon the liberty taken in entitling those poems which Burke did not, there is a serious defect in the absence of variant readings even at points of editorial alteration. If the poems deserve a modern publishing, it should follow that they deserve editing in a way to insure reliability for the scholar as well as appeal to the average reader.

William O. Harris.

The Papers of William Alexander Graham. Volume III, 1845-1850. Edited by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History. 1960. Pp. xvi, 541. \$3.00.)

William A. Graham was one of North Carolina's most prominent ante-bellum citizens. He served as Governor of North Carolina for two terms, was a United States Senator, Fillmore appointed him Secretary of the Navy and the Whigs nominated him for Vice-President with Winfield Scott in 1852. The North Carolina Department of Archives and History is publishing a series of volumes containing his papers edited by the distinguished scholar, teacher, and collector, the late J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton. This is the third of the series covering the years, 1845-1850, the entire period of his governorship and the be-

ginning of his cabinet service.

We have here the activities of a distinguished Whig and this material is particularly welcome because such data are more abundant for Democrats. Graham was inaugurated at the beginning of this volume. His interests and responsibilities were varied. Not only did he have the usual gubernatorial duties, but in addition he was charged with assembling the complete archives of North Carolina during the period of the American Revolution and he was responsible for managing her participation in the Mexican War. As a prominent Whig in the Democratic administration of his fellow North Carolinian, James Knox Polk, his reactions and that of his party colleagues were not uncritical. This Whig material makes for a better balance in the story. There are interesting sidelights on North Carolina's economic and cultural development which give the volumes an interest broader than the political.

These letters throw interesting light on the campaign of 1848 and the election and education of Zachary Taylor. Patronage matters engross much attention and there are intriguing glimpses of Old Rough and Ready's troubles. His death brought in Fillmore and what was in many respects a real change in administration. Graham was invited into the cabinet, though for some weeks there was uncertainty as to which post would be his. He is barely at his desk when the volume

concludes.

This correspondence is a part of the Whig mosaic and supplies interesting pieces which when fitted together with other such published by North Carolina and by other agencies make a more understandable picture of ante-bellum southern politics. The Old North State is to be congratulated on having an editor of Dr. Hamilton's distinction and a public spirit which will support publication of historical material. The

program of the State's Department of Archives and History is an example to similar agencies in other States.

Roy F. Nichols.

University of Pennsylvania.

The County of Gaston: Two Centuries of a North Carolina County. By Robert F. Cope and Manly Wade Wellman. (Charlotte: Gaston County Historical Society. 1961. Pp. xviii, 197. End maps, appendixes, notes, and index. \$7.50.)

Near the close of the first half of the eighteenth century Scotch-Irish and German immigrants began to settle along the Catawba and the South Fork rivers. As they spread westward they were joined by Irish Catholics and by Highland Scots, although the latter group is largely ignored in this history. The authors have given us an interesting and highly readable account, occasionally romantically colored, of these early settlements, of the carving out of a new county from Lincoln in 1846 named for Judge William Gaston, and of the subsequent development of the county, which contains more incorporated towns and more textile plants than any other county in the State.

Although a considerable number of these early settlers did not qualify their descendants for membership in the D. A. R., the majority fought for freedom in the American Revolution, and many served with distinction, especially at the nearby Battle of Kings Mountain. As in most histories, considerable space is devoted to the roles played by native sons in subsequent wars. Names of Gaston men who served in the Revolutionary, Civil, and Spanish-American wars appear in appendixes.

Gold was discovered early, and it served as a particular lure for the Irish settlers. As late as 1893 deposits of iron ore were still listed as important. The urgent desire of farmers to convert their corn into liquid assets probably contributed largely to the rapid growth of the distilling business and by 1885 there were 85 licensed distillers in the county. Of more enduring importance, of course, has been the phenomenal growth of the textile industry. Local entrepreneurs, utilizing available water power, began building cotton mills as early as 1816, and by the mid-1930's, 102 mills were in operation, more than in any other county in the United States.

Some readers may take exception to the conclusions reached and the brief treatment afforded the period of labor unrest which occurred in the years prior to 1940 and which culminated in the Loray Mill strike and the deaths of Police Chief Aderholt and strike leader Ella May

Wiggins; however, the book lays no claim to being a sociological study of the labor movement.

Generously documented, reference is made primarily to secondary sources, particularly to Minnie Stowe Puett's *History of Gaston County* (1936) and to Joseph H. Separk's histories published in 1936 and 1949. Perhaps more attention to primary sources would have prevented such minor errors as that which occurs in tracing the lineage of Gaston County back to New Hanover, which in turn "had been erected from part of Clarendon in 1729, while Clarendon, until 1696, had belonged to Albemarle." Clarendon, never clearly defined and never a part of Albemarle, disappeared about 1667. New Hanover was formed from Craven in 1729. The foreword is by President William Friday of the University of North Carolina, a native son.

The Gaston County Historical Society is to be commended for its corporate effort and for the years of research on the part of individual

members which made the history possible.

A. M. Patterson.

State Department of Archives and History.

The Commonwealth of Onslow: A History. By Joseph Parsons Brown. (New Bern: Owen G. Dunn Company, 1960. Pp. v, 434. Appendixes and index. \$4.25.)

This book is a work of parts—many parts. The Contents, Appendices, and "Personalities" run the gamut from "Geography of the County" to "Onslow County Bar." Most of the ninety-five sections are essays on various phases of life in Onslow County since 1731. Others are lists of names and statistical information. There is little warrant for calling the collection "A History," even as a sub-title.

The author has done a creditable job in selecting materials and writing the resulting essays. It is to be regretted that he did not include a sketch of himself in the "Personalities," since he is identified in several places as being active in local affairs. Though it is easy to recognize his association by inheritance and inclination with the conservation Democratic element there is no nostalgic strain in his writing. The end of slavery, the populist revolt, the New Deal, and even the desecration of historic areas by recent defense installations are described as necessary and beneficial developments in the progressive growth of the county. Misstatements of facts in general history are less numerous than in the average run of publications of this sort. These along with the too frequent lapses in spelling and inconsistencies in proper names

could have been eliminated by a little careful editing and proofreading.

Three contributions make the work unique among recent publications in local history. There is a good account of the settlement and establishment of local government in one of the original precincts of the colony of North Carolina. A laudable effort is also made to unravel the tangled skein of church history and without theological rancor or denominational bias to trace the evolution of congregations in the county. Finally, the work presents short sketches of the family and community backgrounds of native sons who have attained something of State or national recognition. The thumbnail treatments of Samuel Johnston, Edward B. Dudley, Cyrus Thompson, and Daniel L. Russell might well become the inspiration of some writer for a biography of one or more of these men.

Paul Murray.

East Carolina College.

Abstracts of the Records of Onslow County, North Carolina, 1734-1850. Edited by Zae Hargett Gwynn. ([Memphis, Tennessee]: Privately printed. 1961. Pp. vi, 845 [Volume I]; Pp. vi, 846-1,592 [Volume II]. \$50.00, the set.)

This is a remarkable work in that the author has done well what so many other abstracters do poorly because of their lack of either care, patience, and funds—or all three.

Mrs. Zae Hargett Gwynn is a descendant of North Carolinians. Her interest in genealogy and local history led her to realize that county records contain a wealth of historical information which, if ferreted

out and published, would be immensely helpful to others.

These volumes contain abstracts of the following Onslow County records: deeds, 1734-1839; wills, 1746-1864; land entries and grants, 1712-1839; guardian accounts, 1754-1868; marriage bonds, 1750-1868; and the censuses of 1790 and 1850. The original records are located in the courthouse at Jacksonville, in the State Department of Archives and History in Raleigh, and in the National Archives in Washington.

The two volumes are not without their faults and errors, but to dwell upon them would be to point out the inevitable in a publication of this magnitude. It is sufficient here to say that Mrs. Gwynn has published a monumental work with fewer of both than are to be found in most publications of this type. The volumes are beautifully and expensively printed and bound—and this reviewer might add that the author will not be repaid from sales of the books. In a profession where both time

and finances are usually limited, it is refreshing to encounter a citizen who is willing to contribute both in return for the satisfaction of seeing historical records made available to others without the means but with the same zeal for research.

One happy footnote: Mrs. Gwynn is now preparing for publication similar abstracts for the counties of Granville and Jones.

H. G. Jones.

State Department of Archives and History.

The 1850 Census of Craven County, North Carolina. Edited by Zae Hargett Gwynn. (Memphis, Tennessee: Privately printed. 1961. Pp. i, 185. \$12.50.)

This volume, printed and bound in the same expensive manner as the abstracts of Onslow County records reviewed above, is an exact copy of the federal population census of 1850 for Craven County, the

original of which is in the National Archives.

Mrs. Gwynn has taken no license with the information contained in the original records. Included are the name of each individual, his age, sex, race, occupation, value of property, place of birth (usually only the State), and such assorted supplemental data as inability to read and write, insanity, and other skeletons that will rattle an occasional descendant. It is to Mrs. Gwynn's credit that she has faithfully reproduced in printed form this valuable document of Craven County history. Would that the census for the entire State be so published!

Unfortunately, no index is provided. Nevertheless, the editor was wise in maintaining the original order of the census which shows fam-

ily and household connections.

H. G. Jones.

State Department of Archives and History.

Historic Flat Rock, Where the Old South Lingers. By Kenneth Frederick Marsh and Blanche Marsh. (Asheville: Biltmore Press. 1961. [Approx. 84 unnumbered pages.] \$3.00.)

In this small, attractive volume, Kenneth and Blanche Marsh reveal the pleasant, private life of wealth and fashion that has persisted since ante-bellum days in the historic homes of Flat Rock, North Carolina, a summer colony originally settled by aristocratic rice planters of Charleston. A brief account of the settlement near the "flat rock" in Henderson County introduces the book's main contents: 84 photographs of homes, furnishings, buildings, and estates, accompanied by

terse, informative text.

The roughly chronological arrangement conveys a sense of the colony's growth and change from its founding in 1827 to the present. Some of the homes currently are owned by descendants of the antebellum owners, among whom were families with the eminent names of Baring, Rutledge, Laurens, Pinckney, and Memminger; others are now possessed by families of relatively recent achievement, such as Sherrill, Angier, McCabe, and Sandburg. A few of the modern owners have posed with their possessions.

Kenneth Marsh is a skilled photographer with broad experience; his wife is a social worker by training. Together they have produced a contribution to the cultural history of North Carolina, a book which will stir the sentiments of those who live or visit in the secluded world of Flat Rock, the interest of those who delight in pictures of old and graciously furnished homes, and the envy of those who would like to

live that way but can't.

Oliver H. Orr.

North Carolina State College.

Chain of Error and the Mecklenburg Declarations of Independence—A New Study of Manuscripts: Their Use, Abuse, and Neglect. By V. V. McNitt. (Palmer, Massachusetts, and New York: Hampden Hills Press. 1960. Pp. 134. \$4.50.)

The author of this recent examination of an old controversy is a staunch defender of the belief that on May 20, 1775, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, declared independence from Great Britain and chose a Committee of Safety to organize a temporary government for the county. Eleven days later this committee adopted the twenty resolutions which in this volume are called the supplemental Second Declaration of Independence but which are more often known as the Mecklenburg Resolves.

Why is there a controversy? It is well known that in 1800 fire destroyed the minute book in which John McKnitt Alexander, secretary of the Mecklenburg convention of May 19-20, kept records of the transactions. But, along with many others, V. V. McNitt holds that copies of these records in Alexander's office were unharmed and contain am-

ple proof of the validity of the Declaration.

Specifically, Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander, son of John McKnitt

Alexander, found among his father's papers (1) a document "containing rough notes made by John McKnitt Alexander between 1775 and 1800," and (2) "an undated copy of Alexander's historical narrative of the independence movement and the text of the five resolutions of the May 20 Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence" (p. 32). The latter is known as "the copy in unknown handwriting" and is the one from which John McKnitt Alexander made a copy for William R. Davie on September 3, 1800, after the fire.

Those who question the authenticity of the Declaration are unwilling to recognize any value in the "unknown handwriting" copy as the paper from which the Davie copy was transcribed. Instead they accept the conclusion reached by Professor Charles Phillips in 1853 that the Davie copy was made up from the memory of John McKnitt Alexander

after the fire and was therefore fraudulent.

McNitt denounces Phillips, a tutor in mathematics at the University of North Carolina, for alleged tampering with the Davie copy in an article which he wrote for the *North Carolina University Magazine*. According to McNitt, the third page of the Davie copy contains a statement concerning the activities of the Court of Inquiry set up in Mecklenburg to which John McKnitt Alexander added an explanation worded as follows:

"It may be worthy of notice here, to observe that the foregoing statement, tho' fundamentally correct; yet may not litterally correspond with the original records of the transactions of said Court of Inquiry; as all those records and papers were burnt (with the house)

on April 6, 1800 . . . " (p. 94).

The printed version of the Davie copy in Phillips' article is identical except for the insertion of the words "delegation and" between "said" and "Court." McNitt says that Alexander struck out these two words and that Phillips restored them. If the two words are properly a part of the text, then the wording says the Declaration was burned; if they were indeed struck when the Davie copy was prepared, then the wording says that only the records of the court were burned. McNitt regards the two words as the key to the controversy and insists that they were cancelled at the time of writing.

This reviewer knows no way to determine definitively when the words were struck. Those who believe that there was a Declaration will doubtless accept McNitt's skillfully presented account, while skep-

tics will probably remain unconvinced.

Henry S. Stroupe.

Wake Forest College.

A Fool's Errand by Albion W. Tourgée. Edited by John Hope Franklin. (Cambridge, Mass.: John Harvard Library. Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. xxviii, 404. \$5.00.)

Among the many admirable reprints issued by the John Harvard Library, one of the most welcome and attractive is this one-time best selling novel. Written by a carpetbagger following fourteen trying years (1865-1879) in the South, *A Fool's Errand* not only reveals the thoughts of a carpetbagger on southern Reconstruction, but it remains one of the more perceptive descriptions of that puzzling flasco as well as an enjoyable fictional tale. Professor Franklin's introductory vignette (one slightly marred by several minor inaccuracies concerning Tourgée) satisfactorily establishes the author's identity and the historical and ideological significance of his work. A Union veteran from Ohio, Tourgée migrated to North Carolina with honorable and reasonable motives. There, altogether unexpectedly, he became an ardent and annoying, but often successful, reformer, whose influence and accomplishments long outlasted the State's two short years of Republican rule. Amid the discomforts of Redemption, as Tourgée prepared to leave the State, he also began his important and soon famous novela fictional autobiography accompanied by incisive, frequently verbose, comments upon sectionalism, Reconstruction, and race relations. Tourgée flouted his partisanship, but he was a keen and compassionate onlooker who drew from a rich fund of observation and experience. Despite its excessive political-racial orientation, A Fool's Errand is a significant and unusually original portrayal, criticism, and analysis of postwar southern society; and to those who can still enjoy older modes of fiction, it also offers excitement, idealism, and romance accompanied by heavy doses of coincidence, contrivance, and stereotype. Here then is an enjoyable and most informative guide, especially for North Carolinians, toward understanding an unpleasant but entrancing era.

Otto H. Olsen.

Norfolk College.

The Colonial Records of South Carolina. Series 1. Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, January 19, 1748-June 29, 1748. J. H. Easterby and Ruth S. Green (eds.). Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department. 1961. Pp. xxi, 457. \$11.00.)

This volume continues the printing of the work of the Commons House of South Carolina's Colonial Assembly. It fully maintains the high standards of accuracy and beauty of printing established by the previous volumes. Those who in the past have worn out their eyes poring over manuscripts in eighteenth-century writing will find this mag-

nificent printing a blessed relief.

George C. Rogers, Jr., presents in the volume Preface a helpful summary of the matters dealt with by the Commons House in this half year. He also clearly indicates the political situation in South Carolina at that mid-century.

From the researcher's standpoint such printing of manuscript source materials is as good as the accuracy of the printing, and the thoroughness of the indexing. The typographical errors are reduced to the absolute minimum. One "d" left out of "Powder Receiver" (p. 90) is the

only such error this reviewer has discovered.

An attempt was made to assess the quality of indexing. Taking the subject of election laws one finds it dealt with under "election laws," "Act 1," "Act 2," and "Bill No. 2." Of the three references under "election laws" one is wrong as to page. Four of the five items under "election laws" lead one to merely formal references to the existing election law as that law is named in reprinted election writs. All eighteen items under "Act 2" lead into the same blind alley. This pedantry, however, is well offset by the twenty-four references under "Bill No. 2." They carry one through the entire procedure in the enactment of a new elections law to its formal enactment.

South Carolinians can well be proud of the handsome way in which their State's colonial records are beings preserved and made available to historians. Historical research students may well bless the men who are so ably abetting and earning their work of research.

C. G. Gordon Moss.

Longwood College.

A Rebel Came Home. Edited by Charles M. McGee, Jr., and Ernest M. Lander, Jr. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1961. Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. xiv, 153. \$4.50.)

For our knowledge of life in the Old South we owe much to diary-keeping young ladies. We now may add to their number John C. Calhoun's granddaughter Floride Clemson, a sharp observer and a clear writer, who made neat entries in her journal during the years 1863 and 1864, while living in Maryland, and 1865 and 1866, after moving to South Carolina. Her diary, like most personal records of the kind, is especially rewarding to those readers interested in the author herself, in her relatives, and in the places where she resided or visited. It

also contains many observations valuable to those interested in the broader history of her time. She gives, for example, an intriguing wartime glimpse of James Buchanan and his niece, Harriet Lane, at home in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Miss Clemson also has a good deal to say about the pleasures and pastimes, as well as the hardships and worries, of planter families during the uncertain months following defeat in war. As a chronic patient, being treated for weak eyes and other ills, she provides incidental information on the theories and practices of contemporary medicine. Unfortunately, her diary is too short, and so was her life; she was only twenty-nine when she died, in 1871. She has been fortunate, however, in her editors, both of them members of the Clemson College faculty. They have done an excellent job, putting the diary in its setting by means of a prologue and an epilogue, and supplying other relevant information in appendixes and in extensive and careful notes.

Richard N. Current.

The University of Wisconsin.

The Attitude of Tennesseans toward the Union, 1847-1861. By Mary Emily Robertson Campbell. (New York: Vantage Press. 1961. Maps, notes, appendixes, bibliography, and index. Pp. 308. \$4.50.)

The announced purpose of this book, which originated as a master's thesis and was later expanded into a doctoral dissertation at Vanderbilt University, is to reveal the attitude of Tennesseans toward the Union during the troubled period immediately preceding the Civil War and upon the outbreak of hostilities. The author has relied largely upon primary sources, especially newspapers which, admittedly partisan in tone, probably led and also reflected public opinion, and government documents which, in a period when there was apparently much interest in public affairs, are valuable sources of information. Eschewing any attempt "to justify or to condemn individuals, great or small, for their respective courses of action" during the years under review, Mrs. Campbell has succeeded in writing with admirable objectivity.

An introductory chapter on geographic, social, and economic conditions within the State during the decade 1850-1860 could have been improved by including less statistical material and more interpretation and summary. Other chapters reveal that Tennesseans, with relatively few exceptions, regarded the Compromise of 1850 as either the most desirable or the only practical solution of the slavery problem; that during the 1850's most Tennesseans of all political beliefs evinced

feelings of strong attachment for the Union, although they were not agreed as to the best method of settling the increasingly bitter dispute between the North and the South; and that although the result of the election of 1860 was extremely displeasing to the people of Tennessee,

they accepted it calmly and proposed to abide by it.

The election of Lincoln, however, set in motion a train of events which eventually broke all party lines in the State and ultimately created a situation in which there were two groups, Secessionists and Unionists. The Unionists triumphed in an election called by the legislature and held on February 9, 1861, but the firing upon Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call for troops electrified Middle and West Tennessee, and shocked to some extent East Tennessee, with the result that in a second election held on June 8 the State voted for "Separation" by a majority of more than two to one, the change in sentiment having occurred mainly in Middle Tennessee.

James W. Patton.

The University of North Carolina.

A Virginia Yankee in the Civil War: The Diaries of David Hunter Strother. Edited with an Introduction by Cecil D. Eby, Jr. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1961. Illustrations, footnotes, and index. Pp. xx, 294. \$6.75.)

By now, Professor Eby of Washington and Lee has made David H. Strother—artist, writer, soldier—almost his own property, and by extension the property once more of southern literature and history. The diaries published in this volume were preceded by an edition of Strother's pencil sketches and travel essays, *The Old South Illustrated* (1959), and a biography of Strother titled from his pseudonym, *Porte Crayon* (1960). The Civil War diaries cover the months from February, 1862, to August, 1864, at which time Strother retired from the Union army.

Though Strother was well connected with Old Dominion families, he was from that area in northern Virginia near the Pennsylvania line later incorporated into West Virginia. His political and economic sympathies lay with the Yankees. He accepted an appointment as staff officer and topographer with the northern forces when commanders, without any reliable maps, needed a guide who knew the Valley of Virginia like the palm of a man's hand. In the Valley campaign, in the battles of Cedar Mountain, Second Bull Run, Antietam, New Market, and others, Strother was always near the command posts. In 1863 he went

to Louisiana and participated in the campaign on the Teche. Later he was partially responsible for the burning of the buildings of the Virginia Military Institute (and, after the war, among the first to sponsor

their rebuilding). His constant diaries noted everything.

Professor Eby remarks that most war diaries are either too narrow or too broad, the first concentrating helplessly on the individual, the second moving along in such a grand manner that immediacy is lacking. Strother's diary is neither of these. The reader is always in the midst of the scene, watching the maneuvers from the vantage point of a staff officer. Armies shift here and there; one is in the presence of Pope, McClellan, and other generals; yet the human quality of Strother makes these great moments live.

He is human enough to decry his own failures in judgment. He is annoyed to read in the northern press of the Yankees' "brilliant victories," in his mind neither brilliant nor very victorious. At a moment of depression, he calls Lincoln a man with "neither sense nor principle." He curses that politics and jealousies are stretching out the war, that there is no leadership in the North. He moans that the war was caused

by "heated and ambitious demagogues" on both sides.

His harshest words are for his fellow Virginians, "a decadent race," the women of which are nothing more than "she-braggarts." In fact, the whole State will need re-population by northerners after the war. Then, too, the southern leaders must be disenfranchised, or else the war will have been useless. It must have hurt Strother to admit that southern soldiers were generally better than northern ones, their commanders always so.

It is such comments as these which make good reading of a diary from which irrelevancies such as summaries of personal letters have been cut. The footnotes are of the barest minimum. There is, however, one criticism, please: Maps of campaigns and battlefields would have helped tremendously. One reader, at least, was often as painfully lost as some of the wandering northern soldiers.

Richard Walser.

North Carolina State College.

The Battle of New Orleans: A British View. The Journal of Major C. R. Forrest. Edited by Hugh F. Rankin. (New Orleans: The Hauser Press. 1961. Pp. vii, 51. \$2.00.)

Three books concerning the Battle of New Orleans were published in 1961—Jane Lucas de Grummond's carefully source-researched and well

written The Baratarians and the Battle of New Orleans (Louisiana State University Press); Charles B. Brooks' The Siege of New Orleans (University of Washington Press), a mistitled account of the British campaign based entirely on published material; and the above title, edited with an introduction and annotations by Tulane University history professor, Hugh F. Rankin. Together they form a neat package concerning the disastrous British attempt to gain possession of the

lower Mississippi Valley.

In a succinct but comprehensive introduction the editor summarizes the British campaign against the Crescent City: its origins, geography of the area, measures taken for the defense of New Orleans, the "Battle of the Glorious Eighth," and the account written by Major Charles R. Forrest, Assistant Quartermaster General, 34th Regiment of Foot. Then follows the cover letter of Lieutenant John Peddie, whose copy of the Forrest account is edited, Forrest's Journal, and a letter of Major General John Lambert which describes the battle. Editor Rankin has done a thorough and scholarly job in preparing these significant documents for publication.

Edwin Adams Davis.

Louisiana State University.

The Baratarians and the Battle of New Orleans. By Jane Lucas de Grummond. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 180. \$4.50.)

The reader of this book will be rewarded by the enlightened account of the Battle of New Orleans presented by the author. Using a variety of sources, primary and otherwise, Miss de Grummond has presented a lucid and believable account of the part played in the New Orleans campaign by the Baratarian pirates of the Louisiana delta country. Jean and Pierre Lafitte, brothers and leaders of the Baratarian pirates, chose to side with the United States against an invading British army in 1814. The reasons for this choice are not presented clearly by the author, although pure and simple patriotism is hinted. It is interesting that the Lafittes made this decision since they were later prosecuted for smuggling by the United States authorities.

Miss de Grummond's style is both interesting and readable. In spite of numerous quotations her narrative is smooth and cohesive. Many of the sources used were prepared by participants in the battle, an indispensable element in the writing of military history. This book is

of extreme value in shedding important light on a hitherto little-known episode of American military history.

Richard W. Iobst.

North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission.

The Siege of New Orleans. By Charles B. Brooks. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1961. Pp. xii, 334. Maps, notes, bibliography, and index. \$6.50.)

The Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815, an engagement that occurred after a war was over, contains all of the elements of romantic patriotism; a motley crew of pirates, frontiersmen, and new Americans speaking strange tongues arrayed against Britain's finest and inflicting a defeat that does little for England's military reputation. Coming when it did, after a war that had done little to enhance American military prestige, it pampered the American ego to such an extent that it still stands as a shining light among the martial annals of the nation.

Professor Charles B. Brooks has written a smooth and fast-stepping account of this engagement, although there is from the first a tendency to quarrel with the use of the word "Siege" in the title. In retrospect, the style is perhaps a little too flowing, for the casual reader could well be lulled into overlooking practices that annoy the historian. For example, anglicizing the French "Jacque," "Jean," and "Pierre" has the effect of limiting the respect for authenticity. And although the account of the battle itself is basically correct, liberties have been taken with the sources, including the fabrication of conversation. And there is the impression that the author seems willing, at times, to accept tradition and the legendary to spice his narrative.

The bibliography is impressive, but here again a second glance reveals flaws. There is no reference to a single manuscript, and there are many that would have been useful in the various repositories throughout the nation, including the Library of Congress. And those printed materials that have been used have upon occasion been

handled in rather a loose fashion.

In a land where water is so much a part of the landscape and where the "trembling prairies" posed logistical obstacles of monumental proportions, it seems that too little emphasis has been placed upon geographical considerations. Not only did the terrain prohibit naval support, but the very fact that Pakenham was forced to fight on a narrow field, limited in maneuver by the swamps on one side and the Mississippi River on the other, is in itself indicative of defeat.

The readability of the book makes for an exciting narrative. Yet, if it must be classified, it should fall in that vale between the more clearly defined summits of fiction and history.

Hugh F. Rankin.

Tulane University.

The First South, By John Richard Alden. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1961. Pp. vii, 144. \$3.50.)

In his volume on *The South in the Revolution*, 1763-1789, published in 1957, John Richard Alden pointed out that at the beginning of the Revolutionary era no southern entity could be identified. "Moreover, even the words 'South' and 'Southerner' had not the meaning in 1775 that they later acquired. . . . By the end of the Revolutionary epoch, however, the South had emerged as a section and the Southerners as a people different from Northerners. Divergences continued within the region below the Mason-Dixon boundary, but there was, when Washington assumed the presidency, a South at least loosely united, and one certainly distinct from a North in terms of climate, slavery, economy, social structure, and political viewpoint. As the War of Independence proceeded, the words 'South' and 'Southern' were increasingly applied only to the area and the people below the Susquehanna. That they were so used more and more commonly was not merely a matter of convenience; conflict appeared during the war between those who lived upon one side of the line and those who dwelt upon the other. In the Federal convention of 1787 accommodation of the jarring interests of South and North offered a preplexing and harassing puzzle, one which required solution if there was to be an American union" (pp. 2-3).

The present little volume, embodying the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History at Louisiana State University in 1960, reconsiders and confirms the beginning and early development of southern sectionalism as quoted above. Mr. Alden defines geographically this "First South" of the 1770's and 1780's and characterizes it in economic and social terms. Then he views its emergence historically through the sectional struggle in the Continental Congress, the debates in the Federal Convention, and the ratification of the Constitution by the several southern States. The survey of the period within this frame of reference substantiates James Madison's argument that the basic issues were to be found, not between large States and small, but between economic and regional interests (p. 83). Concurrent develop-

ment of an American consciousness, expressed on occasion by Patrick Henry, Light Horse Harry Lee, or George Washington, suggests its correlation with sectionalism and State autonomy in order to comprehend these conflicting forces more intelligently. Was sectionalism more powerful than nationalism when the new government was launched under the Constitution?

Mr. Alden points out that the Revolutionary generation distinguished between southern States and "eastern," rather than northern, States and that the constituent members varied with the time and the point of view. It is a bit disconcerting, however, to meet up with his modern term, Far South and Far Southerners, to embrace those in the Southeast and the Mississippi Valley; or his "Middle Americans" (p. 73) north of the Mason-Dixon Line. If this is the area, or a portion of it, "north of the Susquehanna" (pp. 4, 10), which flows south through Pennsylvania, we shall have to get re-oriented to avoid geographical confusion. So, too, the area "east of the Potomac" (p. 108) rather than north of it, turns out to be Maryland.

Although the text of these lectures is not annotated for the most part, a few footnotes appear, enlightening the reader but tantalizing him with incomplete citations. The "Bibliographical Note" (pp. 135-140) can be supplemented by the author's "Critical Essay on Authorities"

in The South in the Revolution.

Lester J. Cappon.

Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Romance and Realism in Southern Politics. By T. Harry Williams. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. Eugenia Blount Lamar Memorial Lectures, 1960. 1961. Pp. xii, 84. \$2.50.)

In these four lectures, delivered at Mercer University, T. Harry Williams, holder of a distinguished chair at Louisiana State University, surveys southern politics from Calhoun to Huey Long. The southerner is almost by definition a politician, but here is no fulsome praise of the heirs of Jefferson and Jackson, no tribute to leaders whose highest endeavors have been given to the art of politics. On the contrary, this book is a more or less subtle analysis—always politely couched in language acceptable to the lecturer's audience—of the ways in which the South has been ill served by its political leaders. The wrong battles have been fought for the wrong causes. The politicians have made a virtue of defeat, and have so wrapped themselves in the departed

glories of the Old South, the tragic heroism of the Lost Cause, and the resplendent vision of White Supremacy triumphant, that they have been able to unite the South behind false banners while receiving acclaim as statesmen. It is, as Williams sees it, a record of failure, with many wrong turns taken; and since there is blame enough for all, he distributes it with an impartial hand. The Old South failed, the Bourbons failed, the Populists failed, the Progressives failed, the demagogues failed, and only Huey Long succeeded. The exact nature of these failures is not detailed, but it seems clear that the South failed to get in step with progress and its own self-interest. What the South had most of was an unmeasured ability to deceive itself. Something in the southern background, something indigenous, writes Williams, "produced a tendency toward romanticism in thought and politics," and asking the South to shed this "something" was like asking it to give up its identity. The South's attachment to constitutionalism, conservatism, and its own peculiar conception of race integrity was out of harmony with the new currents of national life.

Before the Civil War southern leaders allowed themselves to be put on the defensive with an issue which could not be defended, and they permitted themselves to be isolated from their natural ally, the West; afterwards the matter of race was somehow unleashed and the politicians made to embrace it, reluctantly at first and then with fervor, as though it were a God-sent issue; and when the down-trodden whites undertook to rise under Populist leaders like Tom Watson, and Democrats like Ben Tillman, they found it expedient to rise on the backs of the blacks. If the Bourbons betrayed the masses, the agrarians of the nineties betrayed their cause, and the black man as well. Democracy was honored more in the breach than in the promise. Always the leaders, whether from the masses or the classes, were incurably romantic, could never face reality, and obscured all the issues that really mattered—such as loaves and fishes and fatted calves—with appeals to prejudices of race, religion, or class.

Huey Long, according to Williams, was the first realist among southern politicians, and he was ready to revitalize the South. His secret seems to have been that he knew the instruments of power and dared to use them. The demagogues of the past had always seemed on the verge of fulfilling their promises, but they never did. Huey not only knew how to stroke "the ego of democracy" but he delivered what he promised; this was an innovation, and he became a folk hero in some sections of Louisiana and a political power in all. He had his own technique, both of influence and affluence, and if he early let slip his idealism in favor of realism, this must be blamed on the reactionary

tactics of his opponents and not on any decline in the saving virtues of democracy. Long knew that the only real issues were those of political power and the economic foundations on which that power rested. He was a "coldly realistic operator" who never mentioned the Old South and the Lost Cause. He was careful to stay away from religion in politics, and he was at his shrewdest in the matter of race. He introduced Louisiana to the twentieth century and the welfare state; if he went out with a bang, he had successors and his good deeds live after him. Realist Long would surely not be displeased if the historians should learn to pay him tribute, even as did the road contractors and local bosses. What the South really needed, it seems, was more Huey Longs. If Long's assets are given more attention than his liabilities, perhaps we will have a truer reckoning when the final balance sheet is presented in Williams' intended biography of Long.

Probably most readers will find these essays either stimulating or irritating (the distinction is slight), and they will understand that Professor Williams has boldly accepted the risks inherent in broad generalizations and inconclusive judgments. Whether the South has done with romanticism remains to be seen. If the South's defeats and humiliations have not taught obeisance to the proper gods, then it may be that the South will yet enter the space age with its eyes fixed

on the stars.

Robert H. Woody.

Duke University.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission

On November 21 Governor Terry Sanford commissioned members of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission to serve for the period 1961-1963. An induction ceremony was held in the State Capitol in Raleigh. Hon. Francis E. Winslow of Rocky Mount, Chairman of the Charter Commission, was reappointed; Mr. Winslow has been serving in this capacity since his appointment in 1959 as the first Chairman.

The following new members were appointed by Governor Sanford: Mrs. Ann B. Durham, Burgaw; Mr. William Carrington Gretter, Jr., Louisburg; Mrs. James M. Harper, Jr., Southport; Mrs. Ernest L. Ives, Southern Pines; Dr. Henry W. Jordan, Cedar Falls; Mr. Dan M. Paul, Raleigh; Mr. J. P. Strother, Kinston; and Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Wright, Wilmington.

Commission members reappointed by the Governor are: Mrs. Doris Betts, Sanford; Mr. Henry Belk, Goldsboro; Dr. Chalmers G. Davidson, Davidson; Mr. Lambert Davis, Chapel Hill; Mr. Grayson Harding, Edenton; Mrs. Kauno A. Lehto, Wilmington; Mr. James G. W. MacLamroc, Greensboro; Mrs. Harry McMullan, Washington; Dr. Paul Murray, Greenville; Dr. Robert H. Spiro, Macon, Georgia; Mrs. J. O. Tally, Jr., Fayetteville; and Mr. David Stick, Kitty Hawk.

Ex officio members of the Charter Commission are Dr. Charles F. Carroll, Superintendent of Public Instruction; Mr. Hargrove Bowles, Jr., Director of the Department of Conservation and Development; and Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department of Archives and History. Brig. Gen. John D. F. Phillips, U. S. A. (Ret.), is Executive Secretary of the Commission.

December 1 marked the first issue of the Charter Commission's official publication, the *Tercentenary News*. This newspaper will be issued monthly for the information of the Committee members, friends of the Charter Commission, and news media.

A chief project of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission is the publication of a new series containing the historical records of colonial North Carolina.

Work on the project began in September under the editorship of Mrs. Mattie Erma Parker. Later Mrs. T. L. Quay became her assistant. An Advisory Editorial Board has been established to advise the Executive Editor on the over-all scope and organization of the project. This Board consists of the co-chairmen of the Scholarly Activities Committee, Mr. Lambert Davis, Director of the University of North Carolina Press and Mr.

William S. Powell, Librarian of the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina; Dr. Hugh T. Lefler and Dr. Cecil Johnson, Professors of History at the University of North Carolina; Dr. Robert H. Woody and Dr. John Alden, Professors of History at Duke University; and Mr. Sam Ragan, Managing Editor of the Raleigh News and Observer.

The first volume of the new series of colonial records will be published during the Tercentenary in 1963. It will contain the charters granted by English rulers for exploring and settling the territory now included within the boundaries of North Carolina, and other fundamental documents relating to early Carolina. The original Carolina Charter of 1663 in the North Carolina Hall of History is used as basis for the transcription of that document; photocopies of the other documents are being obtained from British archives. The transcriptions will be modernized as to spelling and punctuation.

Confederate Centennial Commission

On August 18 Mr. Norman C. Larson, Executive Secretary of the Confederate Centennial Commission, met with a group in Asheville to assist in organizing a Buncombe County Committee. While there he toured the site of the Battle of Asheville. He attended a meeting in Burlington on August 25 of the Alamance County Confederate Centennial Committee and returned there on August 31 to participate in the committee's tribute to the Sixth Regiment. He presented a special award to Captain George Walker for outstanding service to the Confederate Commission. On August 28 he was present for the program of the South Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission in Dillon. Mr. Larson made video tape recordings in Charlotte on September 1 for a series of Civil War television programs planned for the future. He met again in Charlotte on September 6 for a press conference and meeting with officials of the Mint Museum and the Nationwide Insurance Company to plan an exhibit of Currier and Ives prints in that city and participated in the opening ceremonies on September 10. From September 11 through 13 he participated in the program of the Arkansas Civil War Centennial Commission in Little Rock. He attended in Charlotte, on September 18, a preview and reception for a special hourlong TV production, "The Union and the Confederacy," produced jointly by the Confederate Commission and WBTV. Mr. Larson attended meetings in Chapel Hill, Burlington, and Greensboro on September 21-22, and another in Greensboro on September 25 to plan a centennial exhibit for the Golden Gate Shopping Center. On October 6-7 he participated in the ceremonies at the opening of the exhibit. On September 27-28 Mr. Larson met with a group in Wilmington to discuss plans for the continuing development of Forts Fisher and Anderson. At the Wake Forest College—University of South Carolina football game in Winston-Salem on September 30, Mr. Larson was narrator at half-time ceremonies which had a Civil War theme. From October 10 to 12 he attended the meetings of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Asheville where he conducted a breakfast workshop and was awarded the Jefferson Davis Medal for work in the field of historical preservation. He attended the fourth meeting, October 2-5, of the Confederate States Centennial Conference at Jackson, Mississippi. He assisted in attempted salvage operations for the Confederate ram "Neuse" at Kinston on November 7 and spoke to members of the Civil War Round

Table in High Point on November 10.

The Commission has available for \$1.00, A Guide to Military Organizations and Installations—North Carolina—1861-1865, compiled by Louis H. Manarin. This compilation of data regarding North Carolina units, and camps and forts located within North Carolina's boundaries, will be of special value to genealogists and historians. Also issued recently is a reprint, North Carolina Women of the Confederacy by Mrs. John Huske Anderson. There are approximately 600 copies remaining of this booklet, first published in 1926, which is also priced at \$1.00. Three one-act plays, which sell for \$.25 each, are also available: "No Bugles; No Drums," by George Brenholtz; "Many Are the Hearts," by Manly Wade Wellman; and "Durham Station," by Betty Smith. For orders of the above and information on the use of the following, write Mr. Norman C. Larson, Executive Secretary, Confederate Commission, Box 1881, Raleigh:

(1) "Night in Chambersburg," 16mm. film, ½ hr. dramatic TV play written by Manly Wade Wellman and produced by the University

of North Carolina.

(2) "The Union and the Confederacy," 16mm. (kinescope recording) television adaptation of Richard Bales' arrangement of Union and Confederate music, featuring the Transylvania Orchestra and Chorus.

(3) "The Battle of Manassas," 16mm. (kinescope recording), 1/2 hr.

story of the Manassas Campaign, produced by WFMY-TV.

(4) "The Sixth Regiment," 16 mm. (kinescope recording), ½ hr. story of the men in the Sixth on their way to war, produced by WTVD.

New members of the Confederate Centennial Commission appointed by Governor Terry Sanford are: Dr. H. H. Cunningham, Elon College; Mrs. R. O. Everett, Durham; Mr. Ernie Greup, Durham; Mrs. Sadie S. Patton, Hendersonville; Dr. Robert Long, Statesville; Mrs. Alvin Seippel, Winston-Salem; Mr. Glenn M. Tucker, Carolina Beach; and Senator R. F. Van Landingham, Thomasville.

Director's Office

Meredith College juniors and seniors who are participating in the internship course, sponsored jointly by the College and the State Department of Archives and History, are: Division of Archives and Manuscripts—Misses Judy Shouse and Mary Ayscue (special student) and Mrs. Dorothy McCombs; Division of Museums—Misses Sandra Sue Horton, Elizabeth Adams, Frances Gorham, and Sarah Ramsey; and Division of Publications—Misses Brenda Corbett and Carroll Hicks. Internees study and work under a program designed to instruct them in both the technical and practical phases of the work of the Department.

On September 27 Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director, attended the meetings of the Tryon Palace Commission in New Bern. One of the high-

ights of the occasion was the placing in the Palace of the Book of the Descendants of the members of the Council and Commons who made possible the building of the original Palace. Mrs. Lyman Cotten of Chapel Hill served as Chairman of the Committee on the Book of Descendants. n addition to reports by various committees, awards of appreciation for ecent gifts or special services to the Restoration were made to 38 persons. One of the recipients was Miss Mary Cornick, Budget Officer of the Department, whose award was accepted by Dr. Crittenden in her absence. On he same date a Flag and Cannon Ceremony was held on the Palace Parade Grounds. On October 1 and 2 Dr. Crittenden attended a meeting n Winston-Salem of the Traffic Council of North Carolina where he made brief talk on the progress being made in developing the various historic ites in the State. In connection with this meeting he also attended the ledication of the new Whitaker Park Plant of the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. The plant, named in honor of Mr. John C. Whitaker, Honorary Chairman of the Board of the Reynolds Company, is said to be the largest obacco plant in the world and the largest factory of any kind in North Carolina. On October 5 Dr. Crittenden attended the opening of the Country Store Exhibit at the Greensboro Historical Museum. Among North Caroinians attending meetings of the National Trust for Historic Preservation n New York, from October 12-15, were Miss Gertrude Carraway of New Bern and Mr. and Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro. On October 6 a special convocation in the North Carolina State Fair Arena marked he centennial of the Land-Grant Act establishing land-grant colleges in he United States and the Diamond Jubilee of North Carolina State College. Dr. Frank Porter Graham was the principal speaker. On October 20 Dr. Crittenden attended the meeting of the Historical Society of North Caroina at Wake Forest College in Winston-Salem. He attended the meetings November 2-3 of the Historic Bath Commission in Bath. A special guest vas Mrs. Edward Pryor of Bath, England. Dr. Crittenden and Mrs. Frances Ashford, Education Curator of the Division of Museums, attended meeting of the Advisory Committee for the Eighth Conference on Teachng of the Social Studies held at Duke University, Durham, on November . The conference will also be held at Duke University on February 23-24. On November 16 certain members of the Governor Richard Caswell Menorial Commission met in Kinston and tentatively agreed on plans for andscaping the Caswell gravesite near Kinston. Dr. Crittenden was present or the meeting. He attended the ceremonies connected with the opening f the new Charles B. Aycock High School in Wayne County on December at which Governor Terry Sanford made the principal address.

In the November 7 bond election submitted to the people of the State, the item proposing a building for the Department of Archives nd History and the State Library was defeated by a vote of 253,749 to .04,504. All ten proposals for capital improvements in educational, com-

nercial, and cultural institutions were turned down.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, was elected Treasurer of the Society of American Archivists at the Society's annual meeting in Kansas City and Independence, Missouri, October 4-7. He was also one of five persons elected to the rank of Fellow of the Society. Mr. Jones presided over a meeting of the State Records Committee, of which he is outgoing chairman, on October 4, and gave a report on "The State of State Archives." On October 6 he presided over a session on county records at which Mr. J. Alexander McMahon, General Counsel of the North Carolina Association of County Commissioners, read a paper on North Carolina's county records program. Mr. Jones, Rear Admiral A. M. Patterson, Assistant State Archivist (State Records Management), represented the Department at the meeting. Mr. Mitchell, as outgoing member of the Council, will be Chairman of the Nominating Committee in 1962.

On October 18 Mr. Jones addressed a meeting of the Chicora Chapter of

the United Daughters of the Confederacy at Dunn.

In the Archives, emphasis has been given to re-working the early records of the State Treasurer and Comptroller. A total of 894 persons registered in the Search Room and 798 were given information by mail during the quarter ending September 30. The Section provided 852 photostatic copies for the public, 67 paper prints from microfilm, 53 typed certified copies, and 1.000 feet of microfilm. The Laminating Shop restored 22,582 pages

of historical records by the Barrow process.

In the Newspaper Microfilm Project, Mr. Jones announces the availability of positive microfilm copies of all North Carolina newspapers published prior to 1801. One series of seven reels, entitled "Eighteenth Century North Carolina Newspapers" and designated Reels 18Cen-1 through 18Cen-7, contains all titles published prior to 1801 except for the following titles which have been filmed and are available separately: Herald of Freedom (Edenton, 1799), Minerva (Fayetteville and Raleigh, 1796-1821), State Gazette of North Carolina (New Bern and Edenton, 1787-1799), Raleigh Register (Raleigh, 1799-1886), and North Carolina Journal (Halifax, 1792-1810). The price established for positive copies (subject to change) is \$8 per reel regardless of length of reel. All titles previously announced in this journal are also available at that price.

In the Local Records Section, an extensive and valuable collection of Colonial court and county records was received from Chowan County, including 158 volumes and pamphlets and 60 cubic feet of papers. A total of 35 volumes of court and estates records and 25 cubic feet of miscellaneous papers were received from Iredell County. In addition, six volumes of court and estates records and 9 cubic feet of papers were received from Tyrrell County and tax records consisting of 26 volumes and 2 cubic feet

of papers were received from Granville County.

Staff personnel are engaged in arranging the new collection of Colonial government and Chowan County records, and in rearranging the large collection of Bertie County records in the Archives.

Permanently valuable records are now being microfilmed in Granville and Johnston counties, the twentieth and twenty-first counties to be under-

taken in the program. A considerable number of records are being restored to use by lamination and rebinding.

Several personnel changes have recently occurred. Mr. James O. Hall, graduate of East Carolina College, and Mrs. Ruby D. Arnold, graduate of

the University of North Carolina, were appointed Archivists I.

Rear Admiral A. M. Patterson, U. S. N. (Ret.), attended the annual convention of the North Carolina League of Municipalities in Durham, October 22-24. In one of the events, scheduled for city and town clerks, he participated with Mr. Jones and others in a panel discussion of the new *Municipal Records Manual* and the various aspects of municipal records retention and disposal.

In the State Records Section, Mr. Bobby Lee Horton resigned as Clerk II to accept a position with the State Bureau of Investigation, and was

replaced by his brother, Mr. Donald E. Horton.

Inventorying and scheduling activities were concentrated on a revision of the Department of Revenue schedule, which was completed, and on revisions of the Department of Public Instruction and State Board of Education schedules. Amendments to the schedules of the Blind Commission, Board of Health, Employment Security Commission, State Highway Commission, Division of Purchase and Contract, and Probation Commission were also approved during the quarter.

In the Microfilm Section, filming of the original Supreme Court cases was resumed. This important project will result in flat-filing all cases up to 1909 and in indexing all actions, both reported and unreported. The Section filmed a total of 301 rolls during the quarter, exposing 1,466,114

frames.

Agency representatives visited the State Records Center 157 times to use records. In addition, the Center staff answered 382 service requests for other agencies. Records accessioned totaled 1,610 cubic feet, and 1,236 cubic feet were disposed of.

The rediscovery of a significant historical document has been made in the North Carolina Department of Archives and History. The original manuscript draft of John Adams' *Thoughts on Government* has been found in the David L. Swain Papers where for many years it remained unrecog-

nized for its originality.

The document, a six-page holograph, unsigned and not addressed but prepared early in the spring of 1776 for William Hooper, was carried to North Carolina by Hooper and turned over to Thomas Burke, chairman of a committee to frame a state constitution. In 1845 Burke's papers were given by his daughter Miss Mary W. Burke, through Dr. James Webb of Hillsboro to Governor Swain for the North Carolina Historical Society Collection at the University of North Carolina. About 1868 Mrs. Swain withdrew some of the papers of her late husband. Some of the withdrawn papers were sold and perhaps given away, and one portion was turned over to the State of North Carolina. This latter portion eventually found its way to the North Carolina Historical Commission (now the State Department of Archives and History), and among this collection was the Adams manuscript. While historians had generally known about (and used) a hand copy of the document as contained in the Burke Letterbook

in the Archives, the original manuscript in the Swain Papers had not been recognized for its significance. Upon inauguration of the project to publish the Adams Papers by the Massachusetts Historical Society, however, a new search was undertaken by the Archives staff and, with the assistance of Dr. Carolyn A. Wallace of the Southern Historical Collection in Chapel Hill, who helped unravel the wayward path of the Swain Papers over the past century, the original document was located. A photocopy was thereupon furnished to the Editor in Chief of the Adams Papers, Dr. Lyman H. Butterfield, who wrote Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, as follows on November 8, 1961:

"In few words, to our great satisfaction, . . . you have recovered the long-lost original manuscript of the very first version of John Adams' influential plan and the germ of his first important publication on constitutional law, entitled *Thoughts On Government* (Philadelphia, 1776).

"This fills in a sad gap in the record of his work as a writer and political thinker. I will not repeat here what I have said about the problem in the recently published *Dairy and Autobiography of John Adams*, q.v. at vol. 3, p. 331-333, but you may wish to place this reference with the manuscript. You may also wish to crow a little about your find, and I think you would be justified in doing so. . . . I am therefore adding a point or two for you to make use of if you care to.

"Of four markedly variant versions of his plan for new state governments, written in the early spring of 1776 and widely read by those who were engaged in constitution-making, the original manuscripts of two are now known: those composed for and given to William Hooper and John Penn respectively, the first of which is now in the North Carolina Archives and the second now in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Washburn Collection. The version Adams prepared for George Wythe was printed as *Thoughts on Government* and has been from time to time reprinted, as in Adams' *Works*, edited by his grandson C. F. Adams, vol. 4, p. 193-200. The version prepared for and sent to Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant for use in the New Jersey constitutional convention has never been located, but one may still hope.

"Since Adams neither dated nor signed his letter nor indicated its addressee's name, and since it was pulled out of its context when removed from Burke's papers, it has remained for a long time unrecognized for what it actually is—the first of John Adams' several attempts to place a constitutional groundwork under the new states just coming into being, to provide a constructive counterpart, one might say, to the necessarily destructive work which Thomas Paine's tremendously influential pamphlet Common Sense was doing in the spring of 1776.

"The editors of the Adams Papers are always on the watch for stray letters and documents, whether in public archives or private attics. Only through such help can their work be successfully conducted. Dr. Butterfield can be addressed at the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1154 Boylston Street, Boston 15, Massachusetts."

Division of Historic Sites

On October 26-27 Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, attended the meeting of the Historic American Buildings Survey Advisory Board of which he is a member. The Advisory Board assists the National Park Service in the conduct of the Historic American Buildings survey, a joint undertaking of the Park Service, the American Institute of Architects, and the Library of Congress. Mr. Tarlton was elected Secretary of the Board and was appointed to a special Committee to study and recommend procedures for handling the HABS materials deposited in the Library of Congress. On November 3 Mr. Tarlton accompanied Dr. Crittenden to a meeting in Bath of the Historic Bath Commission. Restoration of the Palmer-Marsh House and the Bonner House has progressed rapidly in recent months and both are nearly complete. Restoration of the grounds and outbuildings remains as the major unfinished business at both places. Committees of the Commission are working on the furnishings. Mr. Edmund H. Harding of Washington is Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Tarlton has assisted several additional projects in restoration processes and other matters. These include the Setzer schoolhouse project, a mid-nineteenth-century schoolhouse which has recently been moved from an inaccessible location in the country to the grounds of the Knox Junior High School in Salisbury, where it will be restored as a typical schoolhouse of its period. It will make a dramatic contrast with the ultra-modern junior high school building and will be a vivid illustration of the progress that has been made in public education in North Carolina. Mr. Tarlton has given advice to the group, headed by Miss Sue Smith of Dunn, which is restoring a typical Harnett County slave cabin at Chicora Cemetery on the Averasboro Battlefield. The slave cabin will serve as headquarters for the recent improvements at Averasboro and will perhaps house some exhibits on the battle. Mr. Tarlton has worked with the landscape architects, Lewis Clarke and Associates of Raleigh, in planning a site layout for the Governor Caswell Memorial at Kinston. Preliminary drawings have been made and are to be presented to the Governor Caswell Memorial Commission at an early meeting. He has worked with Mr. Richard C. Bell, landscape architect of Raleigh, in planning grounds restoration at the historic buildings being restored in Bath and in planning an over-all town tour of Bath sites and buildings. Mr. Tarlton is a member of the committee consisting of Professor Chalmers Davidson of Davidson College and Mrs. Joseph Graham of Lincolnton which is planning a program for marking historic sites which will be flooded by Lake Norman above Cowan's Ford on the Catawba River near Charlotte.

The Charles B. Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site was the meeting place for the Civil Defense Directors' wives on September 11. Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., Site Specialist, conducted a tour and the Fremont Garden Club served refreshments. Dr. D. J. Rose, Chairman of the Charles B. Aycock Memorial Commission; Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent; and Mr. Sawyer met on October 5 to plan the Visitor Center-Museum for the Aycock Birthplace. On October 19 Mr. Sawyer spoke to

the Fremont Rotary Club on the "Historic Sites Program of North Carolina" with emphasis on the Aycock Birthplace. An old field one-room schoolhouse such as Aycock attended has been located, purchased by the Aycock Commission, and moved to the site during the week of November 20. In addition to Dr. Rose, Mr. Hardy Talton of Goldsboro and Mr. H. L. Stephenson of Smithfield were on the committee to purchase the building. Mrs. Eleanor Bizzell Powell of Goldsboro is a new member of the Commission. Two school groups were led on a tour of the site and general attendance to date is 500 more than for 1960. The Aycock Birthplace played an important part in the opening and dedication of the Charles B. Aycock High School in Wayne County on December 3. The Fremont Garden Club decorated the Aycock Birthplace as for a typical Christmas of a hundred years ago and the Birthplace was open for visitation.

Negotiations are now under way for the purchase of 2.32 acres of land adjacent to the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace State Historic Site to be used for the construction of a Visitor Center-Museum. An appropriation of \$42,000 was made for this project by the 1961 General Assembly. As the birthplace itself depicts the humble beginnings of the Civil War governor, so will the exhibits in the Visitor Center-Museum tell the story of Zeb Vance's unique accomplishments in public life—as a lawyer, soldier, and statesman, Following completion of the Vance Museum, expected some time in 1962, a log barn and a corn crib will be erected to provide the last of eight exhibition buildings planned for the site. The birthplace, smokehouse, springhouse, slaves' quarters, and loom house are now open to the public. When funds are available, a caretaker's house will also be constructed on the site to provide added protection for the buildings and their furnishings. The Vance Birthplace was dedicated by the State Department of Archives and History on May 13, 1960, the one hundred thirty-first anniversary of Vance's birth. Attendance from that time until the end of 1961 was approximately 5,000. Greater attendance is anticipated when the site is completed.

Mr. Nicholas B. Bragg, Historic Site Specialist at Bentonville Battle-ground State Historic Site, met with the Battleground Advisory Committee in Clinton on August 29. He presented the "Story of Bentonville" as a part of an orientation program for this group. The Advisory Committee met again on October 4 to discuss the financial aspects of the Bentonville site. Wake County has joined Johnston, Harnett, Sampson, and Wayne counties to form this advisory committee headed by Mr. Roy C. Coates as Chairman. Representatives are Mrs. D. S. Coltrane, Wake; Mrs. Nathan M. Johnson, Harnett; Mr. Conway Rose, Wayne; Dr. Luby F. Royall, Jr., Johnston; and Mrs. Taft Bass and Mr. Maddrey Bass, Sampson. This committee is leading a \$41,000 fund-raising campaign to be used with the \$26,000 appropriated by the General Assembly for a Visitor Center-Museum, the opening of trails, the preparation of outdoor exhibits, and the completion of the restoration of the Harper House. More than 1,500 people attended the "Emphasis Bentonville" day on September 17 at which Governor Terry

Sanford made the principal address. The Advisory Committeee, the State Department of Archives and History, the Confederate Centennial Commission, and many local groups and patriotic organizations participated in this program. Mr. Bragg spoke on Bentonville at the "History Night" banquet on October 11 when the State United Daughters of the Confederacy met in Asheville. The Dunn Book Club met at the Bentonville Battleground site on October 18 and enjoyed a lecture and tour given by Mr. Bragg. He spoke again in High Point on November 10 on the Battle of Bentonville and the work at the site to the Civil War Round Table. Visitation at Bentonville from April 11 to September 16 of last year was 2,624, representing 30 States, the District of Columbia, England, and Germany. The site is open Monday through Saturday from 9:00 to 5:00 and on Sunday from 2:00 to 5:00.

Mr. Perry Young, a junior in Journalism at the University of North Carolina, has been employed temporarily to meet the public at the Bennett Place State Historic Site. Mr. Young will be on duty Saturdays and Sundays from 1:00 to 5:00. The house will be open to the public—groups, clubs, and organizations—by appointment at any time on weekdays. For information write Mr. N. B. Bragg, Box 1881, Raleigh, who is supervising the Bennett Place, as well as Bentonville.

The excavation of the site for the permanent Visitor Center-Museum at Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site was completed in late October. An area of 7,000 square feet was covered in the excavation. No new information concerning the aboriginal occupation was uncovered, but a trash pit and the corners of a shed or barn which were part of a nineteenthcentury farm site were encountered and excavated. Burials in the recently completed mortuary have received further cleaning and preservation. Mr. Bennie C. Keel, Historic Site Specialist at Town Creek, and Dr. Joffre L. Coe are in the process of analyzing and interpreting materials from the mortuary. This information will be used in presenting the mortuary to visitors. Mr. Keel spoke to the Tar River Chapter, Archaeological Society of North Carolina, and to the Mt. Gilead P. T. A. on problems of reconstruction at Town Creek. He attended the annual meeting of the North Carolina Archaeological Society in Goldsboro on October 7, the annual meeting of the Eastern States Archaeological Federation in Williamsburg on October 28-29, and the Southeastern Archaeological Conference at Occmulgee National Monument in Macon, Georgia, on November 30.

Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist in charge of Brunswick Town State Historic Site, reports that the ruins of the home of Captain Stephen Parker Newman (1775) have been completely excavated and many items of historical and scientific interest recovered. The ruin was covered when the Confederate earthworks were thrown up at Fort Anderson, and more than six feet of sand was recently removed. The Newman home escaped the Brunswick fire of 1776 and was used until the early years of the nineteenth century. Mr. South, one of the organizers of The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology, read two papers at the November 30 meeting

in Macon, Georgia. He also attended the Williamsburg meeting of the Eastern States Archaeological Federation and the Goldsboro meeting of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina where he presented a display on Brunswick Town, Fort Fisher, and the Indians of the Lower Cape Fear area. Mr. South, in preparing for one of the papers presented in Macon, photographed numerous seals, belonging to persons during the colonial period, in the State Archives and the University of North Carolina Library. Many seals are no longer extant, having been destroyed when the documents were laminated. Those preserved through photography will be of value to archeologists who find matrices in ruins. Members of the Lower Cape Fear Archaeological Society and Mr. South visited the site of an Indian mound near Fayetteville being excavated by Lt. Col. Howard A. MacCord of Fort Bragg. Mr. South discovered an Archaic occupation level with hearthstones and spearpoints over 4,000 years old. Members of the society also visited Brunswick Town where they assisted in the excavation of a foundation of a building (lot 28) owned by Judge Maurice Moore in 1769. Mr. South has recently correlated, by analysis, the dates of the kaolin pipe stems with the china and deed records of Brunswick Town. These data have been compiled into a chart. The garden clubs of Southport have secured district endorsement and are seeking State Garden Club approval for the project of restoring a colonial garden and maintaining a nature trail at Brunswick Town. Mr. South spoke to several schools and organizations and conducted tours of the site.

Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Historic Site Specialist at Fort Fisher State Historic Site, reports that the Fort Fisher Museum-Pavilion has been completed and the displays installed, and that it is now open to the public daily from 8:00 to 5:00. On October 13 representatives of New Hanover County and interested local groups met at Battle Acre—which New Hanover County recently deeded to the State—to inspect the progress of the pavilion. The inspection received newspaper and television coverage. Those attending included Mr. Glenn M. Tucker and Mrs. Alice Strickland, cochairmen of the Fort Fisher Restoration Committee; Mr. J. W. Washburn. Mayor of Carolina Beach, and Mr. Stacy Thomas, City Manager; Mr. Alex Fonvielle, the contractor; and representatives of the Woman's Club and Lions Club of Carolina Beach and the New Hanover County Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Contributions from the county and local clubs matched State funds to pay for the temporary Museum-Pavilion. On October 7 Mr. Honeycutt attended the twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina which met in Goldsboro and on October 11 he spoke at the Asheville meeting of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. On October 31 he met with the Lower Cape Fear Archaeological Society and on November 7 spoke to the Wilmington Junior Chamber of Commerce on "The Historical Importance of Fort Fisher: Development, Plans, and Progress." Mr. Honeycutt's article, "Fort Fisher National Park Proposed (1907-1910)," was published in the November Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Inc. Bulletin and on November 8 he attended a meeting of the Lower Cape Fear Society.

He spoke at the High Point Civil War Round Table meeting on November 10. Mr. John D. Miller, a graduate of New Hanover High School, will be responsible for the general maintenance of the 180-acre site and will assist the site specialist in other ways. On November 4 Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall announced that Fort Fisher was one of 32 sites eligible for historic landmark status. It was selected by the National Park Service and will be listed in a registry of historic landmarks. The registry resulted from a survey authorized by the 1935 Congress.

Division of Museums

On September 18 and 19 Mrs. Joye E. Jordan Museum Administrator, attended a television première in Charlotte and on September 21 gave to the Raleigh Jaycettes an after-dinner slide-lecture on the Tryon Palace Restoration. She met with a committee in Hillsboro on September 29 to discuss museum organization for the Orange County Historical Museum and also visited the Bennett Place with Mrs. W. M. Piatt to discuss items pertaining to the restoration of the site. On October 4 she talked on "Christmas 100 Years Ago" to the Fremont Garden Club which decorated the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace and site for the Christmas holidays. On October 5 she attended the opening of the "Country Store" Exhibit at the Greensboro Historical Museum. On October 24 Mrs. Jordan accompanied to the University of North Carolina Library and the Duke University Library the Meredith students who are taking the internship course in the Department of Archives and History. She has been instructing a number of these students in various phases of museum work. From November 1 to 4 she attended the annual meeting of the Southeastern Museums Conference in New Orleans, La., and on November 4 and 5 she attended the meeting of the Confederate Centennial Commission in Jackson, Mississippi. She visited the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace on November 9 to discuss museum plans for that site, and was in Richmond, Virginia, November 15 and 16 with Mr. Norman C. Larson for a conference on the Confederate Museum.

Division of Publications

The Division of Publications has revised its list of books and pamphlets available from the State Department of Archives and History; the pamphlet is being distributed free upon request. A sheet containing twelve maps showing the formation of the North Carolina counties was published, and brochures on Fort Fisher and Brunswick Town were issued for the Historic Sites Division.

Increased efforts were made to publicize the availability of materials on North Carolina history. In addition to a number of news releases, an article on the Division of Publications and its work was carried in the October 14, 1961, issue of *The State*; several short articles were included in *The North Carolina Education Association Bulletin*; and spot announcements were sent to the North Carolina radio and television stations, giving information about the publications of the Department. A mimeographed sheet of information about the Department's publications was sent to all public

school libraries, through the co-operation of the Department of Public Instruction, and various informational materials were sent to the public and college libraries through the State Library. Notices were sent to approximately 2,000 persons announcing the publication of *The Poems of Governor Thomas Burke of North Carolina* and Clement Hall's *A Collection of Many Christian Experiences*. The Confederate Centennial Commission and the leaders in the United Daughters of the Confederacy have assisted in publicizing publications on the Civil War.

During the quarter July 1 through September 30, 1961, receipts from the sale of publications totaled \$3,241.65. A total of 36 documentary volumes, 385 small volumes, and 8,209 pamphlets was sold and 780 governors' letter books were distributed. There were 68 new subscriptions and 256

renewals to The North Carolina Historical Review.

The special sale of back issues of *The Review* is proving successful. Forty sets had been sold by November 15. Though the Department does not guarantee an unbroken set, few issues are missing. Sets of thirty-eight volumes, covering the years 1924 through 1961, are being sold for \$25; they are sent to the purchaser express collect. The sale will be continued through March 31.

The Advisory Editorial Board of the Department met on September 22. Three members of the Board, Dr. Frontis W. Johnston, Dr. Robert H. Woody, and Dr. Sarah Lemmon, met with three editorial advisers, Dr. Paul Murray, Mr. William S. Powell, and Senator John R. Jordan, Jr., to review the entire publications program. Plans for new publications and suggestions for improvements are being implemented. Current members of the Advisory Board, who will serve from January 1, 1962, through June 30, 1963, are Dr. Johnston, Dr. Woody, Dr. Lemmon, Mr. Powell, and Senator Jordan.

Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Editor, and Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, represented the Department at the Southern Historical Association meetings in Chattanooga November 8-11. Mrs. Blackwelder spoke to the Canterbury Book Club in Raleigh on October 3, to the Alamance County Chapter of the Meredith College Alumnae Association on November 14, and to the student body of St. Mary's College in Raleigh on November 21. She was elected a trustee of the Olivia Raney Library in Raleigh in September, and the Raleigh *News and Observer* selected Mrs. Blackwelder as "Tar Heel of the Week" on October 1.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, who was a member of the faculty of the University of North Carolina for 42 years, died at his home in Chapel Hill on November 11. Dr. Hamilton, 83 years of age, was a noted scholar, the author or editor of a number of volumes in the field of southern history, and the founder of the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina Library. This collection, one of the most significant in the nation, has been widely used by writers and researchers.

Dr. Wallace Everett Caldwell, Professor of Ancient History at the University of North Carolina since 1921, died at his Chapel Hill home on October 6. He was the author of four books and numerous articles in his

field of ancient history.

Dr. George B. Tindall delivered an address, "The Metamorphosis of Progressivism in the 1920's," at The Johns Hopkins University on November 20, and had an article, "The South: Into the Mainstream," published in Current History, XL (May, 1961). Dr. Clifford M. Foust read a paper, "Who Cares About Confucius," at a meeting of the Southeastern American Studies Association in Miami on November 5. Members of the History Department of the University who participated in the sessions of the Southern Historical Association held in Chattanooga, November 9-11; were: Dr. Douglas D. Hale, who delivered a paper, "The Early Career of Henrick Von Gagern"; Dr. James W. Patton, who served as chairman of the session, "Reconstruction: Negroes and Politics"; Chairman of the Department Carl H. Pegg, who presided at the European History Conference group; Mr. D. Alan Harris, who delivered a paper, "Milford W. Howard, Alabama Populist"; and Dr. James E. King, who served as a discussant at a program on English and French politics in the seventeenth century.

Dr. Fletcher M. Green read a paper, "Cycles on American Democracy," at the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Detroit in September. Dr. Robin D. S. Higham had a book, The British Rigid Airship Programme, 1908-1931: A Study in Weapons Policy, published in London, and Dr. Hugh T. Lefler is the author of the section on North Carolina in both Colliers Encyclopedia Yearbook (1960) and The American Annual (1961). Dr. Loren C. MacKinney has had articles dealing with medical history published in Ciba Symposium, VIII (December, 1960); Spectrum, IX (January-February, 1961); and the Journal of American Pharmaceutical Association, I (March, 1961). Dr. Robert Moats Miller's article, "Methodism, the Negro, and Ernest Fremont Tittle," was published in The Wisconsin Magazine of History, LXIV (Winter, 1960); and Dr. Frank W. Ryan's article, "The Opinions of Editor William Gilmore Simms of the Southern Quarterly Review, 1849-1854," was published in Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association, 1959 (1961). Dr. Peter F. Walker is the author of "Natchez." in the Encyclopedia Britannica, XVI (1961).

Dr. Richard Bardolph, Chairman of the Department of History and Political Science, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, served as commentator on October 12 and read a paper on October 14 at the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, October 12-14. His book, *The Negro Vanguard*, winner of the Mayflower Award for 1960, was republished on October 12, 1961, by Random House in the Vintage Book Series. Miss Gail Boden, Miss Margaret Hunt, and Mr. George McCowen joined the faculty in September as Instructors, and Dr. Owen S. Connelly as Assistant Professor. Dr. Eugene Pfaff is on leave accompanying a student world tour under the auspices of the International School of America, and Dr. Franklin D. Parker was in Peru as a Fulbright Lecturer during the fall semester.

Dr. Philip Africa, Head of the Department of History at Salem College, served as a part-time lecturer in history at the Woman's College, University of North Carolina, during the fall semester.

Dr. Stuart Noblin of the Department of History, North Carolina State College, read a paper, "A Voice of Agriculture: Recent Policies of the National Grange," at the October 20 meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina, Dr. Burton F. Beers organized and served as chairman of the session, "Diplomacy and Strategy in the Early Twentieth Century," at the Southern Historical Association, Chattanooga, Tennessee, November 11; Dr. J. Leon Helguera attended a joint meeting, November 13-24, of the Third Congress in Hispanic-American History and the Second Hispanic-American Congress in Cartagena, Columbia, and prepared a paper which was read in his absence on "Research Opportunities in Modern Latin America: Bolivarian Nations," for the meeting of the Southern Historical Association. Dr. Marvin L. Brown, Jr., served on the program committee of the American Historical Association which met December 28-30. Faculty promotions effective July 1, 1961, were: Dr. Beers to Associate Professor and Dr. Oliver H. Orr, Jr., to Assistant Professor. Mr. Stanley Suval, doctoral candidate at the University of North Carolina, joined the faculty as Instructor in September and Dr. Ladislas F. Reitzer resigned.

Dr. Robert F. Durden of the Duke University history faculty read a paper, "South Dakota v. North Carolina (1904): An Interstate Law Suit and the Aftermath of North Carolina Populism," at the Southern Historical Association and Dr. Anne Firor Scott read a paper on "The New Woman in the New South" at the same meeting. Dr. Donald G. Gillin's article, "Peasant and Communist in Modern China," was published in the South Atlantic Quarterly (Autumn, 1961), and Dr. Charles R. Young had a book, English Borough and Royal Administration, 1130-1307, published in October by the Duke University Press. Dr. Richard A. Preston will join the faculty in February as Professor of History. Dr. Joel Colton received a Rockefeller Foundation Grant for study for the fall of 1961; Dr. I. B. Holley, Jr., received a Social Science Research Council Grant for the 1961-1962 scholastic year; and Dr. Alfred Tischendorf received an award from the American Council of Learned Societies, Social Science Research Council, effective in the spring, 1962, for a year of Latin American studies. Mr. Clark G. Reynolds, M.A. candidate, had an article on the aircraft carrier "Saratoga," "'Sara' in the East," in United States Naval Institute Proceedings, LXXXVII (December, 1961).

Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace, Chairman of the Department of History and Political Science at Meredith College, is acting as Consultant for the State Department of Public Instruction in establishing the State-wide program of world history in the secondary schools. Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon has two brief articles in the Radcliffe College's publication, *Notable American Women*.

The Johnson C. Smith University of Charlotte has recently published *Down Through the Years*, compiled by Dr. Arthur Henry George and dedicated to the memory of Dr. Arthur Allen George. The book traces the history of the University from its founding, emphasizing the personalities who have been associated with the school as teachers or benefactors. Prepared in anticipation of the 1967 centennial, the booklet gives a summation of the contribution of Biddle University (now Johnson C. Smith) to the educational progress of the State.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL GROUPS

The Roanoke Island Historical Association held its annual business meeting and subscription luncheon at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh on November 28. Mrs. Fred W. Morrison of Kill Devil Hills and Washington, D. C., was elected Chairman, her term of office to begin at the expiration of that of Mrs. O. Max Gardner of Shelby. Reports on the 1961 operations of the outdoor drama, "The Lost Colony," by Mr. J. S. Dorton, Jr., revealed that the season was financially successful for the first time in a number of years.

The North Carolina Federation of Music Clubs held its fifth annual Music Day on November 28. Mrs. Harold G. Deal of Hickory, President, presided and Governor Terry Sanford made the principal address. The highlight of the evening program was a concert by Mr. William Alton, Greensboro pianist, who is North Carolina's first National Young Artist Winner. He received the \$1,000 award last April. Mrs. Walter Vassar of Greensboro introduced him. The invocation was sung by a quartet under the direction of Mrs. J. P. Freeman, Director of the Needham Broughton High School Choral Group of Raleigh, accompanied by Miss Rennie Peacock. The quartet was composed of Miss Betsy Ann Phifer, soprano; Miss Sue Strong, alto; Mr. Calvin Horton, bass; and Mr. Andy Little, tenor. Miss Sally Wyly of Gastonia, coloratura soprano, also appeared on the program with Mr. Huskey Wofford as her accompanist. The Federation made no awards for 1961 as no winners were selected from those submitting entries.

The thirty-fifth annual meeting of the North Carolina State Art Society was held on November 29. Dr. Joseph C. Sloane, Chairman of the Department of Art at the University of North Carolina and Director of the Ackland Museum, was elected President succeeding Dr. Robert Lee Humber of Greenville, who has served as head of the Society for the past ten years. Mrs. George W. Paschal, Jr., was elected Vice-President, Mr. Charles Lee Smith, Treasurer, and Mrs. J. C. B. Ehringhaus, Jr., Executive Secretary. All three are Raleigh residents. The members elected four new directors and reaffirmed the previous election of four directors whose terms were interrupted by a legal technicality at the time the Society and the State Art Museum were divorced by legislative mandate. The membership also approved previous action of the board of directors in turning

over to the State its museum assets. Dr. Humber reported that the museum's collection is now valued at more than seven million dollars; he also reported that the State had appropriated a total of \$892,000 for the operation of the museum since it opened in 1956. Mr. J. A. Kellenberger offered a motion that a resolution be drafted in appreciation of the work of Dr. Humber. Other persons presenting reports were Mr. Ben Williams, Curator of the Museum of Art, and Mr. Charles Stanford, Curator of Education. Mrs. W. Frank Taylor of Goldsboro, Membership Chairman, reported that the total membership of the Society is 1,347, an increase of 347 over 1960. Dr. Justus Bier, Museum Director, discussed recent acquisitions, and the resignation of Mr. Carl W. Hamilton of New York as consultant was accepted. Mrs. John N. Pearce, Curator at the White House, addressed the Society at the evening meeting. Following the meeting a preview of North Carolina Artists' Competition entries and a reception were held. Announcement of the winners of the five \$100 Art Society awards was made, as follows: Mr. Russell W. Arnold of the Atlantic Christian College Art Department for his painting, "No. 5—1961"; Mr. Roy Gussow of the North Carolina State College School of Design for his bronze sculpture, "Two Forms"; Miss Mackey Jeffries of the Meredith College Art Department for her painting, "Waiting"; Miss Ann Carter Pollard of Winston-Salem for painting, "Mykonos: Slaughter of Sheep"; and Mr. William Mangum of the Salem College Art Department for his portrait, "Dr. George Herring." More than 500 entries were submitted and from this number Mr. Andrew C. Richie, Director of the Yale Art Gallery, selected 143 for the exhibition and the five award winners.

The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities held its twenty-first annual meeting on November 30 with the President, Mr. Edmund H. Harding of Washington, presiding at the three sessions. Officers elected are Mrs. J. O. Tally, Jr., of Fayetteville, President; Mr. Dan Paul of Raleigh, Vice-President; and Mrs. Ernest A. Branch of Raleigh, Secretary-Treasurer. Reports on preservation projects were made by the following: "What our Society Has Done in the Past," by Mrs. Tally and "What We Should be Doing," by Mrs. Ernest L. Ives of Southern Pines. At the luncheon meeting Mr. Harding introduced Mrs. Edward Pryor, who spoke on her home town of Bath, England, which has an American museum. Mrs. Pryor was made an official member of North Carolina's Historic Bath Commission by Governor Terry Sanford on November 29. She brought gifts for the Palmer-Marsh House at Bath and greetings from the Marquis of Bath, the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, and his Worship, the Mayor of Bath, England. Mr. Harding also introduced a second speaker, "Sir Ronald Palmer," as a traveler and author from London, England. The speaker presented his observations on America and Americans before Mr. Harding disclosed that he was a fake and was in reality a humorist, Mr. Art Breece of Hot Springs, Arkansas. At the evening session Governor Terry Sanford presented the Cannon Awards, given annually for excellence in historical preservation and restoration, to Hon. R. O. Everett of Durham for his work in the restoration of the Bennett Place; Hon. Smith

Richardson of Greensboro and New York for work in the Colonial Bath project and other projects in the State; Mr. John Taylor of New Bern for restoration of a building at New Bern; and Mrs. W. C. Tucker of Greensboro for placing historical markers at several sites in the State. The Littleton Woman's Club received the society's prize of \$50 for the best club work in restoration and preservation. A highlight of the night session was the presentation of "Christmas in Carolina," a pantomine in five parts written by Mr. Harding and produced by East Carolina College students under the direction of Mr. J. A. Withey. Music was provided by the Men's Glee Club of the College with arrangements by Mr. Charles Stevens. A reception for members and guests followed the play.

The sixty-first annual meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association was held on December 1 with Mrs. Bernice Kelly Harris of Seaboard, President, presiding at the morning session. Officers elected were Dr. Chalmers G. Davidson of Davidson, President; and three Vice-Presidents: Judge Johnson J. Hayes of Wilkesboro, Mr. L. S. Blades, Jr., of Elizabeth City, and Mr. Henry Jay MacMillan of Wilmington. Dr. Christopher Crittenden was re-elected Secretary-Treasurer; Mrs. Harry McMullan of Washington, N. C., and Mrs. Dana H. Harris of Brevard were elected members of the Executive Committee. Mr. Weimar Jones of Franklin spoke on " A Country Editor Speaks His Mind," Mr. LeGette Blythe of Huntersville spoke on "An Unpublished Wolfe Episode," Dr. Preston W. Edsall of Raleigh reviewed North Carolina nonfiction for the year 1960-1961, and Dr. M. L. Skaggs of Greensboro presented the R. D. W. Connor Award to Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., for his article, "A Political Leader Bolts-F. M. Simmons in the Presidential Election of 1928," published in The North Carolina Historical Review. This award is made annually by the Historical Society of North Carolina for the best article published in The Review. Mr. W. S. Tarlton, member of the Council of the American Association for State and Local History, presented the 1961 Awards of Merit to the following: Burlington-Alamance County Chamber of Commerce for its co-operation with the State Department of Archives and History in developing Alamance Battleground (received by Mr. George Colclough, Manager of the Chamber); the Western North Carolina Historical Association for promoting interest in local history and especially for assistance in the restoration of the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace (received by Mr. Albert McLean, President); the Moravian Music Foundation in Winston-Salem for its program of research, and recording and disseminating information, in the field of American Moravian music (received by Dr. Donald McCorkle, Director); and the University of North Carolina Press and the Virginia Historical Society for their publication of Colonial Virginia by Richard L. Morton (received by Mr. Lambert Davis, Director of the University Press). Mr. William F. Lewis of Asheville presided at the luncheon at which Mr. John Alex McMahon of Chapel Hill made an address on "North Carolina's Local Records Program." Mr. Francis Speight of Greenville presented the Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Award to Mr. Carl Sandburg for his volume, Wind Song, which was ac-

cepted by Miss Cordelia Camp of Asheville in the absence of the winner. Mrs. Cecil Gilliatt of Shelby presented the American Association of University Women Juvenile Literature Award to Mr. Glen Rounds of Pine Bluff for his Beaver Business, An Almanac, which was accepted for Mr. Rounds by Mrs. Harris. Mr. David Stick of Kill Devil Hills presided at the dinner meeting and Mrs. Bernice Kelly Harris made her presidential Address. Governor Terry Sanford presided at the evening meeting at which Dr. Lenoir Chambers, Norfolk editor and author, spoke on "The South on the Eve of the Civil War." Governor Sanford presented the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association's Corporate Citizenship Award to Hanes Hosiery Mills Company of Winston-Salem. Mr. Gordon Hanes, President, accepted the award. Mrs. William T. Powell of High Point presented the Mayflower Cup award to Mr. LeGette Blythe of Huntersville for his nonfiction, Thomas Wolfe and His Family, The Sir. Walter Raleigh award was presented to Mr. Frank Borden Hanes of Winston-Salem for his work of fiction, The Fleet Rabble, by Miss Clara Booth Byrd of Greensboro, President of the Historical Book Club of North Carolina, Inc. A reception for members and guests was held following the meeting.

Mr. Norman C. Larson, President, presided at the fiftieth annual session of the North Carolina Folklore Society on December 1. Dr. Daniel W. Patterson of Chapel Hill spoke on "Folk Elements in the Music of the Shakers," Miss Lucia S. Morgan of Chapel Hill spoke on "The Speech of Ocracoke Island," and Mr. Frank M. Warner of Farmingdale, New York, spoke on "Folksongs of the American Wars." Officers elected were Mr. Richard Walser, President; Miss Ruth Jewell, First Vice-President; and Gen. John D. F. Phillips, Second Vice-President, all of Raleigh. Dr. A. P. Hudson of Chapel Hill was re-elected Secretary-Treasurer.

The North Carolina Symphony Society held its annual dinner meeting of the Executive Committee on December 1 at the Hotel Sir Walter.

On December 2 the Historical Book Club of North Carolina held its annual breakfast in honor of the winner of the Sir Walter Raleigh Cup. This year's winner, Mr. Frank Borden Hanes, was unable to be present, but members representing a number of towns attended. This year marks the first time that an award winner's wife has been a member of the club.

Mr. LeGette Blythe, second-time winner of the Mayflower Cup, and officers of the Central Carolina Colony of the Society of Mayflower Descendants were honored at the annual breakfast meeting on December 2.

Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson of Greensboro was elected President of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historicans at its twentieth annual meeting on December 2. Other officers elected were Mr. S. T. Peace of Henderson, Mrs. Musella W. Wagner of Chapel Hill, and Mr. John H. McPhaul, Jr., of Fayetteville, all Vice-Presidents. Mrs. Ida B. Kellam of

Wilmington is Secretary-Treasurer. Mr. Hugh B. Johnson, Jr., of Wilson presided at the meetings and reports were presented on the historical tours sponsored by the society. The Peace County History Award, presented every two years, was won by Mr. Manly Wade Wellman of Chapel Hill for his The County of Warren. The Smithwick Newspaper Award for the best newspaper or magazine article related to local history or biography was presented to Mr. William S. Powell for his article, "How Come Rumbling Bald Is Called Rumbling Bald?" which appeared in The State. Smithwick Certificates of Merit were awarded to Mr. T. J. Lassiter of Smithfield and Mr. F. C. Salisbury of Morehead City. The Hodges High School Award was not made this year as there was no candidate. Mr. McDaniel Lewis of Greensboro offered a resolution, which was unanimously accepted by the Society, commending Mr. D. L. Corbitt of Raleigh for his work in the publication of North Carolina history, Dr. H. H. Cunningham of Elon College made the principal address at the morning meeting on "Medical Highlights at Second Manassas." Mr. David Stick of Kill Devil Hills spoke at the luncheon meeting on "Civil War Sidelights on the North Carolina Coast."

On November 28 Governor and Mrs. Terry Sanford were hosts at a reception at the Governor's Mansion to members and guests of all the societies participating in Culture Week.

The Beaufort County Historical Society met in Bath on August 27 at the Palmer-Marsh House, which the group inspected as well as the Bonner House. Mr. Edmund H. Harding, President, was in charge of the meeting and tour. The group discussed the possibility of developing other historic sites, one of which the Society recently purchased—the A. M. E. Zion Church on Bonner's Point. The Society voted to mark the famous "Horse Tracks" on Camp Leach road on the Ed Cutler property, to preserve this unusual phenomenon. The group is also sponsoring the publication of a Beaufort County history, being written by Col. C. Wingate Reed, U. S. N. (Ret.). Officers re-elected were Mr. Edmund H. Harding, President; Mrs. F. S. Worthy, Vice-President; Mrs. Wilton Smith, Secretary-Treasurer.

The Catawba County Historical Association met on September 9 and October 14 with Mrs. J. M. Ballard, President, presiding. General John D. F. Phillips, Executive Secretary of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, was the speaker at the September meeting and the Rev. Robert J. Blumer spoke at the October meeting. The Association will cosponsor with the Lincoln County group the reprinting of the Lincoln County marriage bonds. Mr. and Mrs. Rome Jones have deeded the W. F. Rader property in Newton to the group as a possible house for the Catawba County historical museum. Officers re-elected were Mrs. Ballard, President; Mr. Thomas W. Warlick, Vice-President; Mr. G. Sam Rowe, Second Vice-President; Mrs. Roy Smyre, Secretary; Mrs. P. G. Snyder, Treasurer; Mr. Gene Hafer, Historican; and Mr. Paul Wagner, Custodian.

Mr. T. Harry Gatton, Executive Director of the North Carolina Bankers Association, was the featured speaker at the meeting of the Person County Historical Society on September 13 in Roxboro.

The Perquimans County Historical Society met on September 25 with President Stephen Perry presiding. Mrs. R. M. Riddick and Mrs. Raymond Winslow were in charge of the program.

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent of the State Department of Archives and History, was the speaker at the September 26 meeting of the Swansboro Historical Association. The Association was given an old house in Swansboro and Mr. Tarlton spoke on the problems of restoring historic houses.

The Harnett County Historical Society met on October 1 at the Barbecue Presbyterian Church in Olivia, which dates from 1757. An exhibit of historical materials and artifacts from private collections was held. The Harnett County Civil War Centennial Committee was in charge of the meeting.

The Brunswick County Historical Society met at the Camp Methodist Church, Shallotte, on October 2. Mr. Ray Wyche of Hallsboro spoke on "Blockade-Runners of the Cape Fear Area."

On October 4 the New Bern Historical Association met at the Attmore-Oliver House with President John R. Taylor presiding. The group discussed the possibility of qualifying for a grant from the Richardson Foundation.

The North Carolina Archaeological Society met on October 7 in Goldsboro with Dr. J. C. Harrington, Chief of Interpretation, Region I, National Park Service, as the featured speaker. Dr. Harrington spoke on Indian history and a display of related items was presented.

Mr. W. H. S. Burgwyn, Jr., of Woodland was elected President of the Northampton County Historical Society on October 6. Other officers elected were Mr. W. S. Clarke, Vice-President; and Mrs. J. M. Atkinson, Secretary-Treasurer. The program was presented by Mr. G. B. Fleetwood and Mr. Dudley Barnes.

The Southern Appalachian Historical Association met in Boone on October 9. Reports on "Horn in the West," sponsored by the Association, were made and plans outlined for next season's production. Officers elected for 1962 are Dr. I. G. Greer, President; Mr. Herman W. Wilcox, Executive Vice-President; Mr. J. V. Caudill, Vice-President, and Mr. O. K. Richardson, Treasurer.

The Caswell County Historical Association met October 11 in Yanceyville. Mrs. L. B. Satterfield, President, presided.

Mr. Ben Baker, former mayor, spoke on the history of Smithfield at the October 15 meeting of the Johnston County Historical Society. The group met at the Centenary Methodist Church.

Mr. T. E. Storey, President, presided at the October 16 meeting of the Wilkes County Historical Society.

The Bertie County Historical Association met in Roxobel on October 19. President Thomas Norfleet presided and Mr. John W. G. Powell, a native of Roxobel and husband of Dr. Janet Travell, personal physician to President John F. Kennedy, talked informally to the group.

The Chronicle, official organ of the Bertie Association, for October, 1961, had an article, "The Renaissance in North Carolina," by Dr. Black-

well P. Robinson.

Mr. F. C. Salisbury, President of the Carteret County Historical Society, was re-elected at the October 21 meeting. Other officers elected were Mr. Thomas Respess, Secretary; Mr. John S. MacCormack, Treasurer; and Miss Amy Muse, Curator. A program on the history of the Atlantic hotels in Morehead City was presented by Mrs. J. H. Doughton and Mrs. F. C. Salisbury. Reports were made on the work of the Society, which is beginning its eight year.

The Western North Carolina Historical Association and the Burke County Historical Society held a joint meeting in Morganton on October 28. Mr. William A. Leslie of the Burke group presided and Dr. Edward W. Phifer was in charge of the program. Mr. Sam J. Ervin, III, Mr. W. Stanley Moore, Mrs. Sadie S. Patton, Mrs. E. P. White, and Mr. Clifton K. Avery were on the program. Dr. David English Carmack of Lake Junaluska was awarded the Thomas Wolfe Memorial Trophy for his book, *Human Gold from Southern Mountains*.

The Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Inc., Bulletin for November, 1961, carried the annual presidential message from Mr. R. Jack Davis. An article on the New Hanover County Museum by Mrs. Ida Brooks Kellam and a special feature, "Fort Fisher National Park Proposed (1907-1910)," by Mr. Ava L. Honeycutt, Jr., completed the Bulletin. The Society met on November 8 at the St. Andrews Covenant Presbyterian Church. Mr. Louis T. Moore spoke on "The Historical Significance of Third Street."

In observance of the 200th anniversary of the establishment of Pitt County, the County Historical Society sponsored a special exhibit at the Greenville Art Center during November and December. Items were displayed to trace the history of the county from January 1, 1761. Miss Tabitha M. De Visconti, Mrs. T. W. Rouse, Miss Venetia Cox, and Mr. Frank Wooten were in charge of the exhibit which opened officially November 5.

The Transylvania County Historical Association recently adopted a new seal, according to Mrs. G. H. Lyday, President. The seal was planned to coincide with the centennial of the establishment of the county. Designed by Mrs. Patricia Bennett of Brevard, the seal is a composite design of five points of emphasis—music, factory, resources, power, and a horn of plenty. The seal is centered with a covered wagon and bears the year 1861.

The Mecklenburg Historical Association met on November 10 with Mr. George Houston, President, presiding. Mr. Houston also presented a report on the restoration of the graves of the signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.

Dr. Philip Africa, Head of the Department of History at Salem College, spoke on "The Attitude toward Slavery in the Early Salem Community" to the Wachovia Historical Society in Winston-Salem on November 27. Mr. John Fries Blair, President, presided and following the business meeting a preview tour of the Salem Tavern Barn Museum was made.

Mr. Irving Lowens, Assistant Head of the Reference Section of the Library of Congress' Music Division and Research Consultant of the Moravian Music Foundation, was presented the first Moramus Award for distinguished service to American music on October 3 in Winston-Salem. Dr. Donald M. McCorkle, Director of the Foundation, presented the award. This institution, the only one of its kind, is devoting its full resources to advancing the knowledge of the American musical heritage.

The Historical Society of North Carolina met at Wake Forest College in Winston-Salem on October 20, 1961. Papers were read by Dr. Stuart Noblin, Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., and Dr. Rosser H. Taylor, retiring President of the Society. Dr. Frontis W. Johnston was elected President and Dr. H. H. Cunningham was re-elected Secretary. New members elected to the Society were Dr. Otis H. Singletary and Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder.

Mrs. J. M. Ballard, President of the Catawba County Historical Association, has presented to the Department a copy of the reprinted edition of *Marriage Bonds of Tryon and Lincoln Counties*, *North Carolina*. First published in 1929, the volume has been reissued by the historical societies of Catawba and Lincoln counties. The bonds were abstracted and indexed by Curtis Bynum.

The Department has received *Thoughts of a Country Doctor* by Dr. George Ammie McLemore, Sr., of Smithfield. The 52-page book contains a biographical sketch of Dr. McLemore and a number of poems written by him. Also included are toasts and several pages of "Aunt Roxie Says," pithy comments which appeared in *The Smithfield Herald* from November 10, 1925, through March 21, 1930.

Albemarle Annals, by Charles Crossfield Ware, is a booklet of slightly over 100 pages. Recently received by the Department, this publication contains brief sketches of the 66 churches of the Albemarle Christian Missionary Union and of the Union itself. Research for the booklet was done in the Carolina Discipliana Library at Atlantic Christian College. Paper bound copies for \$1.00 and clothbound copies for \$2.00 are available from Dr. Ware, Box 1164, Wilson, N. C.

Thomas Pearson, grandson of Chief Justice Richmond M. Pearson, has written a booklet, *Richmond Hill: A Guided Tour*, which describes his ancestral home and its furnishings. This house, built on a Buncombe County tract of land originally purchased by the Chief Justice in 1867, was named by Mr. Pearson's father for the famous Richmond Hill home of Chief Justice Pearson in Yadkin County. Addition information about the pamphlet may be obtained from Mr. Pearson, Richmond Hill, Asheville, North Carolina.

Alexander Rountree Foushee has been a frequent contributor of letters to the Roxboro Courier, giving reminiscences of by-gone days of the town. Compiled and published in an eighty-one page booklet entitled Reminiscenses: A Sketch and Letters Descriptive of Life in Person County in Former Days, the letters cover a wide variety of subjects. County heads of families, doctors, teachers, customs and people in the 1850's, and progress made in Roxboro from 1900 to 1914 are only a few of the topics discussed by Mr. Foushee. This publication was sent to the Department through the courtesy of The Peoples Bank of Roxboro, the Carolina Power and Light Company, and the Roxboro Chamber of Commerce. Additional information may be obtained from the Chamber of Commerce.

MISCELLANEOUS

The Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia announces the offer of a \$500 research award for the best historical information about John Rolfe, his appearance, and mannerisms. The Foundation is conducting the 350th anniversary celebration of the tobacco industry in the United States, which will be held in 1962. The competition, which is open to any interested person, will close March 1, 1962. Complete details are available from Mr. Parke Rouse, Jr., Jamestown Foundation, Box 1835, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Applications for the grants-in-aid for research, given twice annually by the Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri, should be sent to Dr. Philip C. Brooks, Director, before April 1 and October 1, 1962.

The American Association for State and Local History announced in November that the University of North Carolina Press will publish the Association's annual \$1,000 prize-winning book-length manuscript in localized history. The arrangement also provides for the publication of other meritorious manuscripts recommended by the Association's 23-member research and publication committee. Dean Clifford L. Lord of Columbia University heads this Committee. Dr. Clement M. Silvestro is Director of the Association and Mr. Lambert Davis is Director of the University Press. Full details of the manuscripts award and the grant-in-aid program may be obtained by writing Dr. Silvestro, 816 State Street, Madison 6, Wisconsin.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW EDITORIAL POLICY

The Editorial Board of *The North Carolina Historical Review* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of North Carolina and adjacent States. Articles on the history of other sections may be submitted, and, if there are ties with North Carolinians or events significant in the history of this State, the Editorial Board will give them careful consideration. Articles on any aspect of North Carolina history are suitable subject-matter for *The Review*, but materials that are primarily genealogical are not accepted.

In considering articles, the Editorial Board gives careful attention to the sources used, the form followed in the footnotes, the style in which the article is written, and the originality of the material and its interpretation. Clarity of thought and general interest of the article are of importance, though these two considerations would not, of course, outweigh inadequate use of sources, incomplete coverage of

the subject, and inaccurate citations.

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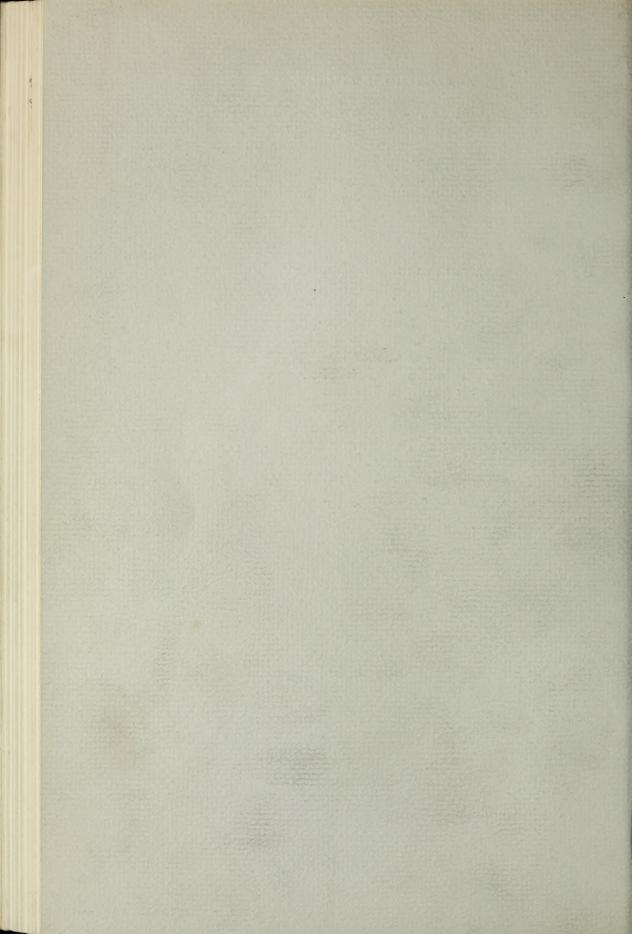
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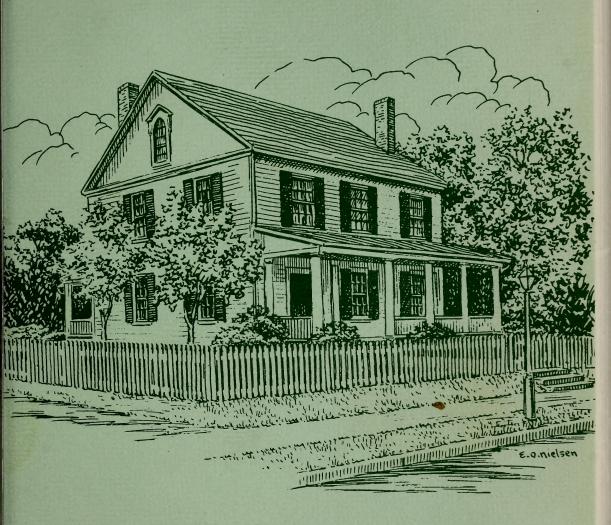
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The North Carolina Historical Review



Spring 1962

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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COVER—This pen and ink sketch of the Rowan Museum is used with the permission of Mrs. Gettys Guille, Director. Salisbury's oldest dwelling was formerly known as the Maxwell Chambers House and was erected in 1819 by Judge James Martin. For an article on James Carter, one of the founders of Salisbury, see pages 131-139.

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JAMES CARTER: FOUNDER OF SALISBURY

BY ROBERT W. RAMSEY*

Beginning in 1747-1748 and continuing until the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1754, thousands of German, Scotch-Irish, Welsh, English, and Huguenot immigrants streamed into the fertile valleys of western North Carolina. In 1753 because of the rapid influx of new settlers, the northern portion of Anson County was cut off and named Rowan.1 The eastern boundary of the new county extended from where the Anson County border bisected Lord Granville's line north to the Virginia frontier. There was no limit to its westward extent.

In the spring of 1753, the court of Rowan set in motion the machinery for administering the new county. A courthouse was authorized, and

was described as follows:

 \ldots the demention [sic] of the court be 30 feet long and [torn] and a story and a half ["half" scratched out] high with two floors framed . . . shingles of pine . . . with one good window [torn] of five lights of 8"/10" and one do. in each side [torn] ten foot from the end of the Courthouse with a door in the end opposite to the bench an oval bar with banisters and bench three feet above the floor a table and proper bars for the attorneys the said house to be enclosed with proper doors and window shutters and a seat for the clerk under the bench.2

The court also ordered that a tax of four shillings and one penny halfpenny proclamation money³ be levied on each taxable⁴ in the county

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¹ David Leroy Corbitt, The Formation of the North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943 (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1950), 8-9.

² Minutes of the Rowan County Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, 1753-1767, Parts I and II, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, 8-9 hereinafter cited as Rowan Court Minutes.

³ Proclamation money was "coin valued according to a proclamation of Queen Anne, June 18, 1704, by which the various colonial valuations of the Spanish 'pieces of eight' . . . were . . . fixed at six shillings." This attempt to unify the silver currency in the colonies failed. In March, 1754, every four-shilling proclamation bill was valued at three shillings sterling. James Truslow Adams, Dictionary of American History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons [Second edition, revised], 5 volumes and index, 1942), IV, 353; William L. Saunders (ed.), The Colonial Records of North Carolina (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), V, xliv, hereinafter cited as Saunders, Colonial Records.

*By an act of the Assembly of 1749, taxables were described as all white males over sixteen, all Negroes and mulattoes over twelve, and all white persons over

"for the Defraying the Publick Charges of this Province and Also Debts

Due from this county and Publick buildin [g]s, etc." 5

In the fall of 1753 the court authorized the purchase of a large number of books at county expense. These included William Nelson's The Office and Authority of a Justice of the Peace (probably the third edition, 1745); John Godolphin's The Orphan's Legacy, Or a Testamentary Abridgment (including sections on wills, executors, and legacies); Giles Jacob's New Law Dictionary (1729); and Cary's Abridgment of the Statutes.6 A certain James Carter was appointed commissioner to make the purchase.

The first step in the establishment of a town between the Yadkin and Catawba rivers was taken on March 21, 1754, when the court made the announcement that "James Carter, Esquire, his lordship's deputy-surveyor, produced a warrant for six hundred and forty acres of land for the use of the inhabitants of this county &c. and for the use of the prison courthouse and stocks & c. of said county by which warrant it appears he paid the sum of £1.6.8." On February 11, 1755, the town of Salisbury was formally created when William Churton and Richard Vigers, agents for Lord Granville, made the following grant to James Carter and Hugh Forster,8 trustees:

. . . Six hundred and thirty-five acres of land for a township . . . by the name of Salisbury . . . that they might and should grant and convey in fee Simple the several lots already taken up and entered . . . reserving the annual rent of one shilling for each lot . . . and likewise grant and convey . . . such lots . . . as are not already entered to such persons as shall respectively apply for the same on the payment of twenty shillings. . . . 9

A certain James Carter, it will be noted, played a conspicuously prominent part in the establishment of the town. Not only was he a

number.

twelve who intermarried with Negroes. Walter Clark (ed.), The State Records of North Carolina (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both Colonial Records and State Records], 1895-1914), XXIII, 345.

⁶ Rowan Court Minutes, I, 21.

⁶ Rowan Court Minutes, I, 23; Leslie Stephen, Sidney Lee, and Others (eds.), The Dictionary of National Biography (London: Oxford University Press, 22 volumes [including first supplement], reprinted, 1922; and 6 supplements, 1922-1959), VIII, 41; X, 553; XIV, 215.

⁷ Rowan Court Minutes, I, 34.

⁸ Forster was a saddler from Cecil County, Maryland. In 1753 he settled on Horsepen Creek of Haw River in Orange County. Jane (Baldwin) Cotton (ed.), The Maryland Calendar of Wills (Baltimore: Kohn and Pollock, Inc., 8 volumes, 1904-1928), VII, 211, hereinafter cited as Cotton, Maryland Wills; Rowan County Deed Books, Office of Register of Deeds, Rowan County Courthouse, Salisbury, Deed Book III, 114, hereinafter cited as Rowan Deed Books.

⁹ Land Grant Records of North Carolina, Office of the Secretary of State, Raleigh, Land Grant Book VI, 114, hereinafter cited as Land Grant Book with the correct number.

deputy surveyor and trustee for the newly created township, but also he held the offices of justice of the peace¹⁰ and register of deeds.¹¹ On March 8, 1753, Carter bought from James Allison¹² a three hundredfifty acre tract which adjoined the town land on the south and which included approximately sixty-seven of the town's two hundred fifty-six lots.13

Who was this man? From whence had he come? The New Castle County, Delaware, trial dockets reveal that a James Carter appeared in a case in November, 1736.14 In March of the following year the court of Cecil County, Maryland, recorded the fact that "James Carter, late of Cecil County, carpenter, was attached to answer unto William Hutchinson of a plea of trespass." 15 Two years later Carter appeared again in the Cecil County Court where he was referred to as a millwright.¹⁶ On April 28, 1739, William Williams, a settler in the Appoquinimink Creek district of New Castle County, made the following statement when interrogated regarding the boundary controversy between Maryland and Pennsylvania:

... about two years ago and since, part of the said land within the fork of the main branch of Appoquinak [sic] Creek has been entered on by one Mathew Donohoe, James Carter, Augustine Noland and James Poor, pretending to be tenants of one Mr. James Paul Heath of Cecil County and province of Maryland. . . . 17

¹⁰ Rowan County Trial Dockets (1753-1767), State Department of Archives and His-

[&]quot;Rowan County Trial Dockets (1753-1767), State Department of Archives and History, I.

"Rowan Court Minutes, I, 11.

"Allison, from Cecil County, Maryland, had obtained the land in 1751. Cecil County Deed Books, Office of the Register of Deeds, Cecil County Courthouse, Elkton, Maryland, Deed Book VII, 164; Rowan County Will Books, Office of the Clerk of Court, Rowan County Courthouse, Salisbury, hereinafter cited as Rowan Wills; Land Grant Book XI, 1.

"Map of the Town of Salisbury, N. C., drawn by W. Moore, surveyor, August 7, 1823, North Carolina Room, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

"New Castle County, Delaware, Court Judgments, 1703-1750, Hall of Records, Dover, Delaware, Folder No. 23 (1734-1736), 56. Although not conclusive, the available evidence strongly indicates that Carter originated in Southampton Township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and that he was born between 1700 and 1710. Abstracts of Bucks County Wills, 1685-1795 (handwritten and in bound volumes), 19, Collections of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Alfred R. Clark Genealogical Collection, "CA-CLARK" Volume, 29, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Land Grant Book XI, 15; Rowan Deed Book I, 57; III, 5, 514; Rowan Court Minutes, I, 15-16, 32-33; Rowan Wills, Book A, 43; Bucks County Miscellaneous Papers, 1682-1750 (2 bound volumes), I, 135, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; A. Van Doren Honeyman (ed.), Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey (Somerville, New Jersey: The Unionist Gazette Association, Volume XXX of the First Series, 1918), 47, 189, 327; Cotton, Maryland Wills, III, 126; VII, 9, 174.

"Cecil County Judgments, 1723-1730, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland (accession No. 9236, S.K. No. 3, 182), hereinafter cited as Cecil County Judgments.

"Cecil County Judgments, 1736-1741 (accession No. 9238, S.K. No. 5, 299).

"Samuel Hazard (ed.), Pennsylvania Archives. Selected and Arranged from Original Documents in the Office of the Secret

The deposition of Thomas Rothwell, living in the same area, was to the effect that

... a certain James Carter, also pretending to be a tenant of the aforesaid James Heath, entered on the aforesaid tract of land (though often required to forbear) and built a house about 200 yards within the line and cleared some of the said land, and often left it when said small settle-

In the summer of 1740, Carter found himself "a languishing prisoner in the Cecil County Gaol." 19 At the instigation of William Rumsey of Bohemia Manor, Cecil County, an act was promulgated in the Maryland Assembly for the release of Carter and others. The Act read in part:

... Whereas the said ... [debtors] ... have set forth that they have continued Prisoners for Debt in the custody of the several sheriffs . . . and not being able to redeem their Bodies with all the Estate or Interest that they have in the world . . . unless relieved by a particular Act passed in their Favour . . . they must inevitably continue Prisoners for Life. . . . 20

Carter was freed the same year. His wealthy friend and benefactor, William Rumsey, died in February, 1742, leaving a considerable estate and a widow, Sabinah Rumsey.21

Hounded by the courts, heavily in debt, and bereft of his patron, Carter left Cecil County and headed westward. Within two years he had made his way into the Shenandoah Valley; and, in 1744, he obtained a three hundred-acre tract adjoining John Campbell on the Great Calfpasture River in Augusta County.²² During the next three years, Carter built one or more mills in Augusta,23 and (probably in company with Hugh Forster and John Dunn) associated himself with

¹⁸ Hazard, Pennsylvania Archives, I, 564.
¹⁹ W. H. Browne and Others (eds.), Archives of Maryland (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 65 volumes, 1883-1952), XLII (1740-1744), 146, hereinafter cited as Browne, Archives of Maryland.
²⁰ Browne, Archives of Maryland, XLII, 146.
²¹ Cotton, Maryland Wills, VIII, 200. Rumsey was a distinguished surveyor who laid out Fredricktown, Maryland, and undoubtedly taught Carter the trade. It is believed that Rumsey was the surveyor of the temporary line between Maryland and Pennsylvania in 1739. Besides being one of the largest landholders in Cecil County, he was collector of customs at the Head of Bohemia. His will was witnessed by James Carter and John Dunn.

Carter and John Dunn.

2 Plan of 16,500 Acre Tract of Land on the Great or West River of the Calfpasture, 1744. The Preston and Virginia Papers of the Draper Collection of Manuscripts,

Duke University Library, Durham.

2 Lyman Chalkley (ed.), Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlements in Virginia, Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800 (Rosslyn, Virginia: The Commonwealth Printing Company, 3 volumes, 1912), I, 21, hereinafter referred to as Chalkley, Chronicles of Augusta County.

Morgan Bryan, Squire Boone, and Edward Hughes.24 It was probably in Augusta, too, that Carter's two daughters were married, Mary to Jonathan Boone, son of Squire, and Abigail to Robert Gamble.²⁵

By 1747 in the manner typical of the merchants and promoters of Chesapeake Bay and the Delaware Valley, Carter began to seek additional sources of income. It is impossible to conclude other than that he and his associates agreed upon the organization and development of a settlement and town in the Yadkin Valley of North Carolina. The land in Carolina was cheap, fertile, well-watered, and virtually treeless. Moreover, the Indians were not troublesome and Lord Granville was highly desirous of new settlements in the back country.26 Carter and his friends realized that the Valley of Virginia was rapidly filling and that a mass movement southward to Carolina was imminent.

Accordingly, Carter's group joined the vanguard of the southward surge, purchased thousands of acres of the best land in Anson and Rowan,²⁷ contacted Churton and Vigers, and organized the township of Salisbury. John Dunn became attorney for the province and the first clerk of the court of Rowan County.²⁸ Carter and Forster were appointed trustees for the town land, while Bryan probably supplied much of the capital needed for the enterprise. Boone, Hughes, and Carter became three of Rowan's first fourteen justices.29 David Jones, a Welshman, originally from Chester County, Pennsylvania, became the new county's first sheriff.³⁰ Between 1750 and 1756 James Carter

²⁴ Carter, Dunn, and Forster were all in Cecil County at sometime between 1736 and 1742. Hughes and Boone, both Quakers, removed to the Valley from Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania; Bryan was in Chester County, Pennsylvania, in 1724. In 1730, in partnership with Alexander Ross, he obtained one hundred thousand acres near Opequon Creek in the lower Shenandoah Valley for the purpose of establishing a colony of Friends. Hazel A. Spraker, The Boone Family: A Genealogical History of the Descendants of George and Mary Boone Who Came to America in 1717, Containing Many Bits of Early Kentucky History: Also a Biographical Sketch of Daniel Boone, The Pioneer, by One of His Descendants (Rutland, Vermont: The Tuttle Company, 1922), 27-32; H. Frank Eshleman, "Assessment Lists and Other Manuscript Documents of Lancaster County Prior to 1729," Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society, XX (1916), 181; John W. Wayland, The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia (Charlottesville, Virginia: Wayland Publisher, 1907), 45; Chalkley, Chronicles of Augusta County, III, 340.

25 Rowan Deed Book III, 367, 527; Rowan Wills, Book A, 43.

26 Samuel James Ervin, Jr., A Colonial History of Rowan County, North Carolina (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, Volume 16, No. 1 of The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, 1917), 10.

27 Rowan County deeds and the land grant records in Raleigh reveal that Bryan purchased 4,088 acres before 1763; Hughes, 3,170 acres; Boone, 1,280 acres; Dunn, 2,062 acres and a lot in Salisbury; Forster, 1,535 acres; and Carter, 6,674 acres.

28 Rowan Court Minutes, I, 31; II, 75.

29 Rowan Court Minutes, I, 31; II, 75.

20 The other justices were Walter Carruth, Andrew Allison, Alexander Cathey, Thomas Potts, John Lynn, Thomas Lovelatty, George Smith, and Joseph Tate. Rowan Court Minutes (taken from typed copy housed in the Rowan Public Library, Salisbury), I, 7-8.

30 Philadelphia Landholders, 1734 (handwritten and in scrapbook form), Historical

<sup>7-8.
&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Philadelphia Landholders, 1734 (handwritten and in scrapbook form), Historical Society of Philadelphia; Chester County, Pennsylvania, Tavern Petitions (1700-1754,

became a wealthy man. In the year 1753 he bought nearly four thousand acres of land, ranging in location from the South Fork of the Catawba to the South Fork of Deep River and from the Granville Line to Barsheaby Creek adjoining the Moravian Tract. His affluence may be traced largely to income derived from his various offices. In addition to money received from his activities as innholder, millwright, county surveyor, and justice of the peace, Carter (together with Forster) conveyed no less than one hundred town lots to fifty-six different persons between 1755 and 1762.31 Several of these lots were conveyed at different times to different purchasers, indicating fraudulent sales by the trustees.32

That Carter possessed indentured servants and Negro slaves is clear from a perusal of the Rowan County records. The court minutes for March 20, 1754, reveal that

... James Carter, Esqr produced an Orphan boy named James Fletcher and prays that the said orphan may be bound to him until he arrives to age, the consideration of this court was that the said James Fletcher should be bound to the said James Carter until he arrive at ye age of 21 years. . . . The said James Carter herby [sic] oblige himself to pay the fees that may become due to my lords office for the clearance of two certain tracts and entrys of land in this county left to him [Fletcher] by William Bishop deceased and also to pay the quit rents hereafter may grow due until ye servant come to the age aforesaid and also to teach or instruct him the said servant to read English and to write a legible hand.33

Carter's ownership of slaves is indicated by his sale in July, 1756, of a Negro man and woman to his son-in-law, Jonathan Boone.34

By February 27, 1754, Carter was a member of the North Carolina Assembly from Rowan County; and (probably with the outbreak of the French and Indian War) was commissioned major in the colonial militia.35 Carter's three years of service in the Assembly were active ones. Eight days after becoming a member he was appointed to a committee to prepare a bill for "granting an Aid to his Majesty for defence of the Frontier. . . . "36 The following month Carter introduced a bill, which passed the Assembly, for inspecting indigo, rice, pork, beef,

Volumes I-X), II (1729-1736), 55, 56, Chester County Historical Society, West Chester; Rowan Wills, Book A, 33. Jones also seems to have moved before 1734 from Chester to Philadelphia County, where he joined the Boones.

*** Rowan Deed Books III, IV, V, VI, and VII, passim.

*** Rowan Deed Book II, 363-365; III, 533.

*** Rowan Court Minutes, I, 33.

*** Rowan Court Minutes, II, 126.

*** Saunders, Colonial Records, V, 182, 810.

*** Saunders, Colonial Records, V, 246.

pitch, and tar.37 In October, 1755, he joined Cornelius Harnett in bringing up a bill for directing the method of selecting vestries on those parishes lacking legal vestries.³⁸

The great war with France had a profound effect upon the frontier settlements in Carolina, and James Carter's career was radically altered as a consequence. Indian raids and the need for militiamen caused many settlers to flee their homes or go into hiding. The payment of taxes and fees became more sporadic and uncertain. Due in part to questionable financial transactions, and in part to reduced income, Carter became involved in ruinous litigation.

In May, 1757, John McGuire of Rowan County recovered £30.11.5 proclamation money against James Carter in a court held at Salisbury for the counties of Orange, Rowan, and Anson before James Hassell, Chief Justice. In order to raise the money, Sheriff David Jones sold Carter's tract on Second Creek to Hugh Montgomery.39 In the same

month it was announced in the Assembly at New Bern that

. . . Mr. James I. Carter one of the members thereof for Rowan County having been Intrusted [sic] together with one Mr. John Brandon with the Sum of Five Hundred Pounds Proclamation Money to be by them applyed [sic] in Purchasing arms and ammunition for the Defence of the Frontier County of Rowan and have neglected to Apply the said Money for the Purposes aforesaid and also have hitherto neglected to Account for the same and further moved That the said James Carter may be called by this House to answer for such his neglect.40

Carter was apparently unable to account satisfactorily for his misuse of public funds for he was relieved of his position as a justice of the peace for Rowan and forced to resign his major's commission in the county militia. In November, 1757, he was expelled from the Assembly.42

In June, 1757, one Conrad Michael, a twenty-eight year old tanner from the Rhenish Palatinate,43 acquired at auction Carter's three hundred fifty-acre tract adjoining the town land in a transaction which furnishes further insight into the difficulties of the redoubtable Carter. At a court held at Enfield, North Carolina, "Sabinah Rigby, executrix,

³⁷ Saunders, Colonial Records, V, 266.
38 Saunders, Colonial Records, V, 504.
39 Rowan Deed Book II, 390.
40 Saunders, Colonial Records, V, 846.
41 Saunders, Colonial Records, V, 810.
42 Saunders, Colonial Records, V, 892.
43 Ralph Beaver Strassburger and W. J. Hinke (eds.), Pennsylvania German Pioneers, A Publication of the Original Lists of Arrivals in the Port of Philadelphia from 1727 to 1808 (Norristown: Pennsylvania German Society, 3 volumes, 1934), I, 609-612; Rowan Deed Book VI, 170.

did recover against James Carter, late of Rowan County, gentleman, otherwise called James Carter of Cecil County, millwright," £200 currency of Maryland (valued at £150 sterling), a debt to be discharged upon Carter's payment of £100 (valued at £75 sterling) with interest, dating from 1738.44 Sabinah Rigby was the widow of William Rumsey, 45 and it is probable that the money owed by Carter was originally loaned him by Rumsey.

In 1756 at the time his financial difficulties began, Carter transferred to his daughter Mary Boone "all and singular my goods and chattels now belonging to my present Dwelling House . . . known by the Name

of Bristol Hall." 46

By the spring of 1761 Carter had been forced to sell or surrender at auction nearly all the land obtained by him during the previous ten years. The only tract left to him was one on Potts Creek, where he received a permit to build a public mill,⁴⁷ and where he probably spent his last days.

The founder of Salisbury was not always well liked by his fellows. A multiple officeholder of Carter's stature was rarely popular on the frontier, and his necessary duties as justice of the peace did not serve

to increase his popularity. In October, 1756, a certain

. . . Andrew Cranston of Rowan County Chirurgeon . . . with force of arms to wit Swords Clubs etc in and agt James Carter Esqr . . . in the execution of his [Carter's] office as his Majesties Justice of the Peace . . . comitted [sic] an assault did make and him the sd James Carter then & there did beat bruise wound & evily [sic] Intreat [sic] soe [sic] that of his life he was much dispaired and other Enormities in and agt the sa James he offered. . . . 48

As surveyor, too, Carter's actions were not always of a kind calculated to earn the good will of the frontiersmen. In December, 1758, it was resolved in the Assembly that

. . . James Carter a Surveyor in the Earl's Office [Granville], under Pretence of receiving Entries and making Surveys, has at different times, exacted and extorted considerable sums of Money from several Persons,

[&]quot;Rowan Deed Book II, 244.
"Cotton, Maryland Wills, VIII, 200; Maryland Testamentary Proceedings, 1657-1777, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland, XXXIV, 120.
"Rowan Deed Book III, 367. It is of interest to note that Bristol, located ten miles southeast of Southampton Township, was the county seat of Bucks County from 1705

to 1725.

"Rowan Court Minutes, 110. Potts Creek flows into the Yadkin immediately south of old Jersey Church in what is now Davidson County.

"Rowan County Civil and Criminal Cases, 1753-1756, State Department of Archives

without returning the same into the Office; by which they have been prevented getting their Deeds.49

James Carter's last years cannot have been happy ones. Broken by financial disaster and bereft of his vast landholdings, the aging promoter sank rapidly after 1761.⁵⁰ His role in the early history of North Carolina had been played. A new generation of leaders was already springing up about him; men such as Maxwell Chambers, Francis and Matthew Lock (Locke), John Steele, David Caldwell, Richmond Pearson, and William Lee Davidson. But their contribution to North Carolina and American history would have been impossible without the accomplishments of their able, calculating predecessor. Though all but forgotten, James Carter must surely be numbered among those pioneers who provided the best, as well as the worst, in the character of Frederick Jackson Turner's American frontier.

⁴⁹ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 1,092. ⁵⁰ Carter died in 1765. Rowan Wills, Book A, 43.

SAGA OF A BURKE COUNTY FAMILY

BY EDWARD W. PHIFER*

PART II

THE PARENTS

Isaac Thomas Avery was born at "Swan Ponds" September 22, 1785, four years after his father had moved to Burke County. During his childhood, his father's estate prospered with the acquisition of more slaves as well as additional farm land adjoining "Swan Ponds" and large tracts suitable for grazing in the mountainous country to the west. In 1801, when his father was incapacitated, it became imperative that Isaac accompany him on many journeys necessary for the continued practice of law. Administrative duties associated with the operation of a large plantation⁵⁷ fell early upon his powerful young shoulders.⁵⁸ Unlike his father, he had little opportunity for formal education. He attended Washington College near Jonesboro in Washington County, a school founded and operated by a strait-laced, stubborn, and hidebound old Presbyterian minister named Samuel Doak who had attended Princeton University, studied at Hampden-Sydney College, supported the American Revolution, and favored the formation of the State of Franklin. From him Isaac acquired an adequate education in the classics and such knowledge of the sciences as was absolutely compatible with the Book of Genesis. Young Avery showed an early interest in politics and represented Burke County in the legislature for the first time in 1809, when he was only twenty-four years old. He re-

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The addition to "Swan Ponds" plantation, Isaac Avery inherited or acquired 50,000 acres of fine grazing land in what is now Mitchell and Avery counties. He bred and raised more horses and cattle than any other person in that section of North Carolina. By 1850 his slaveholdings in Burke County alone had increased to one hundred and forty-two. Manuscript on Avery family, George P. Erwin Papers, in possession of Adelaide Erwin White, Morganton, hereinafter cited as George Phifer Erwin Papers; Seventh Census of the United States, 1850. Census of Burke County (North Carolina), Schedule II, Slave Inhabitants, hereinafter cited as Census of 1850.

Mary J. Avery, "The Place that Lured Waightstill," Charlotte Observer, September 30, 1928, hereinafter cited as Avery, "The Place that Lured Waightstill."

turned to the lower house in 1810 and 1811.59 His election at this youthful age indicates the paucity of eligible candidates for public office in a western county at this stage of the State's development. Nevertheless, it also indicates that he was unusually able for a man of his years. After 1811, he never again sought elective office, but continued to be a formidable figure in western North Carolina politics until the end of his days. Aligning himself with the Democratic-Republican party during its formative years, he soon became an ardent advocate of the principles of the great southern Democrat, 60 John C. Calhoun. Later in life, he was three times appointed a member of the Governor's Council, a body that advised the Chief Executive on political appointments. In 1824 he was a presidential elector from North Carolina at which time he initially supported his favorite, Calhoun, who championed internal improvements. When Calhoun's star faded, he reluctantly supported Andrew Jackson over William H. Crawford who was strongly against internal improvements. In 1828 he was a presidental elector for John Quincy Adams.61

In 1815 he married Harriet Eloise Erwin, oldest daughter of William Willoughby Erwin and Matilda Sharpe Erwin. W. W. Erwin was an elder in the Presbyterian Church and a member of a prominent Burke County family of Scotch-Irish extraction. Mrs. Erwin was the daughter of William Sharpe,62 the Salisbury lawyer who had been on the Holston River Treaty Commission with Waightstill Avery. W. W. Erwin had sixteen children who reached adult life and they married into many prominent North Carolina families.63 Harriet Erwin was a kind and courageous woman who obtained an education by riding to Raleigh on horseback and there attended the school established by Dr. William McPheeters.64 She was a militant practicing Christian—a lifelong member of the Presbyterian Church and earnestly supported

⁵⁹ Wheeler, Historical Sketches, 62. ⁶⁰ Josephus Daniels, newspaper clipping of an address dated April 11, 1933, memorializing Judge A. C. Avery, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina

Library.

61 North Carolina Free Press (Tarboro), November 7, 1829, December 5, 1828, hereinafter cited as Free Press; Samuel A. Ashe, Biographical History of North Carolina, From Colonial Times to the Present (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 8 volumes, 1905-1917), VII, 6-8, is the only source found which indicates Avery was a Jackson elector in 1824. He was never a Jackson supporter thereafter.

62 William Sharpe held many public offices in North Carolina and served two terms in the Continental Congress from this State. It was he who first introduced a bill in the legislature of 1784 for the implementation of Article Forty-one of the North Carolina Constitution to establish a State university. The bill failed to pass at this session. Sharpe's wife was a daughter of David Reese, an alleged signer of the Mecklenburg Declaration. lenburg Declaration.

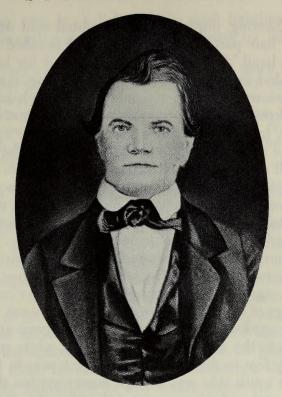
⁶³ This family was commonly referred to in Burke County as the "Belvidere Erwins."
⁶⁴ A. C. Avery, *History of the Presbyterian Churches at Quaker Meadows and Morganton from the Year 1780 to 1913* (Raleigh, 1913), 76, hereinafter cited as Avery, *History of the Presbyterian Churches*.

its every function. Her children, and the plantation Negroes as well, received indoctrination in the Christian faith and regular instruction in the teachings of the Bible largely through her efforts. Like many women of her period in this locality, she lived a life of continuous submission to the wants, desires, and necessities of others—her husband, her children, her guests, and the Negro slaves. It was her lot to walk through life in quiet dignity, oblivious of the sorrows that wrenched her heart and tolerant of the faults and frailties of those around her. Harriet Avery gave birth to sixteen children, but six of these died in infancy or childhood.

Only four of the sixteen children were daughters. Leah Adelaide was born December 20, 1822, was never married and died January 20, 1896. Mary Ann Martha was born May 20, 1831, and died January 22, 1890. On June 26, 1855, she was married to Joseph F. Chambers of Iredell County. Chambers was a merchant in Salisbury for many years and also owned and operated a farm near Statesville. He died while living in Morganton, August 20, 1877. Harriet Justina, the third daughter, was born September 2, 1833. She married Major Pinkney B. Chambers on August 11, 1853. He was a farmer and teacher; his home and farm were near Statesville. Laura Mira, the youngest daughter, was born November 15, 1837; she did not marry and died August 22, 1912.

In 1829 Isaac Avery was appointed head of the Morganton branch of The North Carolina State Bank. 65 He continued in this capacity for thirty years. These were the times when the gold mines at Brindletown in southern Burke County were producing profitably; Avery was extremely optimistic regarding the future of this industry in western North Carolina. "The country [i.e. western North Carolina], I may say, is unexplored by the eye of science," he wrote Samuel P. Carson. 66 The year 1830 was a boom year; as the precious metal was recovered, it was rushed to the bank at Morganton where it was cached until a quantity sufficient for coinage had accumulated and then it was consigned to the mint which in turn converted the gold dust into specie. Avery also took an active interest in the State internal improvement program as envisaged by Archibald D. Murphey after 1818. This program was intended to improve the State's economic status through construction of roads and canals and the improvement of existing navigable waterways. Avery was a member of the State Board of

Twenty-second Congress, First Session, Report No. 39, 23, a letter from Isaac T. Avery to S. P. Carson.



ISAAC THOMAS AVERY
This picture of Avery was reproduced from an engraving in Samuel A.
Ashe and Stephen B. Weeks (eds.), Biographical History of North Carolina.

Internal Improvements for the years 1821-1822 and was for many years president of the Catawba Navigation Company which attempted to render this river navigable from its upper reaches to the South Carolina line. The project was unsuccessful, apparently, because of inadequate capitalization, incompetent technical assistance, and the eventual development of the steam locomotive as a more efficient mode of transportation.67 When the Morganton Agriculture Society was formed in 1821, Avery was elected one of its officers; he attempted to familiarize himself with the newer concepts of farming and delivered public addresses in an effort to disseminate information on better methods of farming throughout the county.68 In 1831 he was appointed on a commission to plan and supervise the construction of a permanent courthouse in Burke County and he served on this commission until the work was completed.69

⁶⁷ Isaac T. Avery to Archibald D. Murphey, December 1, 1820, Hoyt, Murphey Papers, I, 178.
⁶⁸ Western Carolinian, October 2, 1821.
⁶⁸ Legislative Papers, 1830-1831, State Department of Archives and History; Public Laws of North Carolina, 1830-1831, C. XC.

He was a towering, big-boned, loose-jointed man with large craggy features and "hair parted on each side and brushed up high in the middle of his head." 70 His voice was deep and his language formal. He was regarded as a man of culture and learning, and it was said of him that "there was scarcely any subject on which he was not wellinformed." Forced into a life requiring largely executive and administrative talents, he was primarily a classical scholar, as was his father before him. He collected copies of the works of all the principal Latin writers as well as the works of Shakespeare and even "in his old age he is reported to have read Latin with the greatest facility." 71

As Isaac Avery's family grew, the old brick house which his father had built became inadequate and a new and larger house was erected in 1848 72 in order to "meet the demand of hospitality." 73 Between the old and new house was an uncovered bridge about six to ten feet long connecting the two buildings. The kitchen was 150 feet from the house with laundry, storeroom, sewing room and "weave" room adjoining. The furnishings of the house were simple—there were few pictures on the walls. The yard was covered with unkempt grass and planted with trees common to the area: chinaberry, cedar, white pine, and locust. A circle, thirty feet in diameter, of tall cedars was in front of the old house. On the south side was a large flower garden that "like everything else about the place,-suggested the idea of being kept up solely for the flowers it grew." 74

All guests were welcome at "Swan Ponds," particularly "those who brought from the outside world a new thought or were able to report a new phase or a change of trend in the political world" 75-the large table in the hall was always covered with the better American newspapers and frequently with some English newspapers. The arts and sciences may have had their moments at "Swan Ponds" 76 but politics was the order of the day and the ladies, as well as the men, were encouraged to take part in the discussions. More often than not, though,

To J. Lenoir Chambers, The Breed and the Pasture (Charlotte: Presses Observer Printing, Inc., 1910), 75-84, hereinafter cited as Chambers, The Breed and the Pas-

Printing, Inc., 1910), 78-84, hereinatter theat as chambers, The Breed and the Tauture.

⁷ Owen M. Peterson, "W. W. Avery in the Democratic National Convention of 1860," The North Carolina Historical Review, XXXI (October, 1954), 466, hereinafter cited as Peterson, "W. W. Avery."

⁷² Thomas Lenoir Diary, October 4, 1848, Lenoir Family Papers, University of North Carolina Library, hereinafter cited as Thomas Lenoir Diary.

⁷³ Chambers, The Breed and the Pasture, 79.

⁷⁴ Chambers, The Breed and the Pasture, 81.

⁷⁵ Chambers, The Breed and the Pasture, 79.

⁷⁶ André Michaux, the famous French botanist, was a guest at "Swan Ponds" May 2, 1795, and March 31, 1796, during his visit to this country to study the fauna and flora, Thwaite, Early Western Travels, III, 55, 100.

the conversation was in a lighter vein and lightheartedness and laughter were pervasive, as indicated in this entry by Thomas Lenoir:

Got to I. T. Avery's about 2 and shortly after sat down to dinner with Harriett and Betsy Oneal (Mira McDowell daughter of Charles had just come). C. M. Avery, William Walton and his sister Elizabeth came about 4 o'clock, and I. T. Avery William W. Avery and William Mills att. came after darke and we all supped together shortly after. I. T. Harriett and myself had much talk in her room, the young folks in the Hall. Went to bed about 1 o'clock.77

One had only to look at their economic predicament, however, to understand why politics was uppermost in their minds. Aside from a burst of gold mining, farming was the sole major industry of the county, and the character of the terrain mitigated against farming on a large scale. With slave labor, farming methods were crude even for that day and under this system only the river "bottoms" could be farmed profitably. Since the number of slaves constantly increased, the acquisition of more bottom land was necessary in order that the slaves might be utilized. This forced the small non-slave-owning farmer to farm the upland where his enmity for the planter increased and his rations often became shorter. Furthermore these "bottoms" were particularly vulnerable to inundation since the waters of the Catawba were totally unbridled; and great floods, such as the freshets of 1836 and 1844,78 periodically caused crop loss and extensive property damage. Corn and small grain were the only crops grown extensively and the major part of this produce was needed at "Swan Ponds" to feed Negroes and livestock.⁷⁹ Cattle were raised on the fine grazing lands which Isaac Avery owned in the mountainous tracts to the west. Says J. Lenoir Chambers: "In the summer months, as I remember, they killed a beef every day and never sold a pound. Even the hide was tanned on the place and made into shoes by hand. The only source

Thomas Lenoir Diary, January 31, 1840.
Thomas Lenoir Diary, August 21, 1836; A. C. Avery, History of the Presbyterian

Thomas Lenoir Diary, August 21, 1836; A. C. Avery, History of the Presbyterian Churches, 18.

To In 1850 in Burke County he owned 850 acres of improved land and 3,385 acres of unimproved land. His farm was valued at \$20,000 and his farm implements at \$750. He owned 10 horses, 16 mules, 12 milk cows, 100 sheep, and 300 swine. In 1850 his farm produced 9,000 bushels of corn, 1,000 bushels of oats, 850 bushels of wheat, and 200 bushels of rye. Cattle were not listed for 1850 but in 1860 he owned 180 cattle, 160 sheep, 250 swine, and 30 milk cows. The livestock was valued at \$7,000. His farm produced in 1860 4,500 bushels of corn, 1,000 bushels of wheat, 500 bushels of rye, 100 bushels of oats, 2,500 lbs. of tobacco, 450 bushels of peas and beans, 60 tons of hay, 50 bushels of Irish potatoes, 50 bushels of sweet potatoes, 300 pounds of butter, 200 pounds of honey, and 10 pounds of wax. Census of 1850 and Census of 1860: Schedule IV, Agriculture. His real estate in 1860 was valued at \$45,500 and personal property valued at \$73,450. Census of 1860: Schedule I, Free Inhabitants.

of wealth was the increase in the number or value of the slaves, and this was not available except by sale. None were ever sold." 80 Their economic plight was further worsened by the absence of any mode of transportation. The Catawba River was the largest available stream and it was inadequate for travel and commercial transport. Overland transportation was little, if any, better. As late as 1816, the nearest stagecoach lines from the east terminated at Salisbury, eighty miles away. Moreover, the roads were so rudimentary that it required three days to travel this eighty miles on horseback or in a gig. 81 Although the first steam locomotive appeared in this country in 1830, the North Carolina Railroad from Raleigh did not reach Salisbury and Charlotte until 1856. The Western North Carolina Railroad from Salisbury had not reached Morganton at the time of the Civil War. With no staple crops and no system for transportation of produce to market, it became imperative that every necessary item be homegrown or home-manufactured.82 All of this added up to unprofitable operations for the planters and "Swan Ponds" was no exception. The Piedmont and Mountain west were the poorest and most backward sections of the State. Many planters moved to the cotton lands of the far South.83 Others, like Isaac Avery, stayed on because of sentimental attachments, the high price of the cotton lands, and the impracticability of disposing of large landholdings and moving such large numbers of slaves. To top it off, there soon came out of the cold North the highpitched shriek of the Radical Abolitionist not only condemning slavery as an institution, but slaveholders as a class.

For Isaac Avery, planter and son of a planter, this was more than he could tolerate and his reaction was relentless and unremitting. Like many others he grasped the doctrine of State Rights-the right of a sovereign State to secede-and it was his until the end. With Calvinistic fervor, risking and sacrificing all for an ideal, he followed Calhoun and his tenets down the bloody road to war. After living to see his world

⁸⁰ Chambers, The Breed and the Pasture, 83. This statement does not entirely conform with Thomas Lenoir Diary, November 30, 1844, which says: "W. Waightstill gone to Raleigh and Lenoir to Charleston with cattle. . ."

⁸¹ Mary J. Avery, newspaper clipping in the North Carolina Room, The University of North Carolina Library, citing letter of April 20, 1816, Waightstill Avery to his nephew, James Avery, in Philadelphia. Typewritten copy of letter also in possession of writer.

of writer.

*** Lefler and Newsome, North Carolina, 299-311, 246-248.

*** Waightstill Avery to James Avery, January 23, 1816, Waightstill Avery Papers, Southern Historical Collection. In this letter he states: "Many of the Inhabitants of this part of the Country are looking to the Westward. A number of Wealthy people from North and South Carolina and Georgia have removed into the Mississippi Territory. . . . Several to Madison County in the Bent of the Tennessee; from thence, their cotton and tobacco can be conveyed by water to New Orleans by the Steam Boats and the Freight will not be high. . . ."

collapse about him, he died on the last day of the year—1864. He was in his eightieth year. They buried him in the family burial ground at "Swan Ponds."

[To be concluded]

ASPECTS OF THE NORTH CAROLINA SLAVE CODE, 1715-1860

BY ERNEST JAMES CLARK, JR.*

The North Carolina slave code was not a product of legal theory or abstract thought, but developed gradually in response to definite needs. It was expanded or revised as necessity demanded. The slave code had two basic purposes. First, the code was intended to be a police system for controlling the Negro population. Early in the colonial period a second purpose developed, that of establishing and maintaining a unique social standard in the community. Slavery became as much a means of assuring white supremacy as a method of police control of labor, and the resistance of the South to emancipation which culminated in civil war arose in large measure from southern aversion to accepting Negroes as social equals. The South always feared that emancipation would lead to social intercourse of the races on the basis of equality. The colonists from the first regarded the Negro as an inferior being, and the slave code by marking off the status of the Negro did much to further and develop the idea of Negro inferiority.

In the course of the ante-bellum period a third purpose of the slave code was evolved. The slave code was increasingly liberalized with the purpose of extending to slaves many basic civil privileges and a large degree of personal security. This development took place mainly in the years between 1780 and 1820. No doubt this liberalization of the code originated in the natural desire of slaveowners to protect their property, but by the first decade of the nineteenth century the results had gone far beyond the original desire. The extension of privileges, or "rights," to Negroes was definitely a secondary and incidental result of the code, and it should be noted that the slaves received many civil privileges by court interpretation rather than by positive legislation. In the years after 1800 the State's highest Court became almost a champion of the rights of slaves to procedural privileges in court and to personal security.

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The purpose of the following pages is to demonstrate that the trend in ante-bellum North Carolina was to extend to slaves virtually the same procedural privileges enjoyed by white citizens in court. It will also be revealed that Negro slaves in ante-bellum North Carolina received an increasing measure of personal security from both the slave code and the State courts. The primary purpose of the code was to preserve white supremacy, and only when the community was assured that this goal was achieved were privileges extended to the Negroes. But once the slaves were granted procedural rights in North Carolina, those rights were not curtailed even in the bitter decade of 1850-1860. It should be noted that during the ante-bellum period the federal Supreme Court played no part in the interpretation of the code, and the State Supreme Court was the court of last resort in cases arising under the code.

Slavery took root in North Carolina because it provided an adequate labor force for the cultivation of the great colonial staple, tobacco. In the middle decades of the seventeenth century settlers from Virginia established the institution of Negro slavery in the Albemarle Sound region of North Carolina. The number of slaves in the Carolina province increased slowly, and in 1712 they numbered only 800. In the course of the eighteenth century the colony expanded rapidly and the slave population greatly increased. By 1764 North Carolina contained approximately 114,000 white residents and 30,000 Negro slaves.

The earliest slave laws of North Carolina were drawn from the code of Virginia, where Negro servitude had existed since 1619. In 1712 North Carolina compiled its first complete slave code. Most of the statutes applied equally to Negro slaves and indentured white servants. At first Negro laborers stood before the law in almost the same position as indentured servants. The freeing of Negroes at the end of a term of service, required under the laws of indenture, posed a social and economic problem which was overcome by the expedient of holding Negro servants for life service. From this position the transition to a system of full chattel slavery was not difficult. By the beginning of the eighteenth century it was an unwritten principle of law in North Carolina that the child of Negro parents was born in bondage.

Throughout the ante-bellum period all persons of "black complexion" were presumed to be slaves, and any person of color who disclaimed

¹John Spencer Bassett, Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 14th Series, No. IV-V, of The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, H. B. Adams [ed.], 1896), 21, hereinafter cited as Bassett, Slavery and Servitude.
²Bassett, Slavery and Servitude, 21.

the status was required to prove his freedom in court.3 During the colonial period slave offenders of the law were tried by special courts variously called "slave courts" or "negro courts." The code of 1715 provided "that where any Slave shall be guilty of any Crime or Offence whatsoever the same shall be heard & determined by any three Justices of the Precinct Court . . . " and three freeholders, or a majority of them, residents of the county wherein the offense was committed.4 The justices were authorized to hold the court at any time and place they chose. Often sessions of the slave court were held in the home of some locally known planter. As a protection to the slave the statute required that the freeholders be eligible to serve on the court only if they were slaveowners. This provision might also have been intended to prevent emancipationists, such as Quakers, from participating in the trials.5 The court had full power "to pass Judgment for life or Member or any other Corporal Punishment on such Offender & cause Execution of the same Judgment to be made & done."6

Contemporaries could not have regarded the summary jurisdiction of the slave courts as exceedingly harsh. The colony was sparsely populated and the judicial machinery of the day seldom functioned smoothly. Offenders, slave or free, had to be tried and punished quickly because there were no facilities for holding prisoners for trial. Colonial jails were few in number and poorly kept. As late as 1766 inability to hold prisoners was given as the reason for issuing commis-

sions of Over and Terminer for the trial of offenders.7

A revision of the North Carolina slave code occurred in 1741, inspired largely by the bloody Stono Revolt near Charleston, South Carolina, in 1739.8 The mode of trial for slave offenders was altered. The act of 1741 provided that any slave offender be committed to the county jail and held for trial. The sheriff was then to summon two justices of the peace and four freeholders who possessed slaves. These six men composed the slave court and met at the county courthouse to

^{*}The State v. Thomas J. Miller, 29 N. C. 275 (1847).

*Walter Clark, The State Records of North Carolina (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both the Colonial Records and the State Records], 1895-1914), XXIII, 64, hereinafter cited as Clark, State Records.

*For the conflict between the Quakers and slavery, see Stephen B. Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1896), Chapter XIV, hereinafter cited as Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery.

Johns Hopkins Fress, 1896), Chapter AIV, herematter cited as itects, Scatter Quakers and Slavery.

Clark, State Records, XXIII, 64.

Clark, State Records, XXIII, 701.

Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, American Negro Slavery: A Survey of the Supply, Employment and Control of Negro Labor as Determined by the Plantation Régime (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith [Reprint of D. Appleton and Company, New York and London, 1918], 1959), 473.

hear the case. The court had jurisdiction over all offenses and could "pass such Judgment upon such Offender, according to their Discretion, as the Nature of the Crime or Offense shall require; and on such Judgment . . . award Execution." This broad grant of power not only made the slave court the court of trial, but in large measure allowed the court to legislate in each case, determining at its discretion what punishment was proper for the offense committed. The law of

1741 remained in force throughout the colonial period.

During the period 1790-1830 a number of statutes were enacted by the State legislature which radically altered the mode of trial for slave offenders. These statutes extended to slaves most of the procedural rights of white men, and included trial by jury, challenge of jurors, counsel, and appeal to the Supreme Court of the State. 10 The right to trial by jury was granted to slaves by an act of the legislature in 1793. The act provided for a jury of twelve slaveowners to hear every case involving a crime "the punishment whereof shall extend to life, limb, or member. . . ." ¹¹ Jury trial was never extended to slaves charged with trivial offenses and tried before a single justice of the peace. But the slave was entitled to trial by jury when tried on serious charges in Superior Court.

The right to challenge jurors is necessary to give meaning to the right of trial by jury. Slaves were first given the right to challenge jurors in 1816. The slave had to show cause for challenge and the challenge could only be made "by and with the advice and assistance of his owner or . . . of his counsel." 12 An act of 1818 provided that "all slaves on trial for capital offences shall by themselves, masters or counsel, have the same right to challenge Jurors, that a free man is now entitled to by law. . . . " ¹³ It should be noted that the law allowed any Negro slave to challenge up to twenty-three jurors in capital trials without showing cause. This was the same number of peremptory

challenges allowed to white men.14

The law required that when a slave was apprehended for any offense, the punishment for which would affect life or limb, the master had to be notified at least ten days in advance of the trial. 15 This was

⁶ Clark, State Records, XXIII, 202.

¹⁰ Frederick Nash, James Iredell, and William H. Battle (revisers), Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1836-1837 (Raleigh: Turner and Hughes, 2 volumes, 1837), I, c. CXI, SS. 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, hereinafter cited as Revised Statutes of 1837.

¹¹ Laws of North Carolina, 1793, c. V, s. 1.

¹² Laws of North Carolina, 1816, c. XIV, s. 3.

¹³ Laws of North Carolina, 1818, c. XIV.

¹⁴ Bartholomew F. Moore and Asa Biggs (revisers), Revised Code of North Carolina, 1854 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1855), c. 35, s. 32, hereinafter cited Revised Code of 1854.

¹⁵ Laws of North Carolina, 1793, c. V, s. 2.

to allow the master an opportunity to make a defense for the slave. If the master was unknown the court was authorized to appoint counsel for the Negro defendant.16 The master was liable for the cost of the

appointed counsel as part of the costs of the trial.

The master was in all cases liable for the costs of defending his slave in court. The State Supreme Court declared in 1838 that the relation of master and slave imposed upon the master "the obligation of the slave's defense, and the law generally charges him with it as a duty alike to the slave and to the fair administration of public justice." 17 The courts were authorized to collect the costs by proper action against the master, or from his estate if he died without paying the costs.

The right to remove a case to an adjoining county for trial was extended to slaves. Such cases were removed upon the affidavit of the master or of the slave's counsel that such a removal was necessary. If the presiding judge was convinced that the slave could not receive a fair trial, the judge ordered the trial removed to a neighboring county. This was the same procedure followed in removing trials of white defendants. A slave's trial could be removed by the Negro's counsel even if the master refused to make an affidavit for the purpose.18

The rules of evidence for slaves in court differed from the rules of evidence for white men. "All negroes, Indians, mulattoes, and all persons of mixed blood . . ." within the fourth degree were competent witnesses against one another, but none could testify against any white person. 19 This law was rigidly upheld in court. In most cases this was doubtless justifiable, but often strict enforcement resulted in injustice to colored persons. This was particularly true in cases brought by free Negro women against white men for the support of bastard children. The State Supreme Court repeatedly expressed the opinion that proof of Negro blood within the fourth degree barred such women from testifying against white men. Thus white men escaped responsibility for their illicit children.20 It is interesting to note that a free Negro, convicted of being the father of a bastard child by a white woman, was held liable for the support of the child. Free Negroes could hold property, sue and be sued, and testimony of white witnesses was acceptable

Laws of North Carolina, 1793, c. V, s. 3.
 The State v. James Leigh, 20 N. C. 126 (1838).
 Revised Statutes of 1837, I, c. CXI, s. 44; Laws of North Carolina, 1816, c. XIV,

s. 2.

10 Revised Statutes of 1837, c. CXI, s. 50.

20 The State v. James Barrow, 7 N. C. 121 (1819); The State v. Thomas Long, 31 N. C. 488 (1849).

against them in court. Therefore free Negroes were held responsible for their bastard children.21

Although a slave could not testify against a white person in court, a slave could testify to certain facts in civil suits. The State Supreme Court ruled that in a civil suit for the value of an injured slave, the testimony of the slave concerning his health and the condition of his body was admissible as evidence.²²

Until 1821 a slave on trial for a capital offense could not be convicted on the testimony of a single colored witness. Such testimony had to be supported by a "credible witness," which meant a white person. The object was to protect slave defendants from the perjury of colored persons. It was especially feared that colored persons might commit perjury in order to injure the master by causing the conviction and loss of his slave. The State Supreme Court in 1821 pointed out that the need for "credible witnesses" in support of colored testimony against slaves was necessary before trial by jury was extended to slaves. But after 1793 such supporting testimony was unnecessary, and Chief Justice John Louis Taylor ruled in 1821 that the unsupported testimony of one colored witness could convict a slave of a capital crime, if the jury believed the witness. This placed the slave defendant on the same level with white defendants in capital crimes, for one witness could convict a white man charged with homicide.23

When the judicial process was exhausted for a slave charged with a capital offense there remained for him one hope of avoiding the hangman. The slaves in ante-bellum North Carolina had the privilege of appeal to the Governor for executive clemency in capital convictions. This appeal was usually made by the owner of the slave, but it sometimes was made by the slave's attorney or by interested white persons in the community. In some instances entire communities petitioned the Governor in behalf of convicted slaves. Such appeals for clemency were frequent in North Carolina, and in many instances the

appeals resulted in full pardon for convicted slaves.24

Slaves never received the privilege of instituting proceedings in the State courts, but had to rely upon friendly whites to institute suits for them. Throughout the ante-bellum period punishment for violation of minor police regulations was inflicted upon slaves by the county slave patrols without the formality of a trial. The most common violation

^{**} The State v. Williamson Haithcock, 33 N. C. 32 (1850).

** Thomas Biles v. Moses L. Holmes et al., 33 N. C. 16 (1850).

** State v. Ben, a Slave, 8 N. C. 434 (1821).

** Letter Book of Governor Montfort Stokes, May 1, 5, and December 5, 1831. Governor's Letter Books No. 29, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

was being at large without a written pass from some responsible white citizen. The patrol could not legally inflict greater punishment for any offense than fifteen lashes, though an additional thirty-nine lashes could be inflicted for insolence.²⁵ Patrols were not liable to civil action by the master for imposing excessive punishment upon a slave unless their conduct showed malice against the owner.²⁶

The "nigger trader" was a person who earned part or all of his livelihood by bartering with slaves and free Negroes. These traders were a universal and inevitable accompaniment of southern slavery. Small storekeepers, peddlers, tavern keepers and distillers, small farmers, and free Negroes participated in the trade. Most white citizens frowned upon the trade because it gave the slaves a strong incentive to steal. Most North Carolinians agreed with the contributor to the *Farmers' Register* who warned that Negroes

... should in no instance be permitted to trade, except with their masters. By permitting them to leave the plantation with the view of selling and buying, more is lost by the owner than he is generally aware of.²⁷

Despite public opinion the trade continued throughout the ante-bellum period. Slaves naturally sought to procure many articles which most masters did not provide—trinkets, bright clothes, knives, fancy food, or liquor. With the exception of a few articles, such as liquor and firearms, the law permitted trading. The object of the law was to regulate the trade, not absolutely to prohibit trading, and trading was circumscribed only in order to protect the community from theft. Unscrupulous men would accept any goods from slaves, perhaps even encourage them to steal. The principle of the law was to punish the trader more severely than the slave. This made the trader less willing to accept stolen goods and reduced the slave's incentive to steal. The law was always more concerned with what a slave might give to a trader than with what the slave might receive in exchange.

The first enactment regulating the trade with slaves was a statute of 1715. This act provided that "whosoever shall buy, sell, Trade, Truck, Borrow or Lend to or with . . ." any slave without the written permission of the slave's master would be liable for "treble the Value of the thing . . ." traded. The act further provided that the offending trader pay £10 to the master of the slave.²⁸ No provision was made

²⁵ Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery, 210, 215, 218, 229; Revised Code of 1854, c. 83, s. 3.

c. 83, s. 3.

** Tate v. O'Neal, et al., 8 N. C. 418 (1821).

** Farmer's Register, III (June, 1836), 114.

** Clark, State Records, XXIII, 64.

for punishing the slave, that duty apparently being left to the discretion of the master. In 1741 the fine imposed upon violators was reduced from £10 to £6, with a provision that if the trader could not pay the fine he would be hired out by the county court.29 In 1778 physical punishment was introduced with the provision that traders convicted under the act should serve ten days in jail in addition to paying a fine.30

A statute of 1788 remained the basic act regulating trading with slaves throughout the ante-bellum period. The act required that a slave possess written permission from his master for each act of trading. The written note was to describe the article which the slave offered for sale. Traders who accepted articles from slaves who did not possess written permission were punished by fine and imprisonment. The fine was limited to £10 and damages, and the prison sentence could not exceed three months.31 In 1826 the legislature enumerated those articles which a slave could not sell without written permission from his master. The list included cotton, tobacco, corn, pork, farming utensils, nails, meal, flour, liquor, vegetables, livestock, lumber, potatoes, and other items which a slave might steal from his master. Violators of this statute could be fined \$50 or imprisoned for three months upon conviction.32 The act of 1826 also provided a fine of \$100 as punishment for those convicted of giving forged permits to trade to slaves.³³

The legislature was aware that slaves sometimes stole goods in order to trade with one another. The act of 1826 provided that any slave who bought or received any articles of food or personal property from another slave "contrary to the true meaning of this act . . . " should upon conviction before any justice of the peace receive thirty-nine lashes "well laid on. . . . "34

The legislature realized that as "long as a slave had the price of an article, a tradesman was not likely to ask him to show his trading permit." 35 Many owners of small stores and taverns were inclined to trade with slaves regardless of the prohibitions of the law. In order better to regulate such tradesmen and to make certain they did not trade illegally with slaves, the legislature made it illegal for any slave to enter any "store house, ware house, tippling shop, or other place

Clark, State Records, XXIII, 194.
 Clark, State Records, XXIV, 220.
 Laws of North Carolina, 1788, c. VII, s. 1; see also Laws of North Carolina, 1791,

c. IV.

*** Laws of North Carolina, 1826, c. XIII, ss. 1 and 2.

*** Laws of North Carolina, 1826, c. XIII, s. 3.

*** Laws of North Carolina, 1826, c. XIII, s. 4.

*** Guion Griffis Johnson, Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 533.

fitted up for trading, unless sent by his, her, or their owner . . ." after nine o'clock at night or before daybreak and on Sundays. Even those slaves who possessed legal permits could remain in such establishments only fifteen minutes at a time during the proscribed periods. The slave patrol was authorized to punish violators of this act. The act further provided that if any slave carried any of the enumerated goods into a trading establishment and did not bring the same goods out again, or if he brought out different goods, this would be accepted as presumptive evidence of illegal trading in the trial of the storekeeper.36

The legislature in 1798 prohibited the sale of liquor to any slave except for the use of the slave's owner or overseer. 37 Slaveowners demanded this legislation because unrestricted sale of liquor to slaves often incapacitated slaves through drunkenness. Sometimes harassed masters publicly notified local traders of an intention to prosecute any

traders who supplied their slaves with whiskey.38

An act of 1826 provided that when a slave was convicted of illegal trading and sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes by the court of the single justice of the peace, the master could appeal the slave's sentence. All prosecutions for violations of the statute had to be instituted within

twelve months after the violation occurred.39

The practice of emancipation was as old as the institution of slavery. A statute of 1715 simply stated the custom of the colony, that any master could liberate a slave "as a Reward for his, or their honest & Faithful service." It was expressly stated that no "Runaways or Refractory Negroes . . ." should in any case be emancipated. Emancipation of such troublemakers would encourage other slaves to misbehave in the hope of receiving emancipation from the harassed master. Even as early as 1715 free Negroes were not considered a desirable element of society, and the act of 1715 required all emancipated Negroes to leave North Carolina within six months of their emancipation. Freedmen who refused to leave the province were sold by the precinct court for a term of five years to "such person or persons as shall give security for their Transportation. . . ." In view of the fact that the number of free Negroes in North Carolina exceeded 30,000 in 1860, the deportation provisions of the emancipation laws could not have been strictly enforced.40

³⁶ Laws of North Carolina, 1826, c. XIII, s. 6.

⁵⁷ Laws of North Carolina, 1798, c. XVIII, s. 8.

⁵⁸ Hillsborough Recorder, January 16, 1822.

⁵⁹ Laws of North Carolina, 1826, c. XIII, s. 7.

⁴⁰ Clark, State Records, XXIII, 65; John Spencer Bassett, Slavery in the State of North Carolina (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 17th Series, No. VII-VIII, of The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, H.B. Adams [ed.], 1899), 77.

A statute of 1741 prescribed the method whereby a master could legally emancipate a slave in North Carolina. The master was required to prove to the county court that the slave he intended to emancipate had performed "meritorious services." If the county court was satisfied that the Negro had performed extraordinary services and deserved emancipation, the Court issued a license to emancipate to the master.⁴¹ The license itself did not constitute an emancipation, but only gave the sanction of the law to the master's act of emancipation. Emancipation always remained the private act of the master and a license to emancipate simply protected the freedom of the Negro after he was liberated. The act of 1741 governed emancipation in North Carolina until 1830.

During the ninety-year interval from 1741 to 1830 it became apparent that the county courts were abusing the power to grant licenses to emancipate. In most of the courts licenses were freely granted upon the request of the master, without regard to the performance of the "meritorious services" required by the law. As the national debate over slavery began to develop, an increasing number of white citizens viewed with alarm the mounting number of freedmen in the State. This alarm caused the legislature in 1830 to remove from the county courts the power to grant licenses to emancipate. The law of 1830 established the following procedure for emancipating slaves. Any master who wished to free a slave was required to file a petition with one of the superior courts of the State. The petition contained the name, age, and sex of the slave to be liberated. The superior court considered the petition, and if the petition were granted, two additional requirements were made of the master. First, the master had to give notice at the county courthouse and in the State Gazette at least six weeks prior to the hearing, saying that he intended to liberate the slave. This was to protect all creditors or parties who had an interest in the slave. Second, the master was required to post a bond of \$1,000 for each Negro emancipated. The bond was forfeited if the slave did not "honestly and correctly demean him [self] . . ." while he remained in the State and if, within ninety days of the emancipation, the slave did not leave the State and "never afterwards come within the same." 42 A master wishing to emancipate any slave over fifty years of age for meritorious services was required to give a complete statement of the reason for granting the emancipation, and had to take an oath that he had not received money or other consideration from the Negro as an

⁴¹ Clark, State Records, XXIII, 203-204. ⁴² Laws of North Carolina, 1830, c. IX, s. 1.

inducement to grant the manumission. Such an emancipated slave could remain within the State if he chose.43

The State courts were in sympathy with the prevailing attitude that few slaves should be emancipated. Many masters attempted to evade the law by providing for emancipation with the intention that the freedman remain in the State. But after 1830 the deportation clause of the emancipation law was regularly enforced, and when it was clear to the courts that a master intended to evade the deportation provision,

this was sufficient to revoke the attempted emancipation.44

The question of how much personal security the law should extend to slaves posed a serious problem in ante-bellum North Carolina. The use of physical coercion by the master was absolutely necessary to enforce the labor of the slave, but at what point should the power of the master be curtailed by law? Population was too sparse and individualism too strong to allow government agencies to determine each infringement of discipline on the part of a slave, and the discipline of the Negroes was necessarily in the hands of the individual slaveowners. The legislature extended statutory protection to the slave in the form of acts to punish the homicide of slaves. But it was left for the courts to determine how much punishment short of death a master might inflict upon a Negro. In performing its duty the State Supreme Court established a number of precedents which limited the power of the master over the slave. The most important of these will be considered below.

Until 1774 North Carolina did not consider the killing of a slave homicide. The only security the slave enjoyed was the right of his master to enter suit against anyone who killed his slave. Such a suit was for recovery of the value of the Negro, and was not intended as punishment for homicide. In 1774 the State enacted a statute which made the deliberate homicide of a slave punishable by an imprisonment of twelve months, and on a second conviction, death. One who murdered a slave of another, on conviction, was liable to the owner for the value of the slave. 45 Considering this law "disgraceful to humanity and degrading . . . to the laws and principles of a free christian and enlightened country . . ." the legislature in 1791 provided that "if any person shall hereafter be guilty of wilfully and maliciously killing a slave such offender shall . . . suffer the same punishment as if he had killed a free man. . . . "46

^{**}See Thomas D. Bennehan's Executor v. John W. Norwood, Executor, et al., 40 N. C. 106 (1847); David Green et al. v. Hardy B. Lane et al., 43 N. C. 70 (1851).

**Laws of North Carolina, 1774, c. XXXI, ss. 2 and 3.

**Laws of North Carolina, 1791, c. IV, s. 3.

The structure of the act of 1791 was fatally deficient. In 1801 the Court of Conference⁴⁷ pointed out that the statute did not clearly make the deliberate killing of a slave a felony, because the law read "as if he killed a free man," and not "as if he wilfully and maliciously killed a free man. . . . " The statute failed to differentiate the various degrees of homicide. The homicide of "a free man" could fall into one of three divisions-murder, manslaughter, and simple homicide which carried no punishment. Associate Justice John Hall noted that punishments "ought to be plainly defined and easy to be understood; they ought not to depend upon construction or arbitrary discretion." The offense of killing a slave was not clearly a felony under the act of 1791, therefore the benefit of the doubt was accorded the defendant in the case which tested the act.48

Because of doubts concerning proper construction of the 1791 law, the General Assembly strengthened the wording of the statute to provide that "if any person shall hereafter be guilty of feloniously, wilfully, and maliciously killing any slave . . ." he should suffer death without benefit of clergy. 49 This law also contained a fatal loophole. It provided only for punishing the manslaughter of a slave; extenuation had the effect of freeing those on trial under this law.⁵⁰

In 1817 the legislature finally enacted an effective law extending protection to the life of the slave. The statute provided that the offense of killing a slave should "hereafter be denominated and considered homicide, and shall partake of the same degree of guilt when accompanied with the like circumstances that homicide now does at common law." 51 This statute raised the thorny question of extenuation of homicide between the two races. The legislature wisely made no attempt to enumerate all the provocations which could extenuate a homicide between the races, but left the courts free to determine each case on its merits. A few decisions of the State Supreme Court in homicide cases involving both races will illustrate the liberal trend in the Court.

In State v. Weaver the Court ruled justifiable homicide on facts showing that a master used force in an effort to extract obedience from his slave. When the slave resisted, the master attacked the slave and killed him. 52 This decision was rendered in 1798. In 1839, however, the Court ruled that where death resulted from excessive punishment of a slave, the master was guilty of murder. The Court noted that punish-

⁴⁷ This term was used prior to the establishment of the State Supreme Court in 1818.
⁴⁸ State v. Boon, 1 N. C. 191 (1801).
⁴⁹ Laws of North Carolina, 1801, c. XXI.
⁵⁰ State v. Tackett, 8 N. C. 210 (1820).
⁵¹ Laws of North Carolina, 1817, c. XVIII.
⁵² State v. Weaver, 3 N. C. 54 (1798).

ment of slaves was often necessary, and stated that if death resulted accidentally during moderate punishment, the master would receive consideration from the Court. But when the punishment was barbarous and immoderate and denoted the intention of the master to terminate the life of the slave, he was held to be guilty of murder. The sentence of death against the master was upheld by the State Supreme Court.53

In State v. Robbins the Court further declared that a master had no legal right to inflict punishment upon a slave with any deadly weapon, such as a buggy whip, an axe, or a gun. If death resulted from such punishment, the Court warned, the master would be guilty of murder.54

In 1801 the question arose whether slaves in North Carolina were included under the protection of the common law. The common law of North Carolina derived from the English common law, and in 1711 the North Carolina Assembly had specifically declared that the English common law was in force in the colony. 55 The English common law, however, did not recognize the existence of the institution of slavery.⁵⁶ The North Carolina Court determined that general criminal statutes did not include slaves unless they were specifically mentioned.⁵⁷ In 1823, however, the State Supreme Court had ruled that an indictment for murder of a slave was sufficient under the common law.58 The Court also ruled that an unprovoked battery upon a slave by a party having no authority over the Negro was indictable at common law.59 This decision served to restrain white men from wanton attacks upon Negroes, enhanced the personal security of each slave, and gave added protection to the property of the master.

It must be noted that the owner of a slave could not be indicted for an assault upon the Negro, even if the assault was unprovoked and excessive. Only if the Negro died from excessive punishment would the law interfere, and in such instances the master was indicted for murder. The threat of indictment must have restrained some masters who would otherwise have inflicted immoderate punishment. But having established that an unprovoked assault upon a slave by a white man having no authority over him was an indictable offense at common law, the

State v. John Hoover, 20 N. C. 500 (1839).

State v. Christopher Robbins, 48 N. C. 250 (1855).

Kemp P. Battle, An Address on the History of the Supreme Court, Delivered in the Hall of the House of Representatives, February 4th, 1889 (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1889), 13-14.

Somerset v. Stewart, 98 English Reports, Court of King's Bench 499 (1772).

State v. Tom, a Slave, 44 N. C. 214 (1853).

State v. Reed, 9 N. C. 454 (1823).

State v. Hale, 9 N. C. 582 (1823).

State Supreme Court proceeded to create a body of precedents govern-

ing assault upon slaves.

In State v. Hale the Court stated that in cases of assault upon a slave a defendant could claim as provocation acts of a slave which would be no provocation between social equals. Chief Justice John Louis Taylor stated that many circumstances would constitute a legal provocation for an assault upon a slave "which would not constitute a legal provocation for a battery by one white man on another. . . ." It was impossible for the Court to enumerate every circumstance which might justify an assault upon a Negro, but Taylor stated that "the circumstances must be judged of by the court and jury with a due regard to the habits and feelings of society." Taylor emphasized the point that an unprovoked attack upon a slave was indictable at common law. 60

În State v. Jarrott a slave had been insolent to a white man, and the white man attacked the Negro with a piece of fence rail and a knife. The Negro resisted and killed the white man. The sentence of death passed in superior court was reversed by the Supreme Court because the assault upon the Negro, although deserved, was excessive. The Court declared that insolence from a slave justified a white man in administering moderate punishment with an ordinary instrument of correction. But the Court warned that such provocations did not authorize excessive punishment with a dangerous weapon. This decision clearly established the right of a slave to resist an unprovoked or excessive battery by a white man who was not his owner.

In 1834 the issue was raised whether a slave could legally resist an excessive battery by his master or overseer. The slave defendant, Will, had performed a breach of plantation duty and then fled punishment. The plantation overseer shot Will and then overtook him. Although wounded, Will was able to use his knife, and he wounded the overseer so severely that the overseer died within a few hours of the struggle. Convicted of murder, an appeal was taken to the State Supreme Court.

The Court stated that Will deserved punishment for his breach of duty. But the overseer had no right to shoot Will with a shotgun, not even to prevent his escape. After Will was wounded it became natural passion for him to fight for his life. The Court ruled that the homicide of the overseer was not murder but was only manslaughter. Will was subsequently sent to Mississippi by his master, but trouble dogged Will's steps. The fate of Will was revealed in a remark by his wife who later returned to North Carolina. "Will sho'ly had hard luck. He killed

⁶⁰ State v. Hale, 9 N. C. 582 (1823). ⁶¹ The State v. Jarrott, a Slave, 23 N. C. 76 (1840).

a white man in North Carolina and got off, and then was hung for

killing a nigger in Mississippi." 62

It became the established opinion of the State Supreme Court that a slave could not resist a moderate and deserved punishment from his master. If he did, his act justified the master in inflicting severe punishment. But if the master inflicted excessive punishment which might result in death the Court ruled that a slave was justified in offering resistance. And if resistance terminated in the death of the master the

slave could only be guilty of manslaughter, not murder. 63

Thomas Ruffin was one of the most distinguished jurists of antebellum North Carolina and he served as Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court from 1833 until 1852. Ruffin vigorously dissented from the majority opinions which allowed a slave to plead extenuation in the homicide of a white man. Ruffin considered it dangerous to society and incompatible with the continuance of the institution of slavery for a slave to offer resistance to his master or overseer for any reason. 64 Although Ruffin argued warmly and well he never succeeded in winning the majority of the Court to his point of view, and the decisions cited above became precedents for the superior courts in trials of slaves charged with the homicide. Judge Joseph J. Daniel had earlier held that an overseer could correct a slave for leaving work without permission, but he had no right to use a deadly weapon when the slave offered no resistance. 65 Ruffin warned that indulgence by the Court would result in a fatal weakening of the discipline necessary to preserve the institution of slavery.66

Slavery existed in North Carolina before a slave code existed in the province. The code gradually developed as necessity demanded and the content of the code became increasingly concerned with the protection of the slave not only as property but as a human being. Many men realized that the institution of slavery was the only alternative the South had to universal emancipation and acceptance of Negroes on a level of equality with white citizens. Since few southerners would accept Negro equality, and the expense of emancipation and removal of the Negroes was prohibitive, there was no alternative for the people of the South except to maintain the institution of slavery. But slavery itself was liberalized and the Negroes given as much security as was possible

Toseph H. Schauinger, William Gaston, Carolinian (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Bruce Printing Company, 1949), 169.

State v. Negro Will, slave of James S. Battle, 18 N. C. 121 (1834); State v. David, a Slave, 49 N. C. 354 (1857); The State v. John Hoover, 20 N. C. 500 (1839); and The State v. Jarrott, a Slave, 23 N. C. 76 (1840).

State v. Caesar, a Slave, 31 N. C. 391 (1849).

Martha Copeland v. John F. Parker, 25 N. C. 513 (1843).

State v. Caesar, a Slave, 31 N. C. 391 (1849).

under the circumstances. The only area in which the North Carolina code truly fell short of giving the slaves a maximum of protection was the failure of the State to recognize the validity of slave marriages. But between 1776 and 1830 the slaves of North Carolina received many valuable privileges before the law. Among these were the privileges of trial by jury, challenge of jurors, and appeal; protection by statute law from homicide; personal security under the provisions of the common law; appeal to the Governor for clemency in capital convictions; and benefit of clergy. It is to the credit of the people of North Carolina that these privileges were not taken from the slaves even during the years 1845 to 1860, when the national debate over slavery became increasingly bitter. During these years the lower courts displayed a tendency toward stricter enforcement of the code, but the number of reversals of lower court decisions by the State Supreme Court testifies to the fact that the Supreme Court upheld the rights of the slaves before the law throughout the ante-bellum period. Probably by 1860 the Supreme Court was more generous toward slaves than was the

society in which the Court functioned.

The severity of the slave code is often attacked as unreasonable and as proof of the condition of fear in which the white people of the South lived. Certainly the slave code canvassed the activities of slaves thoroughly. By 1860 slaves in North Carolina could not legally bear arms, be taught to read or write, assemble without written permission, or leave their place of residence without permission from the master. But it is true that most provisions of the code were not regularly enforced. The people of North Carolina enforced only as much of the slave code as seemed necessary at a given time. This was due in part to the difficulty of enforcement. The State was sparsely settled, and nothing short of chains could have prevented the unauthorized assembling of slaves in the woods and byways of the countryside. Moreover, enforcement officers were not given to over-exertion when there was not unusual need for rigorous enforcement of the law. General discontent among the slaves was rare and violent uprisings few. Usually the slaves went about their tasks in their slow and inefficient way. If by night they left the plantation without a pass to visit a friend on a nearby farm, or congregated in a patch of pines for a "social bout," this only served to keep them contented and required no enforcement of laws against such activities. The intense individualism of the average Carolina farmer also made enforcement of the code difficult. If a master needed a slave who could read, he would instruct one of them without much regard for the law. This was true of any task or trade

which the master wished his slaves to learn. The master felt that his farm was his own domain, and the instruction of his slaves a private concern. This individualism served in some instances to prevent the full operation of laws designed to protect slaves. A master often meted out punishment in such measure as he thought necessary, and if it were excessive and cruel, the privacy of the act often protected him

from prosecution.

There was much oppression and brutality in the slave regime—although one may say with U. B. Phillips, "where in the struggling world are these absent?" The sweeping statements that Negroes had no rights in the Old South, or that white men were rarely punished for crimes against slaves can no longer be accepted. At least in ante-bellum North Carolina these statements do not apply, and the time has come to turn from generalizations to a study of the legal documents available throughout the area which comprised the slaveholding South.

THE LOCAL RECORDS PROGRAM IN NORTH CAROLINA

BY JOHN ALEXANDER McMahon*

This opportunity to describe North Carolina's Local Records Program grows out of a panel discussion in which I participated this past October. It took place at the annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists in Kansas City. The panel described the assistance to local officials rendered by the State archival agency in three States, including ours, and I thoroughly enjoyed describing what we know to be the best program in the United States. I wish that all local officials could obtain the help from their own State agency that local officials in North Carolina receive from our State Department of Archives and History, for local officials in other States need the help just as badly as we do.

It will be helpful in the beginning to look at the size of our local records problem in North Carolina. A certain portion of you may be aware of some of these records, but few, I suspect, are aware of all of them. Many of these records have great historical interest, while others have transitory importance. It is, therefore, necessary in this welter of paper to distinguish the records of permanent value from the rest, to protect and preserve them, and to keep them readily available, first for administrative use, and second for historical research.

(1) There are the minutes of the meetings of 100 boards of county commissioners, 400 city and town boards, 173 school boards, elections boards, welfare boards, health boards, ABC boards, planning and zoning boards, and many others.

(2) There are the records generated by meetings of these boards, including ordinances, petitions, letters, claims, appointments, contracts,

and so on.

(3) There are the fiscal records: budgets, tax records, receipts, invoices, payrolls, checks, ledgers, bank statements, reports, and audits, as well as the memorandum records kept in the various county and

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municipal departments covering expenditures of hundreds of millions of dollars.

(4) There are the records of clerks of superior court and other court clerks: dockets, minutes, case records, indexes, wills, records of estates, divorce proceedings, adoptions, guardianships, special proceedings, and so on.

(5) There are the records of registers of deeds: deeds, maps, mort-

gages, birth and death certificates, and many, many others.

(6) There are election records and registration books; public welfare case records and other documents; public health reports on inspections, diseases, and other activities; public school and activity records; sheriff, police department, and fire department activity records; and so on, and on, and on.

Imagine what would happen if some of these records were destroyed; the legal problems that would arise from the loss of deed and plat books in the register of deeds' office; the marital problems that would arise from the destruction of marriage records in the register's office or divorce records in the clerk's office; the confusion that would arise from the destruction of records involving the settlement of estates in the clerk's office; and the multitude of similar problems that could arise from the destruction of other records.

Yet half of our counties have experienced fires bringing such destruction. Some records have suffered from neglect in offices where everything is retained and nothing is protected. And some records have been destroyed in offices where all but the immediately needed records are discarded.

The partial list of records outlined above shows the size of the problem. These records are being created daily in thousands of offices. They are threatening to engulf our courthouses, city halls, and office buildings. Space is needed to house the important ones, and this space is costly. If we are not careful, we may find ourselves building costly space for unimportant records.

As is so often the case, the stating of the problem, the recognition of

the problem, suggests solutions.

First, we need to analyze the mass of records, destroy the useless, identify the period of usefulness of the temporarily useful, and desig-

nate the permanent.

Second, we need to protect and preserve permanent records against neglect, defacement, mutilation, fire, theft, and the public enemy. These important records effect the lives and property of all of us, and

they should be preserved for that reason as well as for their priceless historical value.

Third, we need to give attention to the more efficient and economical creation and utilization of records.

But county officials, busy with day to day activity and unskilled in the science of archival management, need help. Your Association recognized this almost fifty years ago. In 1914 it adopted a resolution calling on the State to help counties protect and preserve records, so they would be accessible for historical purposes. The beginning was slow, and it consisted mainly of visits to courthouses to seek the transfer of historically valuable records to the State Archives, where they would be more accessible. But the activity has increased in scope and intensity, until today our Department of Archives and History conducts the most comprehensive assistance program to local officials to be found in the United States.

The Department is now carrying on a three-part program to assist

local officials with their records problems.

First, there is the records disposal program. Our Public Records Act of 1935, after directing the custodians of public records to safeguard them, to make them available to the public, and to turn them over to their successors, went one step further. It prohibited public officials from destroying or disposing of public records without the consent of the State Department of Archives and History (then the North Carolina Historical Commission). Specifically, the 1935 Act provides that when the custodian of any official records concludes that they no longer have use or value for official business, they may be turned over to the State Department of Archives and History; or if they have no further use or value for research or reference, as determined by the Department, the records may, with the approval of the county or municipal governing body, be destroyed.

It was through the judicious exercise of this authority over destruction and disposal of public records that the State Department of Archives and History earned the confidence of local officials and the General Assembly. This confidence led to the more recent developments, and the remaining two parts of our three-part program.

Second, there is the microfilming program. The 1959 General Assembly, at the specific urging of the local officials who came to appreciate the help of the State Department of Archives and History, directed the Department to undertake a program of inventorying, repairing, and microfilming county records having permanent value. The goal, of course, is a security copy of permanent records, filed in the

State Archives, to guard against the possibility of destruction by fire, theft, disaster, or neglect. But in the process, at the county level, we obtain an inventory of all records, restoration of records in need of repair, schedules for destruction of records after they have served their purpose, and plenty of sound advice on the solutions to a multitude

of records problems. Third, there is the records management program. The 1961 General Assembly directed the State Department of Archives and History to administer a records management program to apply "efficient and economical management methods to the creation, utilization, maintenance, retention, preservation, and disposal of official records." Boards of county commissioners and governing bodies of municipalities are directed "to cooperate with the State Department of Archives and History in conducting surveys and to establish and maintain an active, continuing program for the economical and efficient management of the records of said [county or municipality]." We are just getting into this program, the newest of the three.

This interest in records, and their historical as well as administrative importance, is typical of the far-sightedness of our legislature. Our State has gone far beyond most others in taking this interest in local records problems. And it is, I believe, a matter of some historical interest in its own right to take a look at how it came about.

Two separate and distinct developments shed light on how this State assistance program came to be. One is our history of State-local relations. And the other is the activity of the Department of Archives and

History itself.

County officials have regularly turned to State officials for help, and we have developed a high degree of State-county co-operation. As early as 1925, our Association requested Governor McLean to appoint a commission to study county government and to make recommendations for its improvement. In the years since, we have requested the creation of other agencies to provide help and assistance. Moreover, the General Assembly, to insure uniformity in the performance of functions that the State had an interest in, has granted supervisory power to State agencies for county school, welfare, health, hospital, library, agricultural extension, civil defense, and other programs. And when local debt problems became almost unmanageable in the late 1920's and early 1930's, the General Assembly created and gave to our Local Government Commission supervisory authority over county and municipal debt. Thus it is quite natural for counties to turn to the State for help and quite natural for the State to provide it.

The second development that sheds light on our State-assistance program is the way the Department of Archives and History has operated over the years. Had our State Archivist been too aggressive in telling county officials how to manage records, State-county co-operation would have died a-borning. By being available to help when help was needed, however, and by relying more on giving advice than giving directions, our Department obtained the confidence of county officials. By calling on local officials to help in developing the advice that was given, the Department was able to give advice that had the flavor of common sense and practicality that made it readily acceptable. The word has spread from satisfied official to satisfied official by phone, by letter, and through discussion at meetings of associations of the county and municipal officials involved.

The archivists at the recent meeting in Kansas City were very much interested in what our county officials thought of our State-assistance program. In my talk there I emphasized, particularly, the value to our

smaller counties.

Large counties have advantages that small ones do not. First of all, they have a tax base sufficient to buy modern equipment. They can hire consultants, and with a large population they generally have people close at hand with the *expertise* to solve almost any problem.

Small counties are not so fortunate, either from a monetary stand-point or from a population standpoint. They need help just as badly—problems vary so often only in degree—yet they cannot afford consultants to present solutions, and often they cannot afford the solutions themselves. In the records area, the people in our State Department of Archives and History have assumed a leading role. They are available to consult with county officials in all of our counties, particularly the small ones who would otherwise probably have gone without help. They have undertaken the microfilming of permanent records, which in many small counties, because of long distances from population centers and low volumes of records to process, would have been prohibitively expensive.

So our small counties, particularly, but the larger ones too, have found in our Department both the advice and the procedures that would have otherwise been unavailable. The decade of the 1950's was, as we all know, a period of records explosion just as it was a period of population explosion. The first, of course, is a factor of the second, as well as a result of the postwar upswing in the economy. This presented space problems to many of our counties, small and large, as courthouses threatened to burst at the seams with growing numbers

of records. The Department of Archives and History was available and helpful. It has encouraged the destruction of records no longer needed, to provide space for new records within existing walls. Creating and working with an Advisory Committee of County Records, it has created a manual to guide county officials on the useful life of the many hundreds of records found in our courthouses. This manual lists the records to be found in our counties, lists for each the period of administrative usefulness, recommends the period of retention, and gives procedures for destruction of records no longer useful.

So our officials have found assistance from the Department in determining, as custodians of public records, just how long records should be retained to protect the rights and interests of persons, for the orderly operation of government, and for historical and research

purposes.

With a new program of records management soon to begin, our county officials now look forward to advice on creation and utilization of records, with a view to more efficient and economical operation of activities which involve records.

But these are words. Some specifics may document the assistance

provided

First, some examples of problems presented by the accumulation of records. The Clerk of Superior Court in Halifax County was about to outgrow his office space. After a visit from Admiral A. M. Patterson, our experienced and capable Assistant State Archivist, a large number of records no longer in current use were scheduled for disposal. Sufficient usable space was thus provided to meet needs for another ten years. The Clerk of Superior Court in New Hanover County had records that had overflowed his own office, into the basement, and into the attic of the courthouse. Following a survey by Admiral Patterson, one truck load of permanently valuable records was transferred to the State Archives, and two truck loads were destroyed. Space was thus provided for preserving valuable records and for providing access to current records, and a serious fire hazard was removed. Guilford County has been assisted in determining record space needs, and regular schedules for record destruction have been prepared. In the municipal area, the Raleigh city government recently moved into a new and modern city hall. Department personnel assisted in scheduling for destruction a large accumulation of records in the old city hall that had no further administrative or historical use, thus enabling the city to clean house before moving to the new location.

Second, some examples of help in disasters. A 1960 hurricane flooded the first floor of the Hyde County Courthouse to a depth of nine inches. Innumerable records were water soaked. A representative of the Department assisted in drying out the records, and five volumes of permanent value were rebound in a restoration project. In the same year, the basement of the Robeson County Courthouse was flooded. After Admiral Patterson inspected the damage, records in current use were set up on end to dry, and pages were separated frequently to prevent sticking. Records no longer in current use were then and there scheduled for destruction.

Third, some examples of restoration projects. A year ago, the Register of Deeds in Wilson County discovered that some record books, recorded a number of years ago by photostatic process, were fading rapidly because of faulty processing. These record books were microfilmed to preserve them before they faded out completely. A somewhat similar problem developed in Bertie County, where, several years ago, a commercial company had been employed to repair pages of a number of old deed and will books. Sheets of some transparent substance were glued to each side of the pages in an effort to prevent further deterioration and loss. Through the years, the glue became darker and darker until eventually the text could no longer be read. Fortunately, the Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints had microfilmed these books before the unsatisfactory attempt was made to repair them. The Department is obtaining page prints of affected pages, and is restoring the volumes by lamination and binding. Just imagine what would have happened without this help.

Finally, let's take a look at what is now going on in each county as a result of the program to microfilm permanent records begun two years

ago.

First, Department personnel contact the board of county commis-

sioners, to explain the program.

Second, they inventory records in every office in the courthouse, listing records by title, dates, quantity, and location. To this is added a schedule, indicating how long records are to be preserved, whether permanently or for a specified number of years. This inventory-schedule is mimeographed, assembled into a volume, and distributed to all interested officials. By following the schedule, county officials can insure preservation of essential records, timely disposal of nonessential records, and economy in space and office operation. Moreover, transfer of records of no administrative value, but of historical value, to the



The local records program involves the following steps: (1) the inventorying and scheduling of all records of the county; (2) the repair and rebinding of deteriorating records of permanent value; (3) the microfilming for security of records of permanent value; and (4) the transfer to the State Archives of permanent records that are not

needed in the administration of the county.

The above photos illustrate steps 2 and 3. In upper left is shown a Cameraman from the Department of Archives and History microfilming the deed books in a county courthouse. At upper right, a member of the Department's laminating staff is disassembling a badly worn deed book in preparation for laminating. At lower left the leaves of the book, after having been treated with chemicals for the removal of acids, is being "sandwiched" between sheets of acetate and tissue. Finally, at lower right, the "sandwiches" are being run through the Barrow Laminator. The pages are then reassembled and rebound, thus resulting in preserving the record for posterity.

State Archives here in Raleigh makes these records more accessible to historians and researchers.

Third, permanent records in need of repair are restored by lamina-

tion and rebinding.

Finally, all permanent records are microfilmed. Negatives are stored in security files in the State Archives. Positive copies are catalogued in the search room, and put in cabinets in the microfilm reading room for

reference purposes.

The advantages are obvious, to the counties as well as to the public. Little wonder that county officials—county commissioners, registers of deeds, clerks of court and others—strongly support our Department of Archives and History. The programs, moreover, deserve the support of the public, who are the ultimate beneficiaries.

Of course, some problems have developed. They always do. And yet, the problems that have developed are surprisingly few in number,

and quite low in their intensity.

In spite of the help available, there has been some lack of interest, particularly in records destruction and records management. All of you, I am sure, are aware of the traditional reluctance of many custodians of records to destroy anything. The amazing thing, I suppose, is that so much useless material has been disposed of or destroyed. Time, of course, is overcoming this lack of interest, because all counties are running into problems, some of one kind and some of another. Space itself may be the greatest stimulus to interest, because sooner or later all counties run into space problems. As the interest increases, and the examples of successful projects mount, the lack of interest is declining substantially. Those of you with historical interests can help, because good records programs mean that records of historical value will be preserved and available.

These State-assistance programs ran into opposition from one individual. He served notice on the Department that he would oppose the efforts to expand the programs and the authority of the Department, and he served notice on his fellow county officials at the same time. Interestingly enough, his opposition never really got to the General Assembly, because the legislator from his county, with years of experience at all governmental levels, immediately saw the value of the proposed programs. Incidentally, the formerly hostile individual is no

longer actively opposing the Department's programs.

Some additional problems will arise in the future. The Department is, after all, dealing with a thousand or more local officials, and it will be surprising if problems do not develop. But we are building such a

solid base of satisfactory experience in State-county co-operation that

dealing with problems will present little or no difficulty.

Let me conclude by emphasizing, once again, that the Department of Archives and History is providing a tremendous service to counties, and through counties to people whose lives and property are affected

by records and to people interested in their historical value.

You can help too. By understanding the need for a sound records program in counties and municipalities; by supporting the Department and the counties in their efforts to protect and preserve essential records; you can help make sure that the records you are interested in will end up where they ought to be—preserved and available.

A LAND MORE LARGE THAN EARTH

BY BERNICE KELLY HARRIS*

"To find a land . . . more large than earth," Thomas Wolfe wrote not long before his death in 1938. "Though winning near the goal—yet, do not grieve," the poet bade the Attic youth, forever panting in pursuit of fair objective. "What a beautiful view," Alan Shepard said

of Earth on May 5, 1961, as he left it for outer space.

Life continues to be quest. Literature and history record the quest for truth on many levels. Beyond the pursuit of beauty in dales of Arcady or of stars by Astronauts, the search for largeness is man's creative contribution, the basic intent of his culture. The poet and the space-explorer, along with mankind in general, could find ugliness and futility in a close-range view of earth this December, 1961. But the continuity of pursuit of that land envisioned by Thomas Wolfe has its own beauty and largeness beyond material winning or loss. As illuminated in the tales and traditions of man, in his mores and beliefs, his history and literature the search for "a land more large" reflects the spiritual content of his effort, cumulatively impressive and worthy to be continued.

Today's exponents of this cultural continuity have a responsibility to clarify anew the identity of the searcher in this space age, to refuse to package his search under shopworn labels and slogans or to lose it amid automation and megatons. There is need for affirmation of man's individuality and its austere relation to a largeness in culture. Too often now attainment is defined in terms of personal comfort, amusement, mass-getting and consuming without relation to the context of creative existence.

In this context identity is not status. The man who declared he was concerned not about what he voted for, but only in being a voting man was confusing identity with symbols. Status symbols are, indeed, confusing. It appears they are currently extending beyond citizenship privileges, education and income to include nonfiction reading, along

^{*} Mrs. Harris, who resides in Seaboard, is the author of a number of novels and plays with a North Carolina setting and was the first woman to win the Mayflower Cup. This article was presented as her presidential address at the dinner meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association on December 1, 1961.

with labels worn and ties with tradition sometimes anachronistic in impact. A certain homeowner, for instance, packaged his identity with the historical past by installing outside his split-level, all-electric residence two flickering gaslights such as were used in another century. Identity beyond any symbols displayed means everything a person is. When individuality and individual worth are left out of the concept, the search for a largeness will waver more unsteadily than those gaslights that flickered outside the electrically equipped residence of the status seeker.

Within the framework of cultural continuity there is the responsibility individually and in mass to stem the current tendency of presenting life in packages, of selling fun and good living and intrinsic values by creating images rather than by projecting the reality. To mass appeal an emotional response, not based on fact or reason, is sought by the image cultists. Sometimes they even sell children the impression that instruction is supposed to be fun. (It is to be hoped that this illusion will not extend to quality education.) Young people are encouraged to study and do well because it is fun. It is fun to join civic and religious groups. So the image of youth laughing and playing its way to education and citizenship here and hereafter is created.

Political candidates and commercial products likewise are often sold on the images they present rather than on their record. Tainted with untruth are the images of the man of distinction; the double-good twins who symbolize the real joy of good living if consumers move up to a certain brand of chewing gum; of the bright wash that solves the complexities of family life if a certain kind of soap powder is used; of a great white father beaming from a national armchair or of a school-boy President standing before Schoolmaster Uncle Sam who is seated in a rocking chair made in North Carolina.

It is estimated that nine billion dollars a year can be counted on from the youth market alone. In the package, crowding the wholesome products, there are horror films, psychopathic thrillers, fast-draw gunmen, sirens and Lotharios, pornography and comic books reputed to have sold in one year four times the budgets of all public libraries, profane bums and angry young men who tell off the world from their

lazy lounge chairs, but do nothing to help set it right.

If the level of taste is one measure of a culture, these trends unchecked portend a taint upon its largeness. The taint touches literature. Not many years ago one of the best-known New York publishers ran book ads in the New York Herald-Tribune that were like Burma-shave

jingles, only less clever. One was: "The world is moving along so fast, It's out of the safety zone, The age of the atom is here at last, But Sex is still holding its own." Another, with a sly leer in the lines, was: "An evening of pleasure—! The recipe? That best-selling novel [The name of the novel in which Sex was still holding its own was added], College professors, critics too, Read it in secret, Why don't you?" Degradation is even packaged in literary form, at least in some of the tell-all books designed for mass appeal rather than for any kind of catharsis of self or society.

Even Deity is offered in a package. He is a chum, a buddy, the man upstairs who is ever ready to do a pal a favor, but who never says Thou-shalt-not. (It is modish to go back to past centuries for gaslights, but not for moral imperatives.) Outgrown as buddy or as cosmic Personality, Deity is packaged under space age labels as Energy.

Survival of the human race may become packaged. The insidious image of family fall-out shelters, mounted with machine guns or equipped with small arms, could be projected by the hard-sell cult. The slogan could be: A family split-level fall-out shelter beside every swimming pool or a cut-rate package for only \$499. The image of this kind of survival tends to invalidate the community sense and the moral imperatives of civilization.

Out of the package often come insecurity, lawlessness, a sense of futility or a stultifying uniformity that turns potential searchers of a largeness into status seekers. The rhythms of living are set to theme songs and slogans. Have-gun-will-travel is modified to replace self-reliance with multitudinous props. "What do I get out of it?" becomes the response to challenges. "Gimme-gimme-gimme" becomes baby's lullaby and "I Want To Be Evil," the American song export to the court of her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II.

In the scope of marketable images and easy slogans there is little coherent sense of the real self in its relation to creative direction. A character in a play expressed it thus: "I don't know what I want, and I wouldn't want it if I did." So the cultists resonate but do not reason, do not come to terms with reality.

(Parenthetically, this is not to suggest that traditional culture is in a tailspin, not with agencies such as have met in Raleigh this week steering toward a "land more large." Melody gives way to agony singing, the dance to the Twist, "I Want To Be True" to "I Want To Be Evil." Beauty-is-truth is translated into measurements, 34-24-36. Happy endings provoke discontent. One girl complained when she left the picture show, "There are no happy endings any more. Every

picture I've seen lately winds up with the couple getting married and living happy ever afterward." Alas! While these do portend crash landings, they indicate the cultural gyroscope may need adjustment.)

The trends that negate basic values must be rejected, the reality behind the image must be affirmed and first reverence be given to a Reality greater than physical Energy. As has been stated, the best defense of nations, in time, has proved to be a people worthy of defense. Force and Bigness are not the authoritative finality that commands the spirit of man or evokes his worship. There is the awesome beyond the marvels of technology. There is the continuing miracle of infinitesimal seed evolving into sustaining plants, of zygotes into living beings, of humanity's aspirations into books and paintings and music and legislation.

The intimations of cosmic vastness command wonder and awe and quest. But man remains a frontier, a cosmos to explore, "a land more large than earth" in his spiritual potentialities. To break the barriers that keep him from realizing his identity and from understanding and respecting identities of persons on this planet is comparable in its urgency to breaking the sound barrier.

There is challenging mystery in mankind. Man has areas unexplored and perhaps as unexplorable as space. For all the little petulancies, the shabby motivations, the relentless striving after pelf and power, there is in humanity the spark of a largeness harmonious to creative purpose.

The largeness is based on enduring values and their orderly relation to the individual. A sense of identity will come from a conviction about what is right and wrong and from the exercise of good choices. Good and evil are not X, Y, Z. They are essentially known through ancient answers still apposite to present complexities. Reverence for these known realities and for the reality of revelation, recognition of human dignity even among the lowliest, respect for the laws of man, tolerance—intolerance, too, as against profanation of principle—justice, compassion, courage, truth are as timely and powerful ultimates as megatons.

They are validated in human beings, not in machines. To search for "a land more large" is to go, figuratively, on a safari among people and to encompass them in a creative understanding. It is to perceive the spiritual elevation inherent in common humanity, to help modify the urgencies of people in life and in literature to demand the truth about the human experience without caricature or distortion or propaganda.

Some of yesterday's urgencies have been modified by mechanization and industrialization. But human problems and exigencies remain. Technology for all its marvels has not yet solved unemployment and substandard housing in eastern North Carolina or in Djakarta, Indonesia; has not solved earth's over-population and surpluses and

starvation and next spring's rains.

The proximate view as against Alan Shepard's would reveal much that is alien to largeness. It would also reveal beauty amid starkness, beauty among the Nez Perce Indians, up and down King Street in Asheville or high on a hill. Persons along the little roads project humanity as truly as George Apley of Boston or Franny and Zooey of New York. Wretchedness is evident in village and Gotham. Yet, jollity and good humor even amid starkness, tenderness and decency are the human story too. Human dignity is in its drama, and the triumph of the human spirit is its catastasis.

There was the hopelessly wretched tenant farm woman along a North Carolina byway who, after the recital of her incredible miseries one winter day, lifted her head and cried: "But you just wait till the turkle crawls again, and I'll be out there a-trying. Me and the turkle

will crawl again."

There was the old lady along a North Carolina road who at seventy-five started attending an adult illiteracy class to learn to read. And with what creative identification she stood out in the floor and read the Psalmist's testimony that he had been brought to a large place.

There was the penniless little Northampton woman who on foot over a ten-mile range peddled vegetables from her garden and berries from the briar patches. When evicted because she could no longer pay rent on her cabin, she set up housekeeping under the open sky alongside the highway near town and there held Open House more memorable than those under social datelines.

There was the very old man of ninety-seven who, when chided for doing a chore beyond his strength and assured it would be attended to for him, retorted: "Yes, but I've got a walking stick, and you haven't!"

There was the farm tenant in eastern North Carolina who had only \$4.90 left at settlement time to live on, whose house was crumbling around him, whose wife was endlessly "tired and hurting," whose high school son against any possibility of fulfillment looked forward some day to being a Carolina Playmaker at Chapel Hill. Together they sang about "home, sweet home," accompanying themselves on a broken organ and a banjo with two strings.

There was the deformed hunchback who had to lie across a chair to make baskets and ferneries and lamps. Yet at forty he counted himself lucky because he could crawl around the house, fill his orders for baskets and after worktime sing a "mean bass." Nematodes, in

literary culture?

The turtle crawls again. The homeless hold Open House. The centenarian defies the uselessness of old age with his walking stick. The deformed cripple sings a "mean bass" after worktime. The landless translate their aspirations into title deeds to pass on from heir to heir and into white steeples to worship under. The Lady of the manor sits on a lonesome porch. Sis Goose, no less of animal fair than human, keeps her lonely vigil, steadfast to the faith that Cudin Flying Squirrel was less of earth than heaven. The scholar, tracing literary growth, finds nematodes in his garden of poetry signify. The Lost Colonists walk in annual reclamation. They are the human story. In them is validated the search for a largeness.

On this December 1, 1961, it is surely the will of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association to say to the Ultimate Reality of

the Judean poet, "Bring us to a large place."

THE SOUTH ON THE EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR

By Lenoir Chambers*

If we had all been in the capital of the Confederacy a hundred years ago this evening, we should have agreed with the historian of that beleaguered city who recorded that "the autumn of 1861 was long and fine . . .: sparkling days warmed by brilliant sunshine and evenings so mild that ladies whose friendships had begun when their husbands held congressional or official posts in the old days at Washington sat chatting on the steps of their hotels by the light of the gas street-lamps."

The Richmond of 40,000 people was full of soldiers, coming and going. The summer had been full of fears about the unknown. June had brought good news from Bethel on the Lower Peninsula, but signs from the States west of the Blue Ridge were different. First Manassas in July created the first great excitement and exultation, but once again news from the West, in present West Virginia, dulled the edge of this

achievement for those willing to realize it.

Thereafter the pace of the war seemed to slow down. Good news came in from Missouri in August, bad news the same month from Hatteras on the North Carolina coast. In October the occupation of Port Royal in South Carolina disturbed the South Carolinians, but seemed a little remote in Richmond. It was pleasanter to think of the affair at Ball's Bluff on the Potomac above Washington.

By November people were living in a lull. McClellan was organizing an army somewhere near Washington, but he showed no sign of movement. No serious threat was visible anywhere else. "The enemy," our historian of Richmond wrote down, "had been driven away . . . Richmond drew a long breath and turned with alacrity to enjoying itself."

The city had new reasons to do so. The Davises had moved in July from their early weeks in the Spotswood Hotel into the Brockenbrough mansion at Clay and Twelfth Streets, and a White House of the Confederacy was not only in being: it was also the scene of pleasant social events that set a pace for the city.

^{*} Mr. Chambers, who recently retired as Editor of the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, is the author of a two-volume biography of Stonewall Jackson. This paper was presented at the evening session of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, December 1, 1961.

Old Richmond sometimes looked askance at New Confederacy, but sometimes there were two sides to that. Old South Carolina, well represented in the new capital (some people said overly-represented), had its own opinion of personalities and manners too. There were affairs at the outposts, it is true, and the Dead March in Saul could be heard at the funerals, and once heard was never forgotten. But the casualties were still few. The economy was looking up. The blockade was not yet effective, and the ships that came through often carried more luxury items than military supplies. War was stimulating Richmond industry. The stores had goods and sold them. The dinners in high places that the diaries tell us about were imperial. Inflation had not really begun to take its bite. Richmond was enjoying a boom.

So it was on the surface this moment a century ago. But the surface could not really conceal all. The government was beginning to creak at its joints. Mr. Davis, who had been almost sacrosanct at first, was feeling the barbs of political criticism and backstairs gossip as well as the broadsides of part of the press. The Vice-President, Mr. Stephens, was unhappy in Richmond and not much happier in Georgia. Mr. Toombs had given up the Secretary of State portfolio, and Mr. Hunter was struggling with it. He would not last long. Mr. Walker had resigned as Secretary of War, under heavy pressure from the President, and Mr. Benjamin had come in from the Justice Department to succeed him; he would not last long either. The War Department was to see six secretaries before the war ran out, more than any other cabinet post, and the reason, in the sharp judgment of one critic, was that, paradoxically, that department never had any secretary of war-Mr. Davis was always secretary of war, he said, and the secretaries were clerks.

Logistically, the government was learning that something more was needed to fight a modern war against an emerging industrial state than the élan that is inherent in a revolutionary movement. Enormous development, enormous improvisation, would be necessary to overcome the South's economic deficiencies.

Nor had commanders in the field turned out quite as hoped. Beauregard, a hero after Sumter, had become a demi-god after First Manassas, and enough glory spread out to endow Johnston's name. But neither got along with Davis, nor Davis with them; and Beauregard went West until late in the war, and Johnston faced a bad winter and a worse spring.

Lee had tried to co-ordinate two armies in western Virginia and had not succeeded. He was along the South Carolina and Georgia coasts now, looking after defenses. He seemed far from the center of the picture. Jackson had not emerged, though some people remembered events on the Henry House hill at First Manassas. Nor had

Longstreet risen high. Nor had Stuart.

It was clear now that Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri would not join the Confederacy. The West had seen no major collisions, and there was hope that Albert Sidney Johnston could deal adequately with the enemy when there were. But Forts Henry and Donelson were just around the corner of the winter, and Shiloh and New Orleans would darken next April.

The British were not in a responsive mood, and people were not so sure now that cotton would bring Western Europe to taw. Among men who thought hard the signs of a long and perhaps desperate

struggle were disturbing.

Davis had thought so all along. As early as June 28 of this year, that extraordinary woman, Mary Boykin Chesnut, in her superb social document, A Diary from Dixie, had written these memorable words:

In Mrs. Davis's drawing-room last night, the President took a seat by me on the sofa where I sat. He talked for nearly an hour. He laughed at our faith in our own prowess. We are like the British; we think every Southerner equal to three Yankees at least, but we will have to be equivalent to a dozen now. . . . Mr. Davis believes that we will do all that can be done by pluck and muscle, endurance and dogged courage, dash and red-hot enthusiasm, and yet his tone was not sanguine. There was a sad refrain running through it. For one thing, either way, he thinks it will be a long war. That floored me at once. It has been too long for me already. Then he said that before the end we would have many a bitter experience. He said only fools doubted the courage of the Yankees, or their willingness to fight when they saw fit. And now we have stung their pride, we have roused them till they will fight like devils.

Thus the President of the Confederate States of America to a good friend on June 27, 1861. And now, by the calendar we are observing, it is December of that first year of the war. The conflict is six months old; and perhaps more people than the surface gaiety might suggest were thinking the long, hard thoughts of people in trouble. At the very least this was not going to be easy.

How had the southern States got themselves into this difficult situation? If we could shift our calendar a year earlier to one hundred and one years ago tonight—December 1, 1860—we should find ourselves three and a half weeks after the most significant presidential election in American history, before or since. Probably we could have foreseen the election of Lincoln and Hamlin and the rout of the two badly

divided Democratic tickets, the Douglas-Johnson ticket and the Breckinridge-Lane ticket, and of the Bell-Everett ticket of the Whigs

and the Know-Nothings.

For the first time since the division of thought within the United States had seemed to be approaching what William H. Seward called an "irrepressible conflict," the South, the States' Rights philosophers, the Cotton Kingdom, the Slave Power politicians—call them what you will—had lost control of their destiny. For the first time a political party founded on the doctrine of a firm attitude toward the "peculiar institution" of the South was in the saddle. We might have foreseen something more. We should hardly have been surprised that three days after the election the General Assembly of South Carolina—which continued in session before, during, and after the election, and did so by deliberate intent—called for a constitutional convention. The formal purpose was "to consider the dangers incident upon the position of the state in the Federal Union." The meaning of the words was not in doubt.

Six weeks ago (by our calendar of one hundred and one years ago) a group of South Carolina officials, including all but two of the State's congressional delegation, had agreed that secession should be the State's action if Lincoln was elected. The followers of Robert Barnwell Rhett had been looking toward an immediate constitutional convention in order to carry the State out of the Union while resentment was still at its height if Lincoln was elected. Porcher Miles, the Congressman, and a Secessionist of influence, had said specifically that he hoped the State would act swiftly and with a minimum of talk if Lincoln was elected. Governor Francis W. Pickens declared that Lincoln had run "upon issues of malignant hostility and uncompromising war to be waged upon the rights, the interests, and the peace of half the states of the Union." Such a moderate as James L. Orr-who was badly defeated because he was a moderate when he ran for election as a delegate in the constitutional convention-had said last August that "no Black Republican president [should] ever execute any law within our borders unless at the point of the bayonet and over the dead bodies of ... [our] slain sons."

The mood of South Carolina was not in doubt a hundred and one

years ago tonight.

On December 20, three weeks from tonight, by our calendar of one hundred and one years ago, the South Carolina constitutional convention will vote unanimously—169 to 0—to repeal the State's action of May 23, 1788, by which the Constitution of the United States had been

ratified. It will declare "that the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other states, under the name of 'The United States of America,' is hereby dissolved." Thus, South Carolina reasoned, it will place itself in its original position of individual State sovereignty and become therefore a sovereign State.

Twenty days will pass before any other State acts. Then from January 9 through February 1 of 1861, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana, in this order, will vote in convention to secede

from the Union, and Texas will do so by popular vote.

But then, as we know now, the movement stopped. It was not until April 17 of 1861 that Virginia voted to secede. North Carolina and Arkansas followed in May, Tennessee in June; and these four decisions did not come until after, and as a result of, Lincoln's call for volunteers after the bombardment and surrender of Fort Sumter.

The secession movement extended thus for six months, from December to June; from South Carolina the first to Tennessee the last; from a period of peace while Buchanan was still in the White House to a time when young men in uniform were dying in agony and First Manassas was only a month away.

These conditions suggest that the term "the South" is deficient in important respects. Obviously, when the issue came to secession there

were at least three Souths.

First, the South of the seven States which seceded in the first six weeks after Lincoln's election.

Second, the South of the four States, stretched like a band across the top of these seven States—that is, Virginia and North Carolina, then Tennessee, which borders on both, and then Arkansas, which geographically is a western extension of Tennessee. All of these waited five to seven months after Lincoln's election before seceding.

And, third, a still more northerly band of States, part southern, part northern, which did not secede at all: Delaware, Maryland, the western counties of Virginia, which formed West Virginia, and then Kentucky

and Missouri.

As we look at the South on the eve of the Civil War, we see not only that there were many Souths: there were many southerners. Not only were there clashes of opinion and political philosophy and economic interest between the North and the South: there was also a long series of differences, divisions, and clashes within the people of the South.

In this struggle for the mind of the people of the southern States, the best-known leaders, in the period with which we are concerned, were obviously the immediate winners, the ones whose views prevailed.

They were the men under whose leadership the southern States evolved, refined, and toughened their States' Rights philosophy, and

in the end put it to the test.

But it is not fair or accurate to set them apart as the only extremists in the land. Many parts of the North, notably New England, did not lack for counterparts. The heat in the hills of the one could be just as hot as—sometimes hotter than—the heat in the bayous of the others. Before Sumter there was no action from the South that matched, in purpose or ultimate effect, John Brown's raid from the North.

It is probable, therefore, that most people in the North, as they looked toward the South, would have thought principally of men like South Carolina's Robert Barnwell Rhett and his family's Charleston Mercury; or Alabama's William L. Yancey, the most persuasive man on a platform in his region; or Louisiana's Rev. Dr. Benjamin M. Palmer, who sought to equate slavery with Christianity; or Georgia's Howell Cobb and Joseph E. Brown, the latter a war governor whose insistence on his State's rights, as he defined them, proved an embarrassment to the Confederacy's central government; or Texas' Louis T. Wigfall, who prevailed over Texas' Sam Houston; or Virginia's Edmund Ruffin, who smuggled his way into the ranks of the Virginia Military Institute cadets at Charlestown in order to see John Brown hanged, who was to pull the lanyard on one of the first guns-perhaps the first gun-that fired on Fort Sumter, and who after Appomattox blew his brains out rather than face the new order; or Florida's Governor Madison S. Perry, who told South Carolina's Governor William H. Gist back in October that Florida would follow any other State that seceded; and, of course, the ghosts of John C. Calhoun and Robert Y. Hayne and what some people might have called the evil spirit of Preston Brooks-not to mention the sinister figure of Simon Legree.

For when the southern States had gone into secession, especially the first seven under the leadership of such men, they seemed to be animated by an almost universal spirit, sometimes by an almost unanimous public opinion, and in the end by an all-southern support. It is this picture of the South to which I direct especially your attention this

evening. For in some important respects it is not true.

It is not true even in South Carolina and even despite the unanimous vote by which South Carolina's constitutional convention decided to secede. The official action of the delegates conformed to the views of most of the State's political leadership, and most of the people's convictions. South Carolina had attempted nullification as early as 1832. It was the spearhead of States' Rights-ism. It had long contemplated and frequently discussed secession as a possibility.

But this state of mind does not mean that no moderate men lived in South Carolina. James L. Orr tried long to work out arrangements for protecting southern "rights" within the Democratic Party. Benjamin F. Perry struggled for years to bring his State more in line with national thinking. Christopher G. Memminger, later Secretary of the Treasury in the Confederate cabinet, was not regarded by secessionists as one of them. Chief Justice John B. O'Neall pleaded for delay to see whether Lincoln actually injured southern interests. As late as 1860 Senators James H. Hammond and James Chesnut, Jr., were unwilling to climb on the secession bandwagon. Rhett said that the South Carolina delegation to the Democratic National Convention in Charleston in April, 1860, was largely "conservative"—though a good deal depends on the definition of that word—and had no intention of walking out of the convention when it reached that city.

Other relatively unknown men and such well knowns as Charleston's heroic James L. Petigru, that man of "antique virtue," who never espoused the cause of secession and yet was allowed to live untouched in his city, attest the existence of an appreciable—though in the end

completely ineffective-minority.

In every other southern State the minority was stronger. Mississippi debated throughout November and December on the merits of secession as opposed to "co-operation"—co-operation, that is, with other southern States in contrast to single-State action. Mississippi "conservatives" denounced secession as "a surrender of Southern rights, a cowardly fleeing from the enemy, and an abandonment of sound con-

stitutional positions."

Only 60 per cent of those who had voted in the presidential election of November 6 voted for delegates to the constitutional convention, and the vote was not overwhelming. It was (in the opinion of one historian) "close enough to leave considerable doubt as to the true attitude of the people of Mississippi." Jefferson Davis believed in the principle but did not lead—far from it—in the practical secession movement.

But every moment the convention itself continued, the pressures for secession grew stronger. A motion to submit the issue to popular vote lost by 70 to 29. With that decided, secession itself won by 85 to 15.

In Florida, the third seceding State, Governor Perry had favored secession in event of Lincoln's election as far back as October, as we have seen. But Senators David L. Yulee and Stephen R. Mallory (who later was the Confederacy's Secretary of the Navy) were more conservative. Though the State legislators pushed straight ahead, some

evidence indicates that perhaps a third of the members were conservatively inclined. In the subsequent constitutional convention the cooperationist strength has been put at from 36 to 43 per cent. A motion to delay action on secession lost by 43 to 24. Another move to suspend action until Georgia and Alabama had acted lost by a narrow margin—five votes would have changed the result. In the end secession carried with only seven opposing delegates. But obviously there was a minority.

In Alabama the campaign for delegates to a constitutional convention has been called "one of the bitterest campaigns in the history of the state." Yet the vote for the election of delegates was only 75 per cent of the vote in the November election. The elected delegates were divided 54 for secession, 46 for delay—although Alabama knew that South Carolina had already seceded and although the Alabama

government had already seized Federal forts in the State.

In the constitutional convention the drive for immediate action gained strength daily, led by Yancey; and in the end the vote to secede was 60 to 39—approximately the proportion of three to two. The con-

trast to South Carolina's unanimity is striking.

In Georgia there had been a strong conservative school of thought since 1850. Robert Toombs and Howell Cobb had once belonged to this school, but in later periods they favored more direct action. Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederate States later; Herschel V. Johnson, vice-presidential candidate on the Douglas ticket in 1860; and Benjamin H. Hill were respected men of influence who stood for the concept of the Union, or at least for "sober deliberation." In practical politics Governor Joseph E. Brown was stronger than any of these. He addressed a message to the legislature recommending secession if Lincoln should be elected. After Lincoln's election the legislature called in various recognized leaders for advice, in a kind of public hearing, and contrasting views were freely presented. The legislators refused to act, although under pressure to do so, but called a constitutional convention.

In the election for delegates to the convention the popular vote was 50,243 for secession delegates, 37,123 for a vague coalition of co-

operationists and varying types of Unionists.

In the convention itself, after a bitter debate on the merits of two resolutions, one for secession, the other calling for a convention of southern States, the count was for secession by 166 to 130—effective, but no landslide. By the time the ordinance of secession was reported, this vote had shifted to 208 to 89 for the ordinance. In the end only

six delegates refrained from signing the ordinance. Still, it had been a

fight.

Louisiana, the next State to secede, had a name for Unionist sentiment, and for specific reasons. The Mississippi River connected the State to northern and northwestern regions by direct commercial ties which some other southern States did not have in like degree. The protective tariff which South Carolina condemned had positive benefits for Louisiana's sugar. Whig influence, in the years of that party's affluence, had been strong. John Slidell, perhaps the most respected political leader in Louisiana, leaned toward Unionism. In the November presidential election—the one held three and a half weeks ago, I remind you again, if you can continue to transplant yourselves a hundred and one years backward—the Deep South's candidate, Breckinridge, polled fewer votes in Louisiana than the moderate Douglas and Bell combined.

These influences weakened after Lincoln's election. They weakened perceptibly after the entry into public discussion of a group of clergymen, preaching Dr. Palmer's doctrine of "Slavery a Divine Trust." In the election of delegates the secession forces polled 22,448 and the co-operation coalition 17,296. In the convention this secessionist strength beat off efforts for delay or more co-operation with other southern States and adopted the ordinance of secession.

"At the time, and since," that distinguished Louisianian, Richard Taylor—a delegate there and a fine officer in the Confederate Army later—wrote in his *Destruction and Reconstruction*, "I marveled at the joyous and careless temper in which men, much my superiors in sagacity and experience, consummated these acts," and "laughed to scorn" any mention of difficulties ahead, or ascribed their mention to

"timidity and treachery."

In Texas, the last of the seven to secede, the struggle was more complicated than in most other States, being involved with the complaint of Texans against the Union for lack of frontier protection against Indian raids. Sam Houston was a stout Union man, and although he lost out as governor in 1857 he was back in 1859. The John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry shook Texas, as it did the whole South, but Houston fought hard against radical action. He refused to call the legislature into session, maneuvered this way and that, and spiritually never did give in.

In the end the secessionist influence prevailed in a popular vote of 46,000 to 14,000, but again, and significantly, only after a struggle.

What emerges from this brief review of the first seven seceding

States? First of all, the fact of secession stands out, bold and unprecedented. Nothing in the record compares with the stark political

reality of secession.

But second only to secession itself are the clearly demonstrable uncertainties, doubts, and outright resistance to secession in every one of the seven, less in South Carolina than in the others, but emphatically in the others, and for a substantial time seemingly almost

equal in political strength to the secessionist forces.

In State after State the secessionist movement was the cause of the dominant politicians and their political organizations. Had there been a positive and united resistance from the non-political elements of the population in some of these States, it might well have had its influence on the political leadership. Such a resistance to secession did not make itself effective. It was not united. It was not specific in its objectives, which ranged all the way from second looking, more sober consideration, co-operation in various forms, to determined refusal to leave the Union. Resistance to secession was not professionally led. It did not enlist many hesitants who did not know what to do. Against the expertly managed political forces that knew exactly what they wanted, this loose kind of coalition stood little chance. Perhaps it never had a chance. But that it existed there is no doubt.

The picture accordingly is not one of swift and universal agreement. Careless, as well as confident, many of the hot-heads may have been, but they had a struggle all along the line. In State after State, it was only when emotionalism took hold, it was only when the bandwagon psychology took possession, it was only when the social pressures and the pleas for loyalty to friends and neighbors mounted, it was only when words and actions in the northern States made many men in the South fear the unknown possibilities from what they interpreted to be a hostile people—it was only in such circumstances that resistance to precipitate an unparalleled action in withdrawing from a greatly loved union collapsed, and the issues were decided.

loved union collapsed, and the issues were decided.

The record of resistance to secession in this crescent of seven States from South Carolina to Texas is, of course, less impressive than the

record in the four other States that eventually joined them.

Virginia had voted for the Bell-Everett ticket, not for Breckinridge and Lane. When the General Assembly met in January, Governor John A. Letcher's message reflected middle-ground thinking. Though he believed in the theory of secession, he opposed the calling of a constitutional convention. The legislators were more interested then in setting up a peace conference to bring together the Union govern-

ment in Washington and the newly rising government to the south. But peace failures on the one hand, and pressures on the other, led eventually to the call for a convention.

In the election more than 100,000 voters favored the requirement that any action by the convention be referred to the people, and only 45,000 opposed doing so. Of the delegates elected, only 30 out of 152

favored secession, and 122 opposed secession.

Virginia wished very much to wait to see, and when a secession proposal came to a vote on April 4—a month after Lincoln had been inaugurated, and after the seven seceding States had already formed a government—the convention beat it by 88 to 45.

But Sumter and Lincoln's call for volunteers brought matters to a head. Then, but only then, Virginia voted for secession, although even

then the decision was only by 88 to 55.

North Carolina had voted for Breckinridge and Lane, but only with 48,539 votes against 44,990 for Bell and Everett. The General Assembly that met in November received from Governor John W. Ellis a recommendation for a constitutional convention and a conference of all

southern States. But the legislators would have neither.

Reassembling after Christmas of 1860, the legislators changed to the extent of approving a referendum on whether a convention should be called and simultaneously of electing delegates if a convention was approved. But the voters turned down the proposal for a convention by a small margin, 47,323 to 46,672. Of the delegates chosen for a not-to-be-held convention, 42 favored secession, 78 favored the Union, conditionally or unconditionally, with the unconditionals stronger by nearly two to one. North Carolina, too, preferred to wait and see. But North Carolina had reversed its course when Sumter and the call for volunteers thundered the ancient question: "Under which king, Bezonian?"

In Tennessee and Arkansas the story was in principle much the

same.

Arkansas showed little interest in secession before Lincoln's election. Then Governor Henry M. Rector, Senator Robert W. Johnson, and Representative Thomas C. Hindman led a campaign for seceding. The legislature was hesitant and uncertain. It waited until January and then authorized a referendum on whether a convention should be called. The convention won approval, but a majority of the delegates elected at the same time favored adherence to the Union or at least opposition to withdrawal. Ultimately, under heavy pressure, the legislators decided on a policy of co-operation, but with "border slave

states," not with the original seven seceding States, and postponed further decision until an election to be held in August.

But Sumter and the call for troops violently altered the scene, and

Arkansas took its place with the South.

Finally, in Tennessee, where Union sentiment was strong, neither Lincoln's election nor the secession of neighbors to the south excited most people. Governor Isham Harris called the legislature into special session and asked for a convention. The legislators referred this question to the people. The people voted 68,282 to 59,449 against a convention and voted in the proportion of 91,803 to 27,749 for delegates with Union sympathies.

But once again events outside the State changed Tennessee. After Sumter and the call for volunteers, and much else, for there were confusing issues here, Tennessee's judgment, as reflected by a vote of

104,913 to 47,238, was for secession.

The intensity of the struggle within these four States of Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee is unmistakable. It points clearly to the greater unwillingness to secede by States still farther to the north (which were influenced also by vigorous action from the North), and to the consequent cutting short of the secession movement at this line; and there is no need for further detail.

It points—this struggle that I have been suggesting—to something more. On the eve of the Civil War all of the different Souths, far from plunging into combat with the joyful abandon of romanticists, wrestled with these problems they faced until the sweat ran out of their beings and they panted in their agony. The "joyous and careless temper" which Richard Taylor saw in control of the Louisiana convention is a fact of life, as well as a forerunner of death. But it is not the complete portrait of the South on the eve of war; it is not the portrayal of the South that was thinking hard though saying little, because it was perplexed, and leaderless, and unable to make up its mind, and sure only that it did not want to rush into secession, much less into conflict.

This was the more conservative South in 1860 and early 1861. It did not follow the Rhetts and Yanceys. It was deeply troubled, but it did not seek war, accept war gladly, or regard war as the remedy. Nor, when it could see no other choice, did it shrink from war. But under the storm and fury of political action was a vast unrepresented body of southerners whose testimony comes to us through the years in their personal, not their united—for they were not united—expressions. These were the southern conservatives whom Avery Craven, the University of Chicago historian, has described in his book, *Civil War in the Making*:

There is no sadder story in all American history than that of the Southern conservatives in the final crisis. They probably constituted a majority against secession in the beginning but were too confused and divided to gain control. . . . Under such circumstances, the advantage was all with the smaller group of determined, exasperated radicals who now talked loudly of Southern rights and Republican threats. . . . They arrogantly assumed that they alone stood for the honor, the interests, and the rights of the South. They hurled the charges of disloyalty, cowardice, and weakness against all who would not join their ranks. They called them Abolitionists and Northern sympathizers.

Instead of fighting the common enemy, conservatives were thus forced to spend their energies defending themselves, explaining their position, and asserting their loyalty to the South. They steadily lost ground and number, and what was more important, they lost confidence in their own cause as radical Republican speeches came into print. Even fate was

against them.

Of these southern conservatives, out of countless men, I give you words from only two. One taught physics in a military institute. Looking at the actions and words of people in the North, he said: "It is painful to discover with what unconcern they speak of war and threaten it. They do not seem to know what its horrors are. I have had the opportunity of knowing enough on the subject to make me fear war as the sum of all evils."

Looking around him at his own duties, he said—this was on February 2, 1861, after the first seven States had seceded: "I am much gratified to see a strong Union feeling in my portion of the state. . . . For my own part I intend to vote for the Union candidates for the [State] convention, and I desire to see every honorable means used for peace, and I believe that Providence will bless such means with the fruits of peace."

That was Thomas Jonathan Jackson.

The other witness I summon was a cavalry colonel. After the first six States had seceded, he wrote to his son on January 29, 1861:

I can anticipate no greater calamity for the country than a dissolution of the Union. I am willing to sacrifice every thing but honour for its preservation. I hope therefore that all Constitutional means will be exhausted, before there is a resort to force. Secession is nothing but revolution. The framers of our Constitution never exhausted so much labour, wisdom & forbearance in its formation & surrounded it with so many guards and securities, if it was intended to be broken by every member of the confederacy at will. It was intended for a pepetual [sic] union... Still a union that can only be maintained by swords & bayonets, & in which strife and civil war are to take the place of brotherly love & kind-

ness, has no charm for me. . . . If the Union is dissolved & the government disrupted, I shall return to my native State & share the miseries of my people & save in her defence will draw my sword on none.

That was Robert Edward Lee.

For those in the North or in the South who (I quote Avery Craven again) "had been pushed into a war that few wanted and no one could prevent," there is the consolation which many of them may not have known, but which history recognizes and honors—the consolation that comes from the way they bore themselves, the way they did their duty, the way they fought the war. And here, at my conclusion, I call to my side another witness, from another age, who at the moment was deeply involved in another war.

The witness is Winston Churchill. The date is December 7, 1941. The testimony relates to his thoughts and feelings after he had heard all that Washington could tell him of the events of that historic day. This is how he thought and felt when he knew that the American

people were going to war again:

Silly people—and there were many, not only in enemy countries—might discount the force of the United States. Some said they were soft, others that they would never be united. They would fool around at a distance. They would never come to grips. They would never stand blood-letting. Their democracy and system of recurrent elections would paralyze their war effort. They would be just a vague blur on the horizon to friend or foe. Now we should see the weakness of this numerous but remote, wealthy, and talkative people. But I had studied the American Civil War, fought out to the last desperate inch. American blood flowed in my veins. I thought of a remark which Edward Grey had made to me more than thirty years before —that the United States is like "a gigantic boiler. Once fire is lighted under it there is no limit to the power it can generate." Being saturated and satiated with emotion and sensation, I went to bed and slept the sleep of the saved and thankful.*

It was less easy a century ago to find the saved and thankful. It is less easy today. I do not pretend to know what faces today's generation of Americans. Their problems are extraordinarily complex. Their decisions may be even more important for them and for the world than the decisions of these earlier Americans whom we can see now standing in all their naked humanness before us. But my own conviction is that this generation of Americans today, if called upon to stand up to hard duty, will not be found less wanting in character than their ancestors.

^{*} Quoted from Winston Churchill, The Grand Alliance (Volume III of The Second World War), 607-608, by permission of the publisher, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, Mass.

LETTERS FROM NATHANIEL MACON TO JOHN RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE

EDITED BY ELIZABETH GREGORY McPherson*

No metric system has been devised for gauging a man's success. Although historians differ in their evaluation of Nathaniel Macon as a statesman, all agree that his potent influence was based on the confidence which his sincerity and honesty inspired. He had a background similar to that of Thomas Jefferson, and played an important part in the election of Jefferson as President in 1800. Macon remained a stanch Republican, but on occasions he refused to follow his party,

when, in his opinion, it deviated from its true course.

Macon was born in Warren County, North Carolina, on December 17, 1757, where he died on June 29, 1837. He was educated at Princeton University, fought in the American Revolution, came under the political influence of Willie Jones, served in both houses of the North Carolina legislature, opposed the federal convention, and advocated the rejection of the Constitution of the United States.2 After North Carolina was admitted to the Union, he embarked on a career of national importance, but never neglected local interests. On October 26, 1791, he took his seat in the House of Representatives in Congress and served in that body continuously until December 13, 1815, when he resigned, having been elected to the Senate.3 He served in that capacity without opposition until he voluntarily retired on November 14, 1828, ending thirty-seven years of service in Congress. From 1801

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Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949: The Continental Congress, September 5, 1774, to October 21, 1788, and the Congress of the United States from the First to the Eightieth, March 4, 1789 to January 3, 1849, Inclusive (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, Eighty-First Congress, Second Session, House Document No. 607, 1950), 1, 490, hereinafter cited as the Congressional Directory.

Second Session, House Document No. 607, 1950), 1, 490, hereinafter cited as the Congressional Directory.

² Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Others (eds.), Dictionary of American Biography (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons [Published under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies], 20 volumes, index [for Volumes I-XX], and Supplementary Volumes XXI and XXII, 1928-1958), XII, 157-158, hereinafter cited as Malone, Dictionary of American Biography.

⁸ Malone, Dictionary of American Biography, XII, 158.

⁴ Congressional Directory, 1,490; Samuel A. Ashe (ed.), Biographical History of North Carolina, From Colonial Times to the Present (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 8 volumes, 1905-1917), IV, 300, hereinafter cited as Ashe, Biographical History.

History.

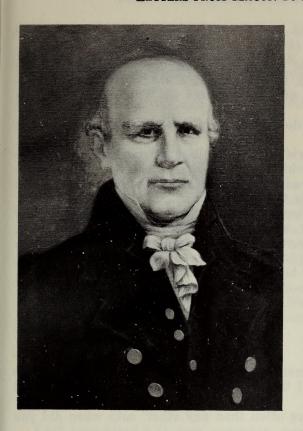
to 1807 he was Speaker of the House and was elected President pro tempore of the Senate on May 20, 1826, January 2, and March 2, 1827.5 In 1825 he received twenty-four electoral votes for Vice-President of the United States.6

After his resignation from the Senate, he retired to "Buck Spring," his home in Warren County, with the expectation of remaining in seclusion. But he was frequently interrupted by callers, particularly young politicians who sought advice, and in 1835 he served as President of the State constitutional convention.7 In 1836 he became interested in the candidacy of Martin Van Buren and was an elector. In retirement he busied himself with his plantation, letter writing, and

his favorite sports—tox hunting and horse racing.

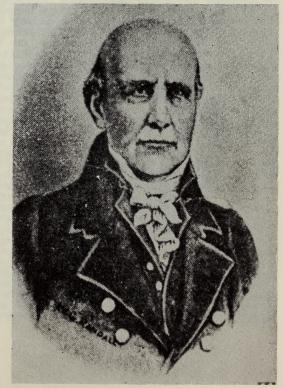
One of his correspondents was John Randouph of Roanoke, with whom he was closely associated in Congress. Many towns and counties bear the names of these two men, and Randolph-Macon College was named in their honor. Most people who have studied the history of the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century are familiar with their leadership. Neither were profound thinkers nor profound statesmen, yet they were dominant political figures. William E. Dodd concludes that Macon was a stronger and a more influential man than "his brilliant but flighty friend of Roanoke." 8 Of their correspondence no great number of letters is known to be extant. Macon himself ordered all of his papers burned before his death. Enough survived, however, to reveal the David-Jonathan friendship between the two men. Macon's letters show that he was acute and observant and had an interest in all the details of economic life which he saw about him as well as political affairs. He was genuinely interested in crops, commerce, and the tariff. The everyday comedy of life and its minutia attracted him. He was constantly doing small kindnesses pleasantly and graciously. He had the outward graces which are helpful to men in all walks of life, and particularly in politics. His letters also bear testimony that the impressiveness of his person and demeanor was never marred by the least haughtiness or superciliousness. His manners, though very dignified were perfectly simple and democratic. The fourteen heretofore unpublished letters from Macon to Randolph, dated from 1810 to 1830, are among the John Randolph of Roanoke Papers in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress.

⁵Congressional Directory, 1,490. ⁶Congressional Directory, 1,490. ⁷Ashe, Biographical History, IV, 302-304. ⁸William E. Dodd, The Life of Nathaniel Macon (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1903), 400-401.



For years many people have understood that no portrait or likeness of Nathaniel Macon was extant. Reproduced here are two pictures of Macon. This photograph was taken from a portrait by Robert D. Gauley and hangs in the Speaker's lobby of the United States House of Representatives. It was obtained from The Library of Congress, Photoduplication Service, Washington 25, D. C.

This picture of Nathaniel Macon was given to *The Review* by Mrs. Minnie R. Norris of Raleigh. It appeared in W. J. Peele, *Lives of Distinguished North Carolinians*. According to Mr. Edward Seawell of Raleigh, who gave the picture to Mrs. Norris, it was used also in *History of Macon, Georgia*, by Ida Young, Julius Gholson, and Clara N. Hargrove.



Buck Spring 15 August 1810

Sir

The letter you wrote to me on the 2. instant has been received, the request therein complied with, except to R H Jones, who was at Mecklenburg, I believe every one of acquaintances at Warrenton made the enquiry

Col David R Williams¹⁰ of South Carolina, is here with his son, starts

to day for Rhode Island

The Sunday we were at Bristow near Williamsborough, I had a little time a very hard rain, since which dry, dry, dry— corn nearly burnt upevery thing wants rain and a great deal of it, the wetest part of the branches in tobacco are vastly too dry-

Poor Moses, 11 you & Beverley can tell of your mishaps, well from my heart I am sorry for all that, tell B. I think of him with real pleasure, Williams almost prevents my writing, by saying remember me to Ran-

dolph

God bless you Nath¹ Macon

Washington 28 April 1820

Sir

I have been this minute presented with the enclosed; although I had no direction about the pictures. I thought it best to pay for them, and send them to Petersburg

The Mess,¹² and Hall,¹³ more often than any other, asks when did you

*Robert H. Jones, a native of Virginia, moved to Warrenton, North Carolina, during the early part of the nineteenth century and in 1828 was appointed attorney general of the State. Lizzie Wilson Montgomery, Sketches of Old Warrenton, North Carolina, Traditions and Reminiscences of the Town and People Who Made It (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Company, 1924), 399-401.

*David R. Williams (March 8, 1776-November 17, 1830), statesman, newspaper editor, cotton planter and manufacturer, brigadier general during the War of 1812, and a member of Congress (March 4, 1805-March 3, 1813), was active in South Carolina politics. He served as governor of that State and in its legislature. On November 17, 1839, he was accidentally killed while superintending the construction of a ber 17, 1839, he was accidentally killed while superintending the construction of a bridge over Lynch's Creek, Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 253-254.

11 Moses was one of Randolph's slaves. When he returned from Russia in 1830, Ran-

dolph brought some of his field hands to serve as house servants—Moses was one of them. Randolph, who was by this time mentally ill, was soon heard saying, "Moses goes rooting around the house like a hog." William Cabell Bruce, John Randolph of Roanoke, 1773-1833 (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 2 volumes, 1922),

Roanoke, 1773-1833 (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 2 volumes, 1922), II, 7. hereinafter cited as Bruce, John Randolph.

12 Here Macon refers to the "Mess" as members of Congress who lived at a famous boardinghouse in Washington known as Dowson's, of which Alfred R. Dowson was the proprietor. The house was located on Square 687 between Delaware Avenue and First and A and B Streets, Northeast. For a list of members of Congress who lived there, most of whom were from southern States, see George Rothwell Brown, Washington: A Not Too Serious History (Baltimore: The Norman Publishing Company, 1930), 135-136.

13 Thomas H. Hall (June, 1773-June 30, 1853), a representative in Congress from North Carolina, was born in Prince George County, Virginia; studied medicine and later practiced in Tarboro, North Carolina; served in Congress from 1817 to 1825 and from 1827 to 1836; resumed the practice of medicine and engaged in agricultural

from 1827 to 1836; resumed the practice of medicine and engaged in agricultural

pursuits until his death. Congressional Directory, 1,253.

hear from M. Randolph, the poor fellow, has been a little unwell for two days past, though not confined to his bed; I am not informed as to the state of the negotiations between Vice & the administration, things in Congress about as usual, no lack of speaking in the opinion of your friend

Nath¹ Macon

Washington 6 May 1820

Sir

I have this morning received your letter of the 4. instant; McAlister has not sent me for you five dollars, nor have I heard from him, The sum claimed by Dixon was five dollars & eighty cents, which was paid

If you see Peter Brown[e],14 shake him by the hand for me

At breakfast your message to the mess was delivered, who all requested me, to return their thanks for your friendly remembrance, Hall and Burton15 reciprocate most perfectly your good will; & sincerely wish you an agreeable trip, a pleasant tour & safe return as does your friend

Nath¹ Macon

I believe the sum paid for you, is seventeen dollars and thirty eight cents

N. M.

Washington 11 March 1822

Sir

Your note dated 9 O.clock yesterday, was picked up in the passage by John Sanders this morning at 20 minutes past 7— and brought to me; Mr. Alexander¹⁶ & myself examined your room immediately after it was

North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 2 volumes, 1914), I, 80-81n.

15 Hutchins Gordon Burton (1782-April 21, 1836), a member of the House in Congress from North Carolina, was born in Virginia. At the age of three his father died and Hutchins moved to Granville County where he was reared by his uncle, Colonel Robert Burton. He served in the State legislature (1809-1810) and as attorney general (1810-1816). He moved to Halifax County and in 1819 he was elected as a representative to Congress where he served from December 6, 1819, until his resignation on March 23, 1824, having been elected Governor of North Carolina, in which capacity he served until 1827. When General Lafayette visited Raleigh in 1825, Burton served as his official host. Congressional Directory, 925.

16 Mark Alexander (February 7, 1792-October 7, 1883), a native of Mecklenburg County, Virginia, graduated from the University of North Carolina, practiced law in Boydton, Virginia, and served in the Virginia House of Delegates (1817-1819) and as a member of Congress from March 4, 1819, to March 3, 1833. During the second winter that he was in Washington he was a member of the "mess" which consisted of John Randolph, Nathaniel Macon, Thomas Hart Benton, Weldon N. Edwards, Thomas W. Cobb, and Edward F. Tattnall. Congressional Directory, 770; Bruce, John Randolph, I, 601, 651; II, 6.

¹⁴ Peter Browne (1764 or 1765-1832), a native of Scotland, came to North Carolina, began to practice law in Windsor in 1796, moved to Halifax about 1798, and soon was a leading member of the State bar. He also served as President of the North Carolina State Bank in Raleigh. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (ed.), The Papers of Thomas Ruffin (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archiver and Historical Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archiver and Historical Carolina Historical C ment of Archives and History], 4 volumes, 1918-1920), II, 55, 102-105, 490, 508, 543; William Henry Hoyt (ed.), The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History],

handed to me, but the cushion was not there; enquiry was then made among the servants for it, one of the boys said, it was under the bed that your man Johnny slept in; he was sent for it, & it is now ready at 8. O.Clock to be forwarded by the first stage to you at Barnums; Had the note been received in time, every effort should have been made, to have sent it by the first stage this morning, by your friend

Nath¹ Macon

Turn over

Monday Morning

Alexander has keep [sic] the key of your room & the door has been constantly locked since you left it; so that the cushion must have been out, before you went to Baltimore; a little after 8 O.clock, George was sent to the office, with a request, that the stage might stop at Dowson's, to take for me a small bundle to Barnums Baltimore, he reported it would stop; Three quarters past ten, the stage called, & took the cushion; it is tied up in newspaper, a sheet of white paper on one side, directed to you, at Barnum's Baltimore

> God bless & preserve you N.M.

> > Washington 11 May 1828

Sir

I have received a letter from M. William Leigh, dated the 6-instant, in which he informs me, that you had got home, & was very sick the night before he wrote, but much better at the time he was writing; I need not tell you my feelings on reading it, because you know them; the last part was as pleasing as it could be, & I hope that it may be the last severe attack, you will have, & that home & rest, may make you a well man & that you may be here next winter to see Jackson president

I propose to you, to strike out the last part of M. Leigh's letter, which

relates to what may be said after your death

My tobacco plants I am informed are very small & much injured by the frost & the fly; My crop of last year has been lately sold for \$150. after paying the carriage to Petersbrug, say lb 5242 of tobacco & 306-of cotton, about enough to pay the overseer & the taxes; The gust injured me last year, a good deal

Col Tattnall 18 was to leave Middletown about the 6 instant for New

York on his way to Georgia

¹⁷ William Leigh was a close friend of Randolph. Both Judges Leigh and John Marshall strongly urged Randolph not to accept the post of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia in 1830. Bruce, *John Randolph*, II, 623-624.

¹⁸ Edward F. Tattnall (1788-November 21, 1832) served in Congress representing Georgia from March 4, 1821, until his resignation in 1827. In the duel between John Randolph and Henry Clay on April 8, 1826, Tattnall served as second for Randolph. *Congressional Directory*, 1,896; Bruce, *John Randolph*, I, 515-525.

Col Benton¹⁹ will I think make Webster tired of the Senate, if he has

not already done it

Do not plague yourself to answer my letters, though it would gratify me very much, to know that you had recovered your health

Will you offer to Mr Leigh the esteem & respect of

Your friend Nath¹ Macon

Buck Spring 14 May 1828

Sir

Since I got home, I have had some girts wove, two of them were intended for you, yesterday M. George Barkerville took them for you, & promised to hand them to our good friend Mark Alexander, with a request, that he would contrive them to you, one is entirely cotton, the other half wool, half cotton, as I never saw one of either kind, I cannot tell how they will answer, the [y] are free of tariff in every respect, the produce & labor of the plantation

I have had since being at home, two middling severe attacks of diarrhoea each continued three days, I am now not altogether well, but well enough

to be about

My crops of corn & oats look well for the quality of the land, tobacco mostly planted since my return with sorry plants, wheat not good

I wrote you & put the letter with the girts the same in substance as

this

I have not seen a single person who reads news papers enough to give the abuse they contain, I have nothing to tell you nor offer you, which has not been told & exposed often before, but it may be repeated, as it is true, that your friend, & that you have my best wishes, & that every good may attend you

Nath¹ Macon

N.B. I would have made the girts, but had no leather fit to put the buckles to, I write this by mail, under the expectation, that you will get it before you hear from Mark— farewell —

NM

The girts are about two inches longer than common because your horses are large & fat

Nath¹ Macon

During the latter years of Randolph's Congressional career, among his most intimate friends were Macon, Thomas Hart Benton, James Hamilton of South Carolina, and Mark Alexander. Often Alexander served as Randolph's amanuensis. Of Benton, whose rooms were very near Randolph's, Alexander wrote on March 4, 1820: "Benton ... was always reserved, with no intimate association or friendship, but always master of the subject he discussed, and whose lamp never went out at night until one or two o'clock." Bruce, John Randolph, II, 314, 336, 356, 374, 381, 407, 452, 544, 623, 624, 688.

Buck Spring 1 Jany 1829

Sir

I cannot conceal from you, that I am very much gratified, with your letters & that of M. Garnett, 20 & if I was to attempt to conceal it, you would know the fact, yours of the 26 instant was this day received. I read the whole news papers that you sent & scarcely any thing else; most of the ills in England & the U.S. may be traced to the paper system adopted in each country, the case of M.rs Saunders and her husband was no doubt produced by that of England, that of the drunkard not so certain; but a desire to appear rich is I think one of the effects of it, & that too without doing any labor or business to get rich

I went yesterday a hunting, continued trailing one or more foxes, till I got in the afternoon with M.r G— Alston's 21 & went to his house, found him not well, & I fear in a bad state of health, & this morning coming home, was joined by several of his neighbors & caught a fox, after an agreeable chase, it was not the less agreeable, as one of my dogs was

generally considered the best 22

I am not a little pleased, that M.rs Decatur 23 remembers me, in the friendly manner she expressed to you, it is a proof of her magnamimity, when you see her I must trouble to say to her, that she has my old fashion

good will & respect.

If you should write to M. Garnett, while at Washington, pray remember me to him, in your most friendly manner, & assure him of my continued regard & esteem— I neither read the proceedings of Congress & nor the assembly, but am certain that both will do too much, to do any good, if that is not a paradox

The weather warm & pleasant no use for a great coat, though boots, not

shoe boots are necessary, on account of the bad roads

Yours ever & truly

Nath¹ Macon

²¹ Gideon Alston of Halifax County, North Carolina, was a councilor of the State from 1807 to 1831. R. D. W. Connor (comp. and ed.), A Manual of North Carolina, 1913 (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives

IV, 293.

Susan Wheeler Decatur, daughter of Luke Wheeler, Mayor of Norfolk, Virginia, married Stephen Decatur March 8, 1806. Malone, Dictionary of American Biography,

V, 188.

²⁰ James M. Garnett (June 8, 1770-April 23, 1843) was a member of Congress from Virginia and served from March 4, 1805, to March 3, 1809. He was a close friend of Randolph and accompanied him on numerous bird hunts. Their hunting ground was in the District of Columbia, a little north of the Capitol. Congressional Directory, 1,197; Bruce, John Randolph, I, 565.

and History], 1913), 429-432.

Macon's home, "Buck Spring," was about twelve miles north of Warrenton, and his nearest neighbor's house was about five miles distant. Here he entertained simply, but his hospitality was famous. He was exceedingly fond of fox hunting and kept approximately a dozen pureblooded foxhounds. Alston and Randolph were among his most frequent companions on these chases. In 1819 when James Monroe was on his southern tour, he visited Macon and enjoyed a foxhunt. Ashe, Biographical History,

del lineria ser

Washington 8 Feby 1829

Sir

Yesterday was quite warm, in the last night it began to rain & seems likely to rain all day: The earth was wet & miry before, the weather has for some time been unfavorable for ploughing, & too much rain for stock,

especially for lambs, calves & pigs, indeed it injures all ages

The people in some parts of the U.S, are become very subject to foreign fevers, as soon as they get on the mend from one they are attacked by another, though they do not employ doctors, they pay to get cured, though each makes the bill, for himself or herself; men, women, & children are all I believe subject to it, whether the colonizing fever be foreign or not I cannot undertake to decide, but surely the South American, the Greek & Irish are all foreign: The people most subject to these fevers, whenever attacked, cry out for a new tariff to enable them to pay their bills, that of 1816 might be called the South American, that of 1824, the Greek & that of 1828, the Irish, In all these fevers, there is a strong desire manifested, to make the South side of the Potomac, pay the expense of the cure, which it does, after a little fuss, I am already getting scarce of provinder for cattle, & the wild turkies I fear have destroyed my oat stacks, they have certainly injured them more, than could have been expected, they were in a field some distance from the house, which was not frequented by any person, & the injury was accidentally discovered

I was hunting yesterday, & again trailed a fox till the afternoon, with-

out starting, they are very scarce, & travel much in the night

I have this minute received the note, in which you, tell me, that Major Hamilton regrets, the non publication, of my last speech on the Tariff, I wished it published myself, but waited so long for the short hand man, to send it to me, that I could not trust myself to do it, when he sent, he only sent his notes, which were of no use to me; I believe I still have my notes, those of the short hand man, were returned by M. D. Turner ²⁴ to Gales & Seaton, his name, I believe was Sparhawk; ²⁵ Turner can tell

M. Madison I expect, begins to wish that he had not written his two letters, to prove that he was an old man, & I seem to be following his example, except I wrote to different sort of men, I do not know his cor-

respondent,

I am doing this year, what I never done before, that is, to turn my ewes as fast as they have lambs on the wheat patch, it is a patch, & not a field; any thing to keep the Tariff men, from my plantation

If I write you the same thing twice, you must place it, to its proper cause forgetfulness

²⁴ Daniel Turner (September 21, 1796-July 21, 1860) graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1814; served in Congress from 1827 to 1829; was principal of Warrenton (North Carolina) Female Seminary; and later served as superintending engineer of construction of the public works at the Navy Yard, Mare Island, California. Congressional Directory, 1,936.

Edward Vernon Sparhawk, a reporter for the National Intelligencer (Washington, D. C.), was a target for the complaints of John Randolph concerning the accuracy of the reports of his debates. Register of Debates in Congress, 1825-1837 (Washington, D. C.: 29 volumes, 1825-1837), Twentieth Congress, First Session, 186; National Intelligencer, January 15, February 18, March 10, 13, 1828.

Tell Major Hamilton,²⁶ that I am not a little gratified, that he wished the speech published, & that I regret his being out of Congress hereafter

Yours ever & truly Nath¹ Macon

Buck Spring 22 Feby 1829

Sir

This afternoon I was gratified with the receipt of your letters of the -12-13-15 & 18- instant, could you only have added, I am well, the gratificiation would have been complete, some company was here when they & the news papers were brought home, which prevented my reading the newspapers; I am now trying to write by candle light, because I expect to start early in the morning to Warrenton, a place I have not seen since Christmas; when I last wrote to you, the morning was wet & warm, it cleared up about noon with a northwest wind, strong & cold, uncommonly so considering the warmth of the morning, the wind was nearly equal to such you have in Washington on the next day, yesterday it was too cold to work, to day quite pleasant

I have always had a dread, that such men as Lee would flock about the

General, he should only have the upright about him,

Say to Major Hamilton I am too contented at home, to undertake to write out the speech delivered under strong feelings & great excitement, but if he will call here as he returns, he shall have the notes read, he could not read them; when speaking I said many things, I never thought of before, & they had left me, when I made an attempt here to write it

The General's calling to see you, augurs well, but he must (as said before) only have the upright about him, it was a great point in Wash-

ington's character, that he never had the wicked about him

The loss of a friend at our age is irreparable, & that of a female friend whose kindness & goodness we know, is vastly more distressing than that of male, but your friend may be yet alive, & live to see you, God Grant that she may

Taylor's land adjoins Frank Jones, & was not I am informed sold; I go

to no sales, of course you must have what I hear

Remember me to the Mess, I shall put this in the mail at Warrenton tomorrow

Yours ever & truly Nath¹ Macon

Buck Spring 6 March 1829

Sir

Since my last to you, I have received, your letter of the 19-21-22-23-25-26-& 27 ultimo: The cabinet has made the supporters of the President

²⁰ James Hamilton, Jr. (May 8, 1786-November 15, 1857) was born in Charleston, South Carolina, served in the War of 1812 and in Congress as a State Rights Free Trader (1822-1829), and was governor of his native State from 1830 to 1832. Congressional Directory, 1,258.

silent, particularly Ingham,²⁷ his former report on the post office, is remembered but enough, it is often happenned [sic] that the effects of a victory has been almost lost, by improper doings after it has been dearly gained; a vote from me, on some of the nominations would have been useless; Home is the place for me, though nothing but the strongest conviction, that it was my duty induced me to quit the ship when I did, & I have never once regretted it

February has been an unfavorable month to the planters, & as yet march no better, the ground badly was fit to plough, I have heard of only one man who sowed oats; For poor Dawson²⁸ I am truly sorry, but one not connected with the government, except to pay taxes, has no weight nor would I know to whom, to write to expect the least luck for a recom-

mendation

This is the second letter directed to Charlotte C-H- Last Wednesday, I met some of the neighbors to hunt, while the dogs were trailing a fox in pretty good style a dog which was one of them brought, not a full hound I expect, got a head of them, started, run the fox off & lost him, after a long trail, he was again started, & caught after a severe race

Yesterday & last night, we had a good deal of rain, I discovered too

late, that I had begun to write on the wrong part of the paper

M^r Madison must be tired of his letters about the power to encourage manufactures, he must have forgot himself, old horses, that have never been run hard & taken from the turf for years, rarely succeed well, in a second training

That blessing upon blessing may attend [yo]u is the cordial wish of

Your old & sincere friend Nath¹ Macon

Buck Spring 26 April 1829

Sir

Your not writing since the 30 of last month, has made me very apprehensive, that severe indisposition has prevented, I am sure that some strong cause prevented, & your long bad health, at once suggests, sickness: I earnestly hope, that the suggestion may not be true, & that you have been too much engaged in the agreeable amusement of attending to your plantations, to spare time to write

I have for the last two months had a sick family of negroes, I believe, in my last I told you, of the death of the most valuable young woman, that I owned, two young ones, women, are now sick & have been for some time; & two old, a man & his wife are complaining a good deal, & several have uncommonly bad colds— My plantation far from being in good order, the creek low grounds have more clods than I ever saw, I shall try to break them, as soon as I can

²⁷ Samuel D. Ingham (September 16, 1779-June 5, 1860) was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. He served at intervals in Congress from 1813 to 1829 and as Secretary of the Treasury in Andrew Jackson's cabinet from March 6, 1829, to June 21, 1831. Congressional Directory, 1,358.

²⁸ Beau Dawson was buried at public expense. Bruce, John Randolph, II, 318.

You have been mentioned in the way you wish, to all your friends in Warren, that I have seen since your request was received, all glad to be remembered by you

I stay almost constantly at home, but have to go to Granville & to

G. Alston; as soon as I can with propriety leave the sick negroes

We had frost last night, which I fear has injured the fruit & mast, & so cold to day, that I am writing near a pretty good fire; tobacco plants uncommonly small, for the time of the year, & I do not believe that I have one as large as the eighth of a dollar; More tobacco intended to be planted in the county this year than last, one of the county men, cured his tobacco in the new way, & sold it for thirteen dollars, a hundred, it was sold immediately afterwards for 14\$, mine old fashioned, averaged a little more than 4—: I expect to be scuffled to keep even with the world, in money affairs, but shall try to do it, my own wants are not many, but others who think, they have just claim on me, for support, are not so limited; they are young, but not extravagant for the times

The hollow horn among my cattle & distemper among the goats, has

reduced my stock of both very much, the latter more than half

I expect the roads are now good, & the weather not too warm to be disagreable, & hope very soon to be informed when you will be here, bring any friends with you, that you may wish; The faithful Mark will come with you

I have had the skirts of an old coat cut to mend the sleeves, & a pair of pantaloons, this was done because I had not time to have clothes spun

& wove, as yet, I have kept clear of the accursed thing-Tariff-

I had written this much, when your letter of the 9 & 14 instant were handed to me, I cannot express my feelings on reading them; your health not improved, it must then, be worse, My first thought was, that if he (yourself) cannot come to see me, I will try to borrow a carriage & horse & go to see him, I must see him, do not therefore be surprised if I visit you, as soon as I can leave with propriety my sick negroes, another, a man the foreman, has this minute sent me word that he was sick: I cannot say certainly, that I will visit you or when, but I can say, that I will try to do it, I expect that I may borrow something that will take me to Roanoke

Leofborough's ²⁹ letter is returned, it is written with his usual good sense, he would have made a comptroller or an auditor worth much to the people; printers are printers, the trade is to support them, & Editors & printers of newspapers are like the long S & the short S or the straight d & the round d- all the same: I am certain that you will never repent retiring from public life, though no man ever retired, when retiring was more regretted by the honest good livers of the country,—a government of Editors, would be a government of the hungry, if half they state about themselves be true—

Do not look for me, or expect me, because it may happen, that I cannot leave, or get to your house, but I shall try, if you cannot come here

²⁰ Nathaniel Loughborough of Grassland, near Washington, D. C., was a close friend of Randolph. The two men were probably drawn together because of their "common passion for horse-flesh." At one time Loughborough considered publishing a compilation of Randolph's table talk and speeches. Bruce, *John Randolph*, II, 631-633.

I finished planting corn last week, & hope to plant cotton this, My last crop of tobacco was good, cured in the old way, & only sold for a little more than \$4, a hundred,

Suffer me to say, on your account, I am sincerely glad, that you have quit Congress, but not so on account of your good constituents, they will, & so will all the good people of the states miss you; your being in Washington was a check to the intriguers

Plutarch I think compares many of the Greeks & Romans: could be compare the Secretaries of some of the departments in the U.S. Government

Farewell & farewell, God bless you & give you health so long as he permits you to stay in this world,

> Your old & sincere friend, now & forever Nath¹ Macon

D.R.W Is not I am certain a tariff man, if he is, he [is] much changed— N.M.

Buck Spring 26 Oc-tr 1830

Sir

Your man Edmund started from here yesterday morning, with three fawns, a buck & two does, one of the does was rather younger, than I wished, but I had no other, M. Eaton³⁰ was from home & in King William County Virginia, had he have been at home, I should no doubt, have got one older from him M. Leigh sent the cart & waggon covers both; with them I could not so fix the cart, as to carry the fawns, with any prospect of certainty, I therefore had a cage made & put in the cart, which I expect will carry them safely. Edmund could not carry provender sufficiently for his horse, & told me, that he had no money to buy any; I gave him one dollar to purchase what he might want, he requested me, to inform both you & M. W. Leigh of the fact, This is only done, because he requested it. The cage is entirely separate [sic] from the cart, & the cart returned exactly as it came

The fall has been dry & warm, now almost summer, through there has been much cloudy weather

Edwards went from here to day, he made as friendly enquiries after you, as he could, & concluded by wishing that you was a member of the Senate of the U-S-

Saunders went from here on Sunday the day before yesterday, he likewise made as many enquiries after you & had the same wish

Mr. Leigh wrote to me, by Edmund, & informed me, that you wrote to him, off Copenhagen,31 & that you had a cold, but was getting better

³⁰ William Eaton, a wealthy planter of the Roanoke River, married Seigniora (also spelled Seignora), daughter of Nathaniel Macon. Kemp P. Battle (ed.), The Letters of Nathaniel Macon, John Steele, and William Barry Grove (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, James Sprunt Historical Monograph No. 3, 1902), 40.

³¹ Randolph sailed from Norfolk, Virginia, on the "Concord" on June 28, 1830, for Russia and reached St. Petersburg on August 10. He took with him three of his slaves—John, Juba, and Eboe—and also wine, books, firearms, a barrel of bread, a coffee pot, and a coffee mill. Bruce, John Randolph, I, 636-638.

The mast it is thought, will fatten hogs in some places, not so about me; Old corn is now three dollars a barrel, the new crop not great, wheat in no demand

If there was capital at Weldon or Halifax the Roanoke navigation would no doubt succeed, as most people seem anxious to carry their crops to one of the places

The young doe fawn sent, eats very well & will I expect be easily raised; M. Leigh & Edmund were both informed, what all of them would eat, &

how to manage them

The crop of cotton is like to turn out, much better than was expected, that of corn will not I am sure in this neighborhood; The fall has been fine for saving every kind of crop, & stock of all kind, looks well; The ground is now too hard to plough

Edwards told me, that he had a great crop, of corn & cotton, My dogs have caught six foxes, I was only out at the catching of three, they have also lost three; The distemper has killed one, ruined another, & injured several, They are now old, middle aged & young, of course hard to keep

together

Clays speech at Cincinnati & Johnson's eight points which you have doubtless seen; surpass all the electioneering, that I have ever seen; one a candidate for the presidency, the other a supreme Judge I cannot comment on either, they both seem to go too far for me, to say a word about them; but when candidates for the presidency, make electioneering speeches, & Judges of the Supreme Court decide political & Judicial questions out of court, the republic cannot be in a good way; Taylor got the better of the Judges; I write under the belief, that you see more American News papers than I do.

Last month Spot was sick a day or two, it was discovered in the morning by the old man, that feeds him, he was much swelled in his body; a dose of lard relieved him; since which he has been a little lame in one of his fore legs, no cause for it has been discovered, he has been hunted

only twice, no fox started either time he is now well

The administration continues to be approved in this part of the country Doctor Hall was here in the Summer, made enquiries about you often the two days he staid here, & I believe he regrets declining a re-election; Saunders told me, there was some talk of electing him in the district,

without his being a candidate, he also wishes you in the Senate

Burton is engaged at the Gold mines & says he is doing well, I have not seen Mark Alexander since he returned from Washington, I have heard that he went to the Virginia Springs last summer; I told Edmund to try to get to his house on Monday night, I hope you will excuse this freedom; I done it for the best, that he might not stay at any place, where the fawns might be plagued or troubled

I have written exactly as the thoughts occurred & am

Your friend now & ever

Nath¹ Macon

This is the fourth letter

Buck Spring 31 Dec. 1830

Sir

I have received two letters from you since you left Virginia, the first dated from August 5/18 to 18/22 the other September the 8/20 to 17/29 both of this year; I have read them repeatedly, with feelings that cannot be described; with sorrow & grief for your sufferings, & that of poor Juba, & with satisfaction & gratification, that in your constant pain & trouble you should exert yourself to write to me, & I must add with pleasure & joy at the reception the Court of Russia gave you; Such a mixture of feelings never before agitated the breast of any man old or young I fully believe; The company of the Russian General, who gave the information about the war, must have been quite pleasing at any time & in any situation; but the time & place must have made it truly interesting & highly pleasing. It was fortunate that you found the kind M. Wilson; her house was no doubt the best suited to you, of any in St Petersburg

The winter with the exception of a few days has been damp & warm lately a good deal of rain, & a smart fresh in the river, if smart can be properly so applied, the weather too warm to kill hogs, I have been desirous for more than a week to kill mine, & they are eating corn that I

cannot conveniently spare

The cotton crop if it can be saved will turn out better than was expected, tobacco pretty good quality, though not much planted in this county, Indian corn about middling crop, wheat that was sowed in time likely, hogs rather scarce with me, I have tried to have meat enough by killing fat weathers [sic]

It is 51 years this day, since I came to live on this plantation, which though of no consequence, you will not be unwilling to read; & my health has been better the last five month than it has been for several years past; my neck continuues a little stiff, & makes it difficult to suit a pillar

to it, when I ly [sic] down

My dogs have caught 15 foxes this season they have not been as successful as in past years, nor have they been hunted as much by me, because I was kicked by a horse on the left leg, which prevented my going out for a month, it is now I hope well, at least it is so, that I have been at the catching of 5 or 6 foxes since the kick, two on last thursday

I this minute with Nash brandy grog drink your speedy recovery, & hereafter better health than you have had for the last 40 years, as good

as one of your age can have

In one of my former letters I mentioned the death of M. Turner, since which M. Park has gone to live at his plantation in Mecklenburg, Virginia; I now have to add that M. Alston the wife of Gideon is also dead; & that her death will I fear shorten the life of her husband; General D. R. Williams of South Carolina has been killed, by the falling of the timber of a bridge, he was attempting to raise over Lynches creek; this year I have lost three real friends; & two now in bad health a situation, not to be coveted, especially at 72 years old

I have heard that a good deal of produce has gone to Weldon & Halifax, & that there are many boats constantly on the river; I shall I now expect send my little crop to Petersburg either from habit, or ancient

attachment formed in hard times or because N. M. Martin is there; though

Petersburg is not now in no respect what it was in 1798 & 99

I know nothing of what any Legislature in or out of the United States is doing or attempting to do & I know as little about European Revolutions as any one, I take no news paper, but a little one printed at Warrenton truly little in every respect: but half revolutions, like half reformations does not do much good; Had Luther have gone the whole, Calvin would have had no plan to have stood on, to put him out of the way

I earnestly hope, that you may commence the year with health, happi-

ness & prosperity, & that your days of pain & suffering are past

This is the fifth letter to you

Your predecessor has only I believe done in Europe what he done in America, a public man in a foreign country, ought to regard the morals of the world, as a part of his duty to his country, if he does not, he ought to be recalled instantly—I should have written you sooner after the receipt of your first letter, but I had nothing to communicate, yet I might as I have now done, written that which could not be interesting or worth reading

I am daily anxious to hear the state of your health, let me know it as often as you conveniently can

Yours now & for ever Nath¹ Macon

Spot since I informed you, that he had been sick & lame, has been perfectly well, & so gaily, that I have not ventured to ride him hunting, since I wrote, that I had changed him with a man who was with me; The minute the dogs begin to give mouth, he begins to fret, & wants to run them, as fast as he can go; although he is as gaily as a colt, has has not since the day he was sick, fattened the least, that I can perceive, & has not during the season been at the catching of three foxes; & is now straining over the stable lot, his sickness though half a day long reduced him more than could have been supposed, the lameness slight, & not more than 3 days long— Your message has been delivered to every one that I have seen all were gratified & pleased that you remembered them, & desired me, to assure you of their respect & esteem; Gideon Alston added & desired me, to assure you of their respect & esteem; Gideon Alston by G-d. I wish Virginia would elect him Senator to Congress, this is a general wish in the part of the country

Buck [Spring]

Sir

I went yesterday to see M. Turner and returned to day, found him much better than when M. Park wrote, and left him mending this morning; Your message was delivered to him, his lady, M. Park & Edwards, all of whom desire to be remembered to you in the most friendly manner, & requested me also to tender you their thanks for you kind notice; Turner added tell him; come & see us, & not be in a hurry to go home; though pleased to hear from him, I had much rather see him, & take him by the hand, so say I

I begin to want rain a good deal— After opening my letter of the 20-instant; I found that my sealing wax was not good, & fear it may rub off

More cotton planted in this neighborhood than was last year; great complaint in Mecklenburg & Brunswick of the chintz bug in the wheat & some little with us

Pray write often, that I may know the state of your health: I forgot in my last to state your friend Hall had an opponent

Tell Old man Essex, Johnny & Juba Howdy-e & that I have a regard for

their fidelity & attachment to you

That health & happiness may attend you is the sincere wish of your friend

Nath¹ Macon

[P.S]

Robert G. Martin is here, by him I send your recollections of his parents to them

N. M

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BOOK REVIEWS

History of North Carolina. By Francis Lister Hawks. (Spartanburg, South Carolina: Reprint Company [Reprint of the original printed by E. J. Hale and Son, Fayetteville, 1857 and 1859], 2 volumes, 1961. [Volume I] Pp. 254; [Volume II] Pp. 591. [Volume I] \$8.00; [Volume II] \$12.50.)

Francis Lister Hawks (1798-1866) was born at New Bern, graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1815 with first honors, studied law under Judge William Gaston, and later attended the famous law school of Tapping Reeve and James Gould at Litchfield, Connecticut. He was a very successful lawyer and from 1820 to 1826 was reporter of the Supreme Court of North Carolina. He abandoned the legal profession in 1826 and studied theology. He was ordained a deacon in 1827 and a priest of the Episcopal Church two years later. In 1830 he was made professor of divinity at Washington [now Trinity] College at Hartford. In 1831 he became rector of St. Stephens and later of St. Thomas, New York City, and held the latter post until 1843. In 1835 the General Convention of the Episcopal Church appointed him to collect material on the history of the Anglican Church in the colonies, and he went to England and brought back a great mass of materials, some of which he edited. In 1844 Hawks became rector of Christ Church at New Orleans and was elected first president of the University of Louisiana. In 1846 he volunteered to become professor of history at the University of North Carolina, but the chair was not established. He then went to New York, where he lived until 1862, when he went to Christ Church, Baltimore. Three years later he was back in New York.

Hawks was an omnivorous reader and a prolific writer. For some time he was editor of *Appleton's Cyclopedia of Biography*, he wrote books for children, he published studies dealing with such varied subjects as the monuments of Egypt and Peruvian antiquities, and he edited works in church history.

Hawks had the broadest scholarship and highest literary attainments of any of the nineteenth-century historians of North Carolina. His formal training was far superior to that of his predecessors (Hugh Williamson, F. X. Martin, and John H. Wheeler) and his researches

were more extensive. He also had the advantage of being able to use materials collected by George Bancroft, documents on church history which he had collected himself, and historical records in the State which were being brought together and put in usable condition. His two-volume *History of North Carolina* was of high literary quality, scholarly, original, and, according to a competent contemporary reviewer, "remarkably accurate and sound." His style was clear, forceful, and at times eloquent, but he tended to be bombastic at times. He wrote with the dogmatic authority of a pulpit orator, which he was.

The most striking feature of Volume One of Hawks is to be found in the reprint of many rare and valuable documents, such as the Raleigh charter of 1584, Barlowe's narrative, the account of the Grenville expedition, and Thomas Hariot's narrative. He said that "the use of documents constantly diminished as he travelled upward through the story, because of the diminished necessity of reprinting that which, beside being generally known, is easily accessible in other forms."

Hawks' second volume covered the political, social, and economic history of the Proprietary Period (1663-1729). Following a topical rather than the chronological plan used by his predecessors he had chapters, always accompanied by documents, on law and its administration, agriculture and manufactures, navigation and trade, religion and learning, civil and military history, manners and customs. In fact, he devoted a larger proportion of his book to social, economic, and cultural history than any of the general historians before—or after his day.

Hawks believed that the real history of a State was to be found in "the gradual progress of its *people* in intelligence, refinement, industry, wealth, taste, civilization, &c." He admitted that his history was a labor of love, but that his primary concern had been to tell the truth. He endeavored to "enliven the dullness and relieve the quaintness of these worthy old chroniclers by such notes and remarks as may serve to link

pleasantly together the past with the present."

The original edition of the Hawks history has been out of print for almost a century. Copies of it are extremely difficult to come by. The Reprint Company is to be congratulated for a splendid job of reproducing this important publication and making it available to those who are interested in the early history of North Carolina.

Hugh T. Lefler.

The University of North Carolina.

The Highland Scots of North Carolina, 1732-1776. By Duane Meyer. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. [1961.] Notes, maps, figures, and index. Pp. xii, 218. \$6.00.)

This is an important work. It tells in interesting detail the story of the largest Scottish Highlander settlement in America prior to the Revolution. Professor Meyer denies explicitly the long held belief that large numbers of Highlanders came to North Carolina immediately after the Battle of Culloden Moor to escape Hanoverian persecution and to achieve pardon for their support of the Stuarts. Rather, he shows that immigration after the Forty-five did not really get underway until 1749 and developed slowly until the early 1770's. Moreover, the true motives for this migration were changes in agricultural practices in the Highlands which produced rack rents and frequent evictions, the decay of the clan system, and overpopulation.

The denial of the exile theory of Highland settlement makes less baffling what has been a major mystery in North Carolina history. Why did so many of the Highlanders who had fought so ardently against the House of Hanover in the Fifteen and the Forty-five become Loyalists upon the outbreak of the American Revolution? The answer to this, Meyer contends, lies in the conciliation which the British had effected with the Highlanders since the dark days of Culloden, the land grant policy of Governor Josiah Martin, the fear of British reprisal, and the influence of retired Highlander officers in North

Carolina.

The finest portion of this work is that which describes the when and where of the Highlander settlements in North Carolina. This presents an excellent example of the use to which dry as dust land records can be put in writing readable history.

Herbert R. Paschal, Jr.

East Carolina College.

The Age of Orange: Political and Intellectual Leadership in North Carolina, 1752-1861. By Ruth Blackwelder. (Charlotte: William Loftin, Publisher. 1961. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. Pp. xi, 216. \$4.95.)

The hundreds of frustrated scholars who hope that some day they will find time to turn their boxes of notes into a published volume should take heart from Miss Blackwelder's success in producing a book out of research done twenty or more years ago. The greatest hazard of such delay is that in the meantime someone else will come out with a book on the same subject, and that is exactly what has happened here; in 1953 Hugh Lefler and Paul Wager edited a collaborative history of Orange County, to which Miss Blackwelder herself contributed.

This book differs from its predecessor in doing both more and less than the 1953 work. On the one hand, it is much less comprehensive, as the subtitle implies; it confines itself to politics, schools, and newspapers, and stops at 1861. On the positive side, it is based on more extensive research than the hurried book of 1953. Miss Blackwelder has combed the official records, both printed and manuscript, as well as private papers, she has read the surviving newspaper files, and she has studied the pertinent works of other scholars, even including masters' theses, down to 1942. Footnotes and bibliography make this information readily available to others working in the same field. The author's failure to organize the accumulated facts into a meaningful story, however, makes the book difficult going for the average reader, who will prefer the Lefler-Wager history.

Marvin W. Schlegel.

Longwood College.

A New Geography of North Carolina. Volume III. By Bill Sharpe. (Raleigh: Sharpe Publishing Company. 1961. Pp. 1,115-1,680. Maps, illustrations, and index. \$6.00.)

This is another of those books which ought to be owned, used, or at east known about by everyone interested in North Carolina.

As in the first two volumes, Bill Sharpe has brought together in one binding his articles on various counties as previously published in *The State*. Volume III contains reprints of the articles on the counties of Anson, Bladen, Catawba, Chowan, Cleveland, Craven, Cumberland, Currituck, Edgecombe, Graham, Harnett, Jackson, Lenoir, Lincoln, Macon, Madison, Montgomery, Northampton, Pamlico, Pender, Polk, Sampson, Stanly, Surry, Washington, and Yancey.

It is easy to criticize a book of this sort for not being what it should be. But since the author makes no claim for the book as an authoritative and exhaustive history (or geography) of the counties covered, it must be judged only on the author's purpose. As an interesting and readable sketch of each county, he has accomplished that purpose with distinction.

Contained in the twenty-six chapters are many of the highlights of the history of the various counties, along with anecdotes, place names, character sketches of prominent personages, and statistics on agriculture, manufacturing, and population. Many interesting tidbits that would have eluded a professional historian have been included.

The articles deserve a better map than the small highway map cutouts used in the book. A full-page map for each county containing the names of streams and small settlements mentioned in the text would have increased the value immeasurably.

These volumes may perpetuate some myths, but viewed as a collection of readable and interesting articles on the various counties, they are a welcome addition to the still meager but slowly growing literature on North Carolina counties.

H. G. Jones.

State Department of Archives and History.

A Goodly Heritage. By Emma Woodward MacMillan. (Wilmington: Privately printed. 1961. Illustrated. Pp. 105.)

The reminiscing of a good storyteller adds something of infinite variety and value to the written history of a family or of a town. This little volume is just such an effort by a good storyteller, and what Mrs. MacMillan—"Miss Emma" to several generations of public library users in Wilmington—has written here is a real help in the understanding of Wilmington's past.

The memories, of course, are of most interest to those of her own family. But there is in them a flavor which would be of help to any outsider trying to understand something of the Wilmington of the turn of the century. She covers a variety of subjects, the big race riot, Hemenway school, the keeping of Sundays, and Front Street.

Herbert O'Keef.

Raleigh.

A Condensed History of Flat Rock. By Sadie Smathers Patton. (Asheville: Church Printing Company. 1961. Illustrations. Pp. 73. \$3.00.)

In this unpretentious book, Sadie Smathers Patton, one of the most knowledgeable students of western North Carolina history, has recounted with affection and authority the story of the Flat Rock community in Henderson County.

The story begins in the fourth decade of the last century when the first visitors from the Charleston region built their summer homes

and established an enclave in what was then a frontier region.

It ends a half-century later when Flat Rock began to lose its Charleston make-up and flavor. By that time many of the old homes had passed out of the ownership of the families which had built them originally and the coming of the railroad was opening up all of the

mountain region to permanent residents and summer visitors.

At the peak of its provincial glory, Flat Rock was truly a "little Charleston in the mountains." Its summer residents were drawn from the most prominent families of the Low Country. Here they came by stage coaches or carriages, bringing with them their servants, their social distinctions, and their spacious ways of life. They even built their own church, "St. John in the Wilderness," where they worshipped and buried their dead.

A Condensed History of Flat Rock is the harvest of long and painstaking research. It possesses the supreme merit of accuracy and represents a valuable contribution to local history.

D. Hiden Ramsey.

Asheville.

The School of Pharmacy of the University of North Carolina: A History. By Alice Noble. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1961. Illustrations, notes, appendixes, and index. Pp. viii, 237. \$5.00.)

A brief introduction relates the pharmacists of North Carolina and the University of North Carolina to the great self-impelled drive of American pharmacists to raise the legal and educational standards of their ancient and honorable profession. North Carolina followed the national pattern by establishing the School of Pharmacy of the University of North Carolina in 1897, after two unsuccessful experiments with private schools.

The history proper follows the evolution of this tiny but sound oneman, one-room beginning through depressions, wars, and political changes to its present status: (1) one of the finest and best-equipped buildings in the nation; (2) a nationally distinguished faculty; (3) instruction up to the best national standards at both the undergraduate and graduate levels; (4) research fostered by the unique North Carolina Pharmaceutical Research Foundation. A healthy profession

and a healthy university mutually aid each other.

The chapters are organized around the successive deans of the school. The tremendous and dedicated efforts of the pharmacists and the school are related in a discerning chapter of political analysis, *Pharmacy Licensure Legislation*. The work is thoroughly documented, enriched with pertinent appendixes, attractively illustrated, and superbly indexed. The historian has lived with the subject intimately since 1921, serving both the school and the profession as secretary, librarian, archivist, editor; and she continues at present as Historian of the North Carolina Pharmaceutical Research Foundation.

The book is sound history of pharmacy, education, the University of North Carolina, and of North Carolina. The full tide of the commonwealth flows through the story in the best tradition of Battle, Henderson, and Wilson. Alice Noble is a workman worthy of her

history-minded father, M. C. S. Noble.

R. B. House.

The University of North Carolina.

The Historical Foundation and Its Treasures. By Thomas Hugh Spence, Jr. (Montreat; Historical Foundation Publications. 1960. Pp. xii, 171. Revised edition.)

"The object of an institution such as the Historical Foundation is to enable one to show appreciation of, to profit from, and to enhance the heritage passed down from the fathers of the flesh and of the faith." These are the words Thomas Hugh Spence, Jr., uses to rationalize the existence of the Historical Foundation, the historical agency of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. And of history, Mr. Spence says that "the Christian interpretation of history lies in the idea of time as having been both tempered and transformed by the specific entrance of the Eternal. Herein lies the key to the understanding of all history; for, from the standpoint of the Christian, there is in reality no such thing as secular history."

Thus the Historical Foundation which this book describes is in the eyes of its author, who is also the Director of the Foundation, not only

dedicated to history but to church history.

The Historical Foundation and Its Treasures describes the record of the origin, growth, resources, and work of the Historical Foundation. It does this under the headings of history, home, and holdings. Just as documents that are the sources for historians have interesting histories themselves, so this depository, recognized as one of the finest church archives in the nation, has an interesting history. This institution, like most that have consequence, came into being as the result of the dreams, hard work, and generosity of many people. Dr. Spence records the struggles of Samuel Mills Tenny, founder of the Historical Foundation, in gathering the materials and the equally important support necessary for making his dream of a permanent depository a reality. From the first location in a bank vault in Texarkana, Texas, to the modern Historical Foundation building at Montreat, North Carolina, was a long trek which is described interestingly and with numerous references to the contributions of the many who helped along the way.

The present home of the Foundation is discussed in Part II and plans, preparations, physical equipment, and the problems and

pleasures" of building are described in considerable detail.

Part III, "Holdings," is the heart of the matter for researchers. The author points out that the nature of Presbyterian church government, with the gradations of session, presbytery, synod, and general assembly, and the dependence of one of these bodies on the records of another in the event of an appeal, resulted in the creation of a large body of records. The fact that these records have been preserved and are being preserved is due to the foresight and perseverance of the

past and present directors of the Historical Foundation.

In addition to the official archives of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, the Foundation has accepted the responsibility for collecting books, especially Bibles, religious papers, and journals. This volume performs a real service in listing the holdings in the Foundation of these numerous journalistic endeavors, and in tracing the chronology of the journals and papers as they merged or split apart. Certainly the Foundation has performed a real service to all historians by collecting and preserving this material that in all likelihood would not have been preserved by any other library or archival agency. One of the most valuable features is the Appendix, which lists a substantial portion of the records and minutes to be found in the Historical Foundation.

Cyrus B. King.

State Department of Archives and History.

A Woman Rice Planter. By Patience Pennington. Edited by Cornelius O. Cathey. (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1961. Introduction, footnotes, and illustrations. Pp. xxxiii, 446. \$6.00.)

Another in the distinguished series of John Harvard Library reprints, this volume is the four-year diary of an indomitable South Carolinian who attempted to cultivate rice in the Low Country long after rice growing had been generally abandoned there. The diary was written between 1903 and 1906, and the book was apparently published originally in 1913. "Patience Pennington" was Elizabeth Waties Allston Pringle, widow of John Julius Pringle and daughter of Robert Francis Withers Allston. Strong sentimental attachment led her to purchase, on credit, one plantation that had belonged to her husband's family and a second that was about to be sold to settle her own family's estate. Circumstances of economics, of sociology, and of nature militated against the success of her venture, but the force of tradition proved powerful; her father, once the governor of South Carolina, had been one of the largest and most successful of the ante-bellum rice planters, and both her mother and grandmother in widowhood had played the role of woman rice planter.

Patience Pennington's diary records with straightforward simplicity her heroic struggle to revive rice cultivation on White House and Chicora Wood plantations near Georgetown. More than this, the diary is an unconscious tribute to the human spirit as it reveals, day by day and season by season, the manner in which a cultured and sensitive yet practical and energetic lady of sixty faced the problems, emergencies, sorrows, joys, rewards, and satisfactions of her unusual situation. Widowed and childless, "Miss Pashuns" served as plantation manager, legal adviser, nurse, disciplinarian, confidante, angel of mercy, Sunday School teacher, and church organist to the many Negroes in her employ—most of them descendants of her father's slaves. The book is especially interesting in its account of her relationships with the Negroes and in its sharp delineation of their personalities. Eighty-six drawings by Alice R. Huger Smith add to the reader's

pleasure.

Professor Cornelius O. Cathey of the University of North Carolina, a specialist in agricultural history, has written an informative introduction of twenty-two pages. In it he sketches the broad outline of rice culture in South Carolina from its beginning until 1906, when Patience Pennington, for reasons quite beyond her control, was compelled to give up her grand enterprise. Particular attention is paid to the ac-

complishments of Robert Allston and, of course, to the early career of his daughter. Professor Cathey accurately assesses the diary when he says: "Patience Pennington in her narrative succeeds in presenting accounts of even commonplace events, developments, and persons with vividness equal to that of the good artist who embodies his impressions on canvas. . . . Nearly every facet of her character is revealed by the tenderness, sympathy, and modesty with which she treats her subjects." And the publisher is correct in referring to A Woman Rice Planter as "this classic of Southern life."

Stuart Noblin.

North Carolina State College.

Van Meteren's Virginia, 1607-1612. By John Parker. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1961. Notes and index. Pp. x, 102. \$5.00.)

Emanuel van Meteren, Dutch historian and consul to Antwerp merchants in London from 1583 until his death in 1612, wrote a History of the Netherlands that was first published in 1593 and went through several editions in both German and Dutch both before and after his death. Resident in London in an age when strong commercial, cultural, and military ties bound the English and Dutch closely together, Van Meteren devoted considerable attention to the story of Anglo-Dutch overseas expansion and was particularly interested in England's experiment in Virginia. In the handsome little book under review, John Parker, Curator of the James Ford Bell Collection of the University of Minnesota Library, reprints from the History an English translation of the sections on the Virginia enterprise from its inception until Van Meteren's death as well as the accounts of Henry Hudson's explorations and the initial settlement of Bermuda, weaving them into the more comprehensive tale of Anglo-Dutch friendship and co-operation in their mutual rivalry with Spain. Although the sections from the History add a few new details to the Virginia story, this book is mainly interesting as a study of the extent of Dutch interest and involvement in the origins of the English overseas empire and as a successful attempt to put the founding of Virginia in its proper international setting.

Jack P. Greene.

Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia.

The Poems of Charles Hansford. Edited by James A. Servies and Carl R. Dolmetsch. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. Published for the Virginia Historical Society. Virginia Historical Society Documents, Volume I. 1961. Frontispiece, appendixes, and notes. Pp. xlv, 95. \$5.00.)

"A Clumsey Attempt of an Old Man to turn Some of his serious Thoughts into Verse." These words with which Charles Hansford prefaced his poems disarm criticism, especially when the reader knows that the old man was a blacksmith, largely self-educated, who wrote the verses about the middle of the eighteenth century. Of him an admiring friend wrote: "His life was innocent, his conversation cheerful, his manners modest and obliging."

The manuscript of the four poems—Of Body and Soul, Some Reflections on My Past Life and the Numberless Mercies Receiv'd from My Maker, Barzillai, and My Country's Worth, about 2,000 lines in all—was preserved by this admiring friend, Benjamin Waller. He also affixed to the manuscript a biographical sketch and two laudatory

poems, one of them his own.

In the stiff iambic pentameter couplets, the form in which virtually all serious poetry of the nineteenth century was written, the reader is impressed with the dullness rather than the clumsiness of the poems. Nevertheless in them one occasionally catches charming glimpses of the cheerful piety of the old man. He wrote to "sprightly youth" concerning the loquacity of age,

And now, young man, let an old man beseech You not to laugh at us till you do reach To our age and, then, if you think fit, You have my leave to laugh till you do split!

Contemplating the approach of death, he wrote,

Great God, let me but in Thy favor die; I am not careful where my bones do lie! and again,

Great God, give me Thy Grace, let me live so That "Come!" may be my sentence and not "Go!"

The full introduction, the copious notes, which show careful research worthy of a historical society, together with the excellent binding, paper, and print would undoubtedly have delighted the heart of Charles Hansford.

Mary Lynch Johnson.

Meredith College.

My Dearest Polly: Letters of Chief Justice John Marshall to His Wife, with Their Background, Political and Domestic, 1779-1831. By Frances Norton Mason. (Richmond: Garrett & Massie, Incorporated. 1961. Illustrations, genealogical tables, notes, and index. Pp. xiv, 386. \$5.00.)

My Dearest Polly is a clever title but a misnomer. The subtitle, indicating that the letters from Chief Justice John Marshall to his wife are given with "their background, political and domestic," is an accurate description of the book. Written in a popular, easy-to-read style, Mrs. Mason describes the life of the Marshalls and their kin, and she discusses the national and Virginia issues in which the Chief Justice played a part. Marshall's responsibilities necessitated long separations, and forty-three letters which he wrote to Mary Willis Ambler Marshall are inserted in appropriate places in the text.

John Marshall is regarded as a towering figure in the history of American jurisprudence. His letters show that he was a very human person as well. After administering the oath to President Jackson, "A great ball was given at night to celebrate the election. I of course did not attend it" (p. 307). Marshall did attend and enjoy numerous social functions, which he described to Polly. He also told her of his daily routine when he wrote, "I take my walk in the morning, work hard all day, eat a hearty dinner & sleep sound at night, and sometimes comb my head before I go to bed" (p. 317).

Frequently Marshall expressed concern about his wife's health. Because of her frailness, he felt it necessary to write to a neighbor, complaining of the "incessant barking of your dog..." which disturbed

his wife's sleep (p. 308).

Among other sources, Mrs. Mason used the Papers of John Marshall at the College of William and Mary, various secondary sources, notes taken by Marshall's grandchildren, and a source of dubious reliability, "Richmond tradition and Marshall family memories" (p. 354).

Genealogical tables of various branches of the family, notes on each

chapter, and an index are included at the end of the volume.

Memory F. Blackwelder.

State Department of Archives and History.

Virginia Railroads in the Civil War. By Angus James Johnston. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 336. \$6.00.)

The Civil War was the first railroad war—a fact historians have long recognized. And in recent years several very good works have been

published on the subject. The volume under review, unlike these other accounts which deal with northern and southern railroads in general, focuses only upon the railroads of Virginia. Dr. Angus Johnston selected Virginia as a case study because the "Old Dominion" was the major battleground of the war and the State with the most railroad mileage in the South. The purpose of this study, as stated by the author in his preface, "is to demonstrate the effect of the war on the railroads as well as the effect of the railroads on the war." This twofold object

is skillfully accomplished and the result is an excellent book.

During the early stages of the war railroads made possible "the collection and maintenance" of larger bodies of troops than had ever been assembled in this country. Railroads also gave the armies a new mobility. Beauregard and Johnston used the Manassas Gap Railroad to win the Battle of First Manassas. Nearly half of the troops that fought on the Confederate left this hot summer day had been moved by rail at the last minute from the Valley to the battle line. "Obviously, without the services of the railroad, inadequate and unpredictable though its performance had been, the troops that tipped the scale of victory in favor of the Confederacy would not have been there." Confederate leaders also introduced new techniques of warfare. Joe Johnston built the world's first military railroad from Manassas Junction to Centerville, Virginia. Lee designed the first railroad gun and Jackson was the first to demonstrate "the meaning of modern, economic, total war" by his raid on the Baltimore and Ohio. Soon the standard tactics on both sides called for the destruction of railroad communications.

As the war progressed, attrition caused by the Federal blockade, deterioration of rolling stock, inflation, labor and material shortages, and indifference of the Confederate government, caused Virginia's railroads to decline in efficiency. And with this decline went the hopes of ultimate victory for the Army of Northern Virginia. General Lee, faced with a monumental supply problem, "was doomed to the unhappy fate of winning battles only to lose campaigns." Grant was fully aware of his adversary's difficulties. As a result he devoted a great deal of his energy during the last months of the war to cutting Lee's railroads. "Events in the spring of 1865 proved the Union commander's strategy to be correct when the resistance of the Army of Northern Virginia collapsed a week after the loss of its last railroad supply line."

Footnotes, bibliography, index, illustrations, and tables add to the

value of the book.

John G. Barrett.

Virginia Military Institute.

The Wartime Papers of R. E. Lee. Edited by Clifford Dowdey. Associate Editor: Louis H. Manarin. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1961. Illustrations, maps, notes, and index. Pp. xiv, 994. \$12.50.)

Next to the restoration of the Old Capitol in Mississippi, the publication of the wartime papers of Robert E. Lee, under the sponsorship of the Virginia Civil War Commission, is the most distinguished effort in commemoration of the American Civil War yet seen by the reviewer. This handsomely-bound, well-edited, thousand-page volume containing more than a thousand documents is a fit shelf companion for Freeman's *Lee* and dwarfs into insignificance most of the centennial literature.

Only about one-sixth of the Lee wartime correspondence extant is reproduced, the remainder having been put aside as repetitious, routine, minor, or administrative paper work brought to Lee for his signature. His battle reports for 1864 and 1865 are missing (they were burned in wagons on the road to Appomattox) and there is no way, of course, to recall those all-important verbal exchanges made during the heat of battle. The evidence is sufficient, however, to show that Lee the tactician was in no manner inferior to Lee the master strategist.

Lee's military correspondence is interspersed with his letters to his semi-invalid wife and five of their seven children (Mary and R. E. Lee, Jr., having failed to preserve their father's letters), as well as sundry other relatives. The seventeen chapters in the book, from the first, on the mobilization of Virginia (April-July, 1861), to the last, having to do with the Appomattox campaign (February-April, 1865), are introduced with authoritative running narratives of from two to seven pages. In these Clifford Dowdey sets the stage, introducing material taken from excluded documents and making up in part for the lack of letters to Lee. The editor is sometimes critical of his subject, is almost always antagonistic toward Davis, and once in a while allows himself the use of some very careless language.

The documents reveal Lee as a soldier and as a man, probably without changing in a substantial way the picture already formed by any knowledgeable person. The official correspondence emphasizes that Lee not only fought campaigns but kept reorganizing his Army of Northern Virginia, maintaining it as well as he could, and providing it less and less effectively with food and forage. He was definitely concerned with problems of the whole Confederacy, yet never really had unrestricted control of his own army. His deference to "His Excellency," President Davis, is almost oppressive, as is his willingness to work uncomplainingly with what he had. He anticipated success until

late summer of 1863 when he realized that his magnificent army had

passed its peak.

The more personal letters bring sharply to mind Lee's patience, humility, strict honesty, and his deep religious conviction—"Our life in this world is of no value except to prepare us for a better." Though he disliked slavery and opposed secession, he saw independence as a legitimate objective. The private letters ("I never write private letters for the public eye.") reveal a less somber individual, a Lee who could fret about his failure to return a bucket which had come to him filled with butter, one who indulged in quiet humor and occasional badinage. He carried on with his wife a four-year debate as to the numbers of pairs of socks in the bags she kept sending, at one point expressing his pleasure that there was "arithmetic enough" in the family to count to thirty. Lee may well have been the victim of hypertension and sometimes showed his irritation with newspaper editors, draft dodgers, the Confederate Congress, speculators, and those of the enemy who engaged in wanton destruction and other unworthy deeds.

The Wartime Papers of R. E. Lee deserves serious consideration for

commendation by the Civil War Centennial Commission.

James W. Silver.

University of Mississippi.

Lee's Maverick General: Daniel Harvey Hill. By Hal Bridges. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1961. Pp. viii, 323. Notes, bibliography, and index. \$7.50.)

This valued addition to Civil War literature is a biography at last of hard fighting, ill-tempered Major General (temporarily Lieutenant General) Daniel Harvey Hill, one of the high ranking soldiers North

Carolina sent to the Confederate army.

Fortified by exacting research and possessing an easy writing style, the author has produced as good a book as is ever likely to be written about the high spirited eccentric he aptly terms Lee's maverick. If it is not altogether satisfying the fault is mainly in the subject. Though Mr. Bridges deals sympathetically with Harvey Hill, sides with him during a vast amount of in-fighting against associates in gray as well as enemies in blue, generously admires his tactical competence and softens his failure at Chickamauga, the composite picture he presents is that of a beset and unhappy man.

Harvey Hill complained against or quarreled in varying degrees of anger with Stuart, Longstreet, Toombs, Howell Cobb, Polk, Mahone, Gorgas, Bragg, Cooper, and Lee, and eventually engaged in a long and bootless wrangle with President Davis from which he was certain to emerge a loser. The fiery Toombs challenged him and Billy Mahone nearly did. When Hill, whose courage was well known, refused Toombs for reasons of the war, the Georgian called him a "poltroon." Perhaps no other would have employed that term who watched Hill in action: at Seven Pines, South Mountain or along the "Bloody Lane" at Sharpsburg. But he seemed alert for conspiracies against him and satisfied himself by finding them.

Devout, touchy and intensely partisan—his arithmetic problems before the war were worded to illustrate Yankee perfidy—he prodded his superiors and criticised Lee's generalship. He took time to chide the stay-at-homes and skulkers "lying around the brothels, gambling saloons and drinking houses of Richmond." He attributed Confederate

reverses to the profanity of the soldiers.

Lee imputed to Hill or Hill's headquarters staff the loss of the order which apprised McClellan of his plans and led to the futility of the Maryland campaign in 1862. Author Bridges defends Hill and comes up with the curious suggestion that Lee's dispatch bearer may have been a Federal spy. The patient Lee finally shied away from Hill and after the war said he "croaked." In dealing with their strained relations the author does not quote this word of Lee's, but he does quote Bragg, who also applied it: "His open and constant croaking would demoralize any command in the world."

The author tends to exonerate Hill also for failure to capture the two Federal divisions exposed in McLemore's Cove below Chattanooga, which neither Bragg nor much historical judgment has been prepared to do. He accepts the version that Hill delayed because, among other things, General Cleburne was ill, a condition of which Cleburne apparently was unaware. Hill's nomination to be lieutenant

general was never confirmed after Chickamauga.

Mainly because of his prickly traits, resulting no doubt from a painful spinal ailment brought on by poliomyelitis, Hill sat on the sidelines much of the closing period but appeared in minor roles and commanded one of Johnston's depleted divisions against Sherman at Bentonville. The author puts the chief blame throughout on Hill's superiors, especially Bragg, an overworked scapegoat, but not absolving Lee.

Mr. Bridges, a Professor of History at the University of Colorado, has written a badly-needed, thoroughly-documented biography of

one of the brisk, nettlesome, pugnacious figures of the Confederacy who will always have his school of admirers. Every ardent North Carolina buff will require this book.

Glenn Tucker.

Route 1, Flat Rock.

Full Many A Name: The Story of Sam Davis. By Mabel Goode Frantz. (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc. 1961. Illustrations, bibliography, and index. Pp. 143. \$3.95.)

Tennessee's Confederate hero, Sam Davis, facing death on a Federal gallows as a spy, chose not to divulge details of his activities as a scout bearing intelligence from Middle Tennessee to General Braxton Bragg at Chattanooga in November, 1863. As a consequence, he was hanged, a boy of 21. Davis, selected for scouting activity from Company I, First Tennessee Infantry, died on November 27, 1863, in Pulaski, after Union General G. M. Dodge was unable to get the youth to talk about

his assignment. He was buried later at the home in Smyrna.

This is a commendable effort to tell the epic story, beginning with his ancestry in southside Virginia, his education, enlistment for military service in the early days of the conflict, the dark days after Shiloh, and events that led to his capture, trial, and execution. At times it is skimpy for the reader who has not "grown up" on this epic, needs more research, particularly the legality of the trial. The author has done a service in making the Sam Davis story available for young and adult readers during this period of opulent writings on the Civil War.

Tennessee and the world can proudly remember Sam Davis. Although he was wounded at Shiloh and executed at Pulaski, he never suffered any damage to his honor and devotion to what he believed to be right.

T. Harry Gatton.

Raleigh.

From Shiloh to San Juan: The Life of "Fightin' Joe" Wheeler. By John P. Dyer. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 275. \$5.00.)

Although the Army of Tennessee never won a victory it was never routed when it withdrew from an engagement. The commander of the army depended on General Joseph Wheeler, Chief of Cavalry, to cover the retrograde movements. This Wheeler did very successfully. He was described by one of his friends as the "gamest banty" of the Confed-

erate Army.

Born at Augusta, Georgia, in 1836, Wheeler entered West Point in 1854. He graduated fourth from the bottom of his class in 1859, making his poorest grades in cavalry tactics. Later he was commissioned second lieutenant in the cavalry. When Georgia seceded he left Fort Craig to tender his services to his State. He first saw service under Bragg at Pensacola and joined the Army of Tennessee when Bragg's command was ordered to join the army at Corinth. At the Battle of Shiloh he commanded a regiment. During Bragg's Kentucky campaign Wheeler was appointed Chief of Cavalry, and after the campaign he was promoted to Brigadier General, Chief of Cavalry, Army of Tennessee. He served in this position until the end of the war. In 1881 he was elected to the House of Representatives from the Eighth District of Alabama. When the Spanish-American War came he offered his services and was appointed Major General of United States Volunteers and placed in command of the cavalry. Thus he made the transition from Blue to Gray to Blue. He actively served with the invading army throughout the campaign, and returned to his seat in the House when it was over.

"Fightin' Joe" Wheeler did his best fighting when he was ordered to cover the rear and flanks of the Army of Tennessee. Although several of his raids were partial successes they did not accomplish everything desired. The author points out that Wheeler was not a master of every phase of the military art. In his contrast of Wheeler with Forrest Mr. Dyer concluded that Wheeler worked better with the army, whereas Forrest was more at home on a raid. Mr. Dyer came to the conclusion that Wheeler was a soldier first and a fighter second, whereas Forrest was a fighter first and a soldier second. Although he did not have Forrest's dash, he was a trained officer who could be depended upon.

The book is very well balanced. Mr. Dyer does not overemphasize Wheeler's Civil War career, but covers his life with equal treatment. In developing the campaigns, military and political, the author presents the necessary facts and does not belabor a particular campaign because of its over-all importance in a period of history. He develops

Wheeler's part in it.

This book is a revised edition of Mr. Dyer's "Fightin' Joe" Wheeler, published by the Louisiana State University Press in 1941. Since the

publication of the earlier work Mr. Dyer states that no new source material on Wheeler has been uncovered. The revised edition places more emphasis on Wheeler's Civil War career than does the earlier edition. The historian and Civil War enthusiast will regret that all footnotes have been omitted in the revised edition. However, the author's Critical Essay on Authorities will be very helpful for those who wish to do further research.

There are several general maps of the campaigns of the Army of Tennessee which will assist the reader in understanding the campaigns. Well-indexed, this revised edition of a long out of print work is a definite contribution to Civil War literature. It should rank as one of the finest biographies of Confederate generals.

Louis H. Manarin.

North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission.

Reconstruction after the Civil War. By John Hope Franklin. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1961. Illustrations. Pp. x, 258. \$5.00.)

The history of Reconstruction began to be written almost before the program had been completed and has continued to attract the interest of professional historians ever since. William A. Dunning's Reconstruction, Political and Economic, 1865-1877, published in 1906, is characterized by Professor Franklin as "the definitive statement of the most influential of the earlier historians of the period." Dunning's interpretations, propagated by his students and followers, were long accepted by most professional historians. Claude G. Bowers with The Tragic Era and George Fort Milton with The Age of Hate popularized the Dunning interpretation. In 1939 Francis B. Simkins in "New Viewpoints of Southern Reconstruction" and Howard K. Beale in "On Rewriting Reconstruction History" (1940) called for a revision of the Dunning interpretation. Before this call was sounded monographs had appeared differing in some particulars from the interpretations of the Dunning school, and since then many more have been published. Now in 1961 we have two general treatments of Reconstruction. One of these is David Donald's revised edition of James G. Randall's The Civil War and Reconstruction first published in 1937, the other is the subject of this review. They are similar in that they incorporate the findings of the revisionist writings of the past twenty years; and that they treat Reconstruction more as a national than a sectional problem, give more attention to business, labor, and farm movements, deal more moderately

with Negroes, carpetbaggers, and scalawags, find more constructive features in Radical Reconstruction, and are less favorably disposed toward conservative white Bourbons of the South than the Dunning school of writers.

As Professor Franklin himself states his contribution is found in the new emphasis and interpretations of known facts, not in unearthing new sources or the discovery of new factual information. He points out many misconceptions and false interpretations which he proposes to clear up and correct. Space permits only a few examples. Earlier writers claimed that "huge military forces" were kept in the South for a long period of time. Not so, says Franklin. Post-war demobilization was rapid and only a skeleton army remained after 1866. Where earlier writers charged that Republican carpetbaggers tried to "Africanize" the South, Franklin says that they enfranchised the Negro for political control but "did not intend any revolution in general social relations between Negroes and whites." Earlier writers made the Negro the villain of Reconstruction, exaggerated his role in government, and found him ignorant, incompetent, and corrupt. Franklin says they ignored the fact that many Negroes who held office had gone to great pains to educate themselves, were honest and competent, and made significant contributions to the establishment of liberal democratic governments in the South. The early writers also exaggerated political corruption in the South and ignored the fact, says Franklin, that corruption was not peculiar to that region but prevailed throughout the country and was in truth "bisectional, bipartisan and biracial."

Professor Franklin condemns the Black Codes for their restrictions on the rights of the ex-slaves and praises the Freedmen's Bureau for its activities in health, education, and general well-being of the Negro. Over-all he finds Radical Reconstruction moderate rather than extreme. It accomplished significant reforms in public education, public welfare, and the advance of democratic principles. He sees the tragedy of Reconstruction in its failure to give the former slave economic independence and stability. In explaining how the utterly defeated South in a short time effectively escaped the terms imposed by the victorious North, Franklin emphasizes the influence of organized violence in the Ku Klux Klan. He concludes, however, that Reconstruction could have been overthrown without the use of violence. The North had grown tired of the struggle and was anxious to get back to business as usual. Furthermore Northerners had acquiesced "in the Southern view of the Negro," and had conceded that the Negro was not yet ready

to take his place as an equal of the white.

Professor Franklin's interpretations are generally sound and valid, but like most writers who propose to correct long established interpretations he has gone too far in some cases. For instance, he underestimates the extent of both political democracy and public education in the Old South; credits the Radical Reconstruction with more good deeds and greater advances than it actually performed; and is in error when he says that the Reconstruction constitutions were so satisfactory "that for a generation no serious constitution-making was undertaken." Several Reconstructed States held conventions to rewrite their constitutions in the 1870's. Even so he has written a significant book, and while the pendulum of interpretation may swing back its arc has been permanently shortened by Professor Franklin.

Fletcher M. Green.

The University of North Carolina.

The South in the New Nation, 1789-1819. By Thomas P. Abernethy. Volume IV of A History of the South. Edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press and the Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas. 1961. Maps and charts, prefaces, critical essay on authorities. Pp. xvi, 529. \$7.50.)

In the volume under review Professor Thomas P. Abernethy provides the reader with an excellent analysis of the most obscure period of southern history. Considering the fact that the author's main reliance had to be on primary materials and that the author had no pattern to follow in presenting the results, the volume is excellent. Although some of the topics discussed have been the subjects of outstanding monographs (for example, Professor Abernethy's own *The Burr Conspiracy* and Professor I. J. Cox's *The West Florida Controversy*), this is the first time that the entire period 1789 to 1819 in the history of the South has been discussed in one volume by an authority in the field.

To Professor Abernethy the hot and cold war waged for the Old Southwest, the westward movement of population, and the growth side by side of a democracy and a landed gentry are the important themes. This reviewer agrees with the author's position that "sectionalism . . . [should take] a secondary place in this volume." Although the author maintains that space did not permit him to trace the economic and social development of the region, this is the major weakness of the volume. In an age when historians are increasing the emphasis on these forces, it is regrettable that the author did not reduce

the space devoted to the story of the conquest and settlement of the Southwest in order to concentrate some attention on the social and

economic development.

The maps and charts in this volume are quite numerous and help the reader to understand the text. They are far superior to the usual maps and charts. The volume maintains the high level of the series and is a credit to the author, the editors, and the press responsible. This reviewer hopes that the two remaining volumes to be published will appear soon and will be as well worth waiting for as Volume IV has been.

John Edmond Gonzales.

Mississippi Southern College.

The Negro in the American Revolution. By Benjamin Quarles. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1961. Bibliography and index. Pp. xiii, 231. \$6.00.)

In this volume Professor Quarles, historian of the Negro in the Civil War, has given us a lively, detailed account of the manifold activities of Negroes in the War for Independence and the extent to which the war advanced the Negro on the slow, doubtful, but inevitable road to emancipation. At the outset of the book Mr. Quarles points out how the need for man power in the patriot forces, plus the doctrines of the enlightenment given transcendent form in the Declaration of Independence, induced hesitant slaveowners and legislatures to enlist Negroes in the patriot armies with a promise of freedom for the bondsmen at the conclusion of the war. The British, who had nothing to lose and much to gain by such a policy, enthusiastically urged slaves to desert their masters, serve in the loyalist forces, and receive their freedom at the hand of the king. Thus the war brought an unexpected, if temporary opportunity for thousands of bondsmen to shake off their shackles.

In the remainder of the book Mr. Quarles follows the careers of the slaves in the armed forces as soldiers, sailors, spies, guides, informers, laborers, and artisans. According to nearly all accounts they acquitted themselves creditably, which is not surprising in view of the reward they were striving for. Unfortunately, an almost total lack of materials makes it impossible for Professor Quarles to give us an acompanying analysis of the attitudes and inner motivations of the Negroes who set out on this hazardous highroad to freedom.

Mr. Quarles' treatment of Negro activities is considerably stronger than his analysis of the anti-slavery movement associated with the war. Ascribing the movement mainly to the doctrines of the Enlightenment, he does not discuss adequately the economic pressures which were being brought to bear on many large slaveowners. Because of the perennially low tobacco prices, slaves on many large plantations were simply not earning their keep. Diversification of agriculture and the building of industries appeared to many planters as the best way of stimulating the sagging economy of the upper South. Slavery they regarded as a bar to an effective use of these remedies. As philosophers, planters like Mason, Washington, or Robert Carter, might have a sincere desire to free the black men from their bondage, but as businessmen they were equally interested in freeing their region from a labor system which might threaten them with bankruptcy.

Elisha P. Douglass.

University of North Carolina.

The Triumphant Empire: Thunder-Clouds Gather in the West, 1763-1766. By Lawrence Henry Gipson. (New York: Knopf. 1961 Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. lxxv, 414. \$8.50.)

As Volume X of *The British Empire Before the American Revolution*, this is the last but one of the narrative volumes of the great work whose climax is being approached. The point of view, argument, and slightly altered plan of this book appeared, without the present richness of detail, in the first eight chapters of Gipson's *The Coming of the Revolution* (1954).

The theme is developed in two parts. The first eight chapters describe the sound financial condition of the American colonies after 1763, suggesting their ability to contribute without strain to the cost of imperial defense and administration. The remaining nine chapters discuss the financial problems of the imperial government, the attempts to raise a colonial revenue to support part of the burden of empire, the constitutional issues these efforts produced, the crisis over the Stamp Act, its repeal, and the effect of this rebuff to England upon the empire. In Gipson's view, England's financial demands were reasonable but the colonies themselves were different after 1763, and so the demands caused unanticipated reactions. The ensuing crisis was a constitutional crisis; what was needed was a revision of the im-

perial constitution about whose nature Americans and British dis-

agreed.

The outlines of this story have been presented often before, but never better. Gipson's account, sympathetic to England's problems but understanding of the colonial reaction, is authoritative and clear. His thorough knowledge and use of the primary sources inspire admiration.

Carl B. Cone.

University of Kentucky.

The Antifederalists Critics of the Constitution, 1781-1788. By Jackson Turner Main. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. c. 1961. Pp. xviii, 308. \$7.50.)

Here is the first comprehensive study of the Antifederalists of the 1780's. In the past much has been written about them, but only in scattered parts and bits here and there. Now we have a detailed treatment of them—in the light of geography, socio-economic interests, philosophy, politics, and other factors. One can but wonder that such

a work was not produced long ago.

Beginning with a general statement regarding the Antifederalists' "Social and Political Background," the writer next analyzes their situation in each of the thirteen States. There follows a study of the conflict in every State between the Antifederalists (who he says should have been called Federalists in that they favored maintaining a federal form of central government) and the Federalists (who, states the author, should have been named Nationalists because they worked for a stronger nation—but they stole their name from their opponents) over strengthening the Confederation.

A very brief account of the framing of the Constitution is followed by a detailed statement covering the Antifederal objections to that instrument. Most of the group would have been willing to take certain actions to strengthen the government, but not to the extent that the

proposed Constitution would do.

Finally, almost 100 pages are devoted to a study of the fight in each State over the ratification of the Constitution. In the main the interpretation of Libby and Beard is accepted, and the neo-revisionist thesis (or theses) of Robert E. Brown and Forrest McDonald is (or are) rejected. "... the struggle over the ratification of the Constitution was primarily a contest between the commercial and the non-commer-

cial elements in the population. . . . The Federalists included the merchants and other town dwellers, farmers depending on the major cities, and those who produced a surplus for export. The Antifederalists were primarily those who were not so concerned with, or who did not recognize a dependence upon, the mercantile community or foreign markets."

Six pertinent appendixes, a "Historical and Bibliographical Essay,"

and an index complete the work.

On the whole this is a valuable study, based on thorough research, well organized and presented, readable, reasonably objective. While the tone is more favorable to the Antifederalists than anything the present reviewer has ever seen, having read the book he feels that this group is justly entitled to such treatment, for up until now historians have failed to understand them or do them justice. All who had a part in the production of this book are to be congratulated for a job very well done.

Insofar as North Carolina is concerned, there are a few errors. Two of the counties are misspelled (Surry—p. 243, n. 74—and Edgecombe—p. 245). Worse is the reference to the *Halifax* convention (p. 244) when obviously *Hillsboro* is meant. Even though this slipped by the author, it would appear that it might have been caught by the publisher, whose headquarters are less than 15 miles from the town where

the convention actually met.

Christopher Crittenden.

State Department of Archives and History.

The Letters of Stephen A. Douglas. Edited by Robert W. Johannsen. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1961. Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. xxxi, 558. \$10.00.)

Reading a collection of letters is like reading epigrams—one soon becomes surfeited; therefore a collected correspondence is usually bedtime reading or research reading, and there is not much middle ground. But perseverence is often rewarded with revelations and insights into the letterwriter's nature that have escaped the biographer. Whether such is the case with Robert W. Johannsen's finely edited Letters of Stephen A. Douglas is problematical. Only if Douglas was a pure political animal does he stand nakedly revealed in this collection of correspondence and assorted documents running from 1833 to 1861.

Mr. Johannsen has probably found most of the extant Douglas letters, and he has performed a valuable service in bringing them together. The political historian will be indebted to him even if the letters do add up to an unlovely self-portrait of a man; for one looks virtually in vain for wives (except for Mr. Johannsen's careful citation and indexing one would scarcely learn that Douglas had two), children, consummated loves and dreams, moments of anguish and terror in the night. Though perhaps it is a true picture of Douglas and the people he championed—bludgeoning, insensitive, acquisitive, bold, athirst for power.

This is essentially a scholar's book and Mr. Johannsen has discharged his scholarly obligation in fine fashion. The explanatory notes are meticulously done, apparently most everyone and everything mentioned in the letters and notes is indexed, and the location of every document is carefully given. There is also an introductory sketch of Douglas in which Mr. Johannsen probably lays out the thesis of the

biography he is currently writing.

Peter F. Walker.

The University of North Carolina.

Origins of the TVA: The Muscle Shoals Controversy, 1920-1932. By Preston J. Hubbard. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1961. Footnotes, bibliography, and index. Pp. ix, 340. \$6.00.)

Beginning with the authorization of a cyanamid-process plant for producing nitrates during World War I, the legislative history of Muscle Shoals is traced in this book in detail to the passage of the Tennessee Valley Authority Act in 1933. Professor Hubbard examines the conflict over the relative merits of rival processes for fixing nitrates; the clash over fertilizer production versus hydro-electric power at Wilson Dam; and, emerging near the end of the book, the gigantic struggle over private or public operation and over piecemeal or integrated development of the great Tennessee River resources. Clearly portrayed are the public characters of Henry Ford, Senator Tom Heflin, Senator George Norris, and, less clearly but nonetheless interestingly, Presidents Coolidge and Hoover. The complicated maneuvering of Congressional committees, lobbies, and private interests are followed as a small determined group of conservationists first defeated the offer of Henry Ford to acquire the property, then defeated the power companies in their bid for it, passed two public power acts only

to have them vetoed, and finally won victory under Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Professor Hubbard has courageously assaulted the masses of twentieth-century source materials which are as great a handicap to scholarly research as a dearth of data. Out of his embarrassment of riches he has written a clearly outlined, heavily-documented account. The first three chapters and the last are interestingly written, and the summaries at the ends of chapters show skillful synthesis. Inexplicably, however, the original Norris plan is never described, although from page 48 to page 313 constant reference is made to it and it was the basis of the TVA Act of 1933.

Research in depth is apparent but breadth is not yet present. More interpretation of events is needed in the light of national political movements, the abnormal value of the farm vote to southern congressmen, the Populist Revolt and the Roosevelt conservation movement, the socio-economic position of the Farm Bureau, to suggest a few lines of thought, although all the foregoing are mentioned briefly. The theme as indicated by the title is frequently lost sight of. Finally, while it is granted that the author must comprehend minute details in day-by-day chronology, it is this reviewer's opinion that clarity of exposition would be improved by greater terseness in describing Congressional hearings and the repetitive remarks of innumerable newspapers and pressure groups.

This book contains a vast amount of valuable information readily accessible. Professor Hubbard has done an excellent piece of research, and shows promise for further writings in a field chosen by too few historians—the recent years of the twentieth century.

Sarah McCulloh Lemmon.

Meredith College.

Grave Humor: A Collection of Humorous Epitaphs. By Alonzo C. Hall. (Charlotte: McNally. 1961. Pp. 102. \$2.95.)

During forty years or more, Alonzo C. Hall, now Professor Emeritus of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has collected epitaphs from gravevards within his reach, mainly in North Carolina and Massachusetts but in other States and England as well. He has filled this small book with choice samples from the humorous epitaphs in his collection. Often the tombstone humor as he records

it was unintentional, obviously, but many times it was deliberate and in fact might have been dictated by the deceased or at least might have been acceptable to him. The book reminds us of something we may forget—that humor need not be light or frivolous, but that it sometimes has an appropriateness and a naturalness in man's response to the major affairs of existence.

Arlin Turner.

Duke University.

Guide to Photocopied Historical Materials in the United States and Canada. Edited by Richard W. Hale, Jr. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press [for the American Historical Association]. 1961. Pp. xxxiv, 241. \$5.00.)

With the increasing acceptance of photocopies as research tools and as means of providing security copies of valuable manuscripts has come the need for a guide to photocopied historical materials available in the United States and Canada.

The Council on Library Resources, Inc.,—an organization to which every historian owes more than he realizes—in 1957 granted funds to the American Historical Association for the purpose of compiling such a guide. The Association's Committee on Documentary Reproduction undertook the task and appointed Dr. Richard W. Hale, Jr., as editor. After two and a half years of studying completed questionnaires, visiting hundreds of institutions, and tracing down the slightest hint of historical materials in photocopied form, Dr. Hale's guide has now been published.

It is an indispensible tool for every research institution.

Arranged by the geographical origin of the documents—foreign countries are included as well as all the Provinces of Canada and States of the United States—the Guide to Photocopied Historical Materials in the United States and Canada contains a listing of historical materials in photocopied form and indicates the source of the original, the holders of the master negative and positive copies, and the type of photocopy. Photocopies of printed materials are excluded except in unusual cases.

A study of the section relating to North Carolina materials reveals what a user must expect of such a formidable and complicated task: a few errors. Example: the original special schedules of the Censuses of 1850 through 1870 are credited to Duke University; they are in the State Department of Archives and History. But to itemize such errors

would be to cast unwarranted suspicions upon a monumental work for which all historians and research institutions should be thankful.

Dick Hale has, since editing the *Guide*, assumed the challenging post of Archivist of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

H. G. Jones.

State Department of Archives and History.

The Interurban Era. By William D. Middleton. (Milwaukee: Kalmbach Publishing Co. 1961. Illustrations, appendix of lines built, glossary, and index. Pp. 432. \$15.00.)

Though electric interurban railways spread over this country like a net in the first quarter of the twentieth century, this uniquely American phenomenon continued to be neglected by conventional railroad historians until the recent publication of a scholarly survey of electric interurbans in 1960 and the current publication of *The Interurban Era*. The present work completes the definitive assay of the interurbans' history, technology, atmosphere, and place in American life.

So completely have these lines vanished during the past forty years that of literally hundreds of intercity electric passenger carriers only two survive as passenger and freight haulers, both in the Midwest. Despite the obvious difficulties in reconstructing such an era in word and illustration, William D. Middleton (one of a quintet of top American interurban students) has reconstructed it in a comprehensive set of 560 photos, many very old and all historic. Nowhere is there available a collection of photos remotely equaling this. Nearly every company is represented, often in quarto illustrations. The photographs are supplemented with a fair amount of text, much of it in carefully researched chapter-introductions and liberal photo captions, chapters on history and technology, a list of lines, and an excellent glossary.

North Carolina coverage includes an extremely rare illustration of the Wilmington-Wrightsville interurban and specially-assembled set of seven photos of the Piedmont & Northern, financially the most successful of all interurbans.

This book is competently and responsibly done; it is interesting and handsomely executed. It merits a place in any library giving even minimum attention to railroad history or to Americana.

Michael J. Dunn, III.

Belmont Abbey College.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Department of Archives and History

Confederate Centennial Commission

Four new members have recently been appointed by Governor Terry Sanford to the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission. To the two-year terms the following were designated: Mr. George Myrover, Fayetteville; Mrs. Earl Teague, Statesville; Mr. Bedford Black, Kannapolis; and Mrs. Jessie Ruth Seagroves, Siler City.

Mr. Norman C. Larson, the Commission's Executive Secretary, discussed plans for commemorating the battles of New Bern and Roanoke Island with members of the Centennial Committees of New Hanover and Dare counties on January 3 and 4. He was again in New Bern on January 8.

Ceremonies commemorating the Battle of Roanoke Island were held in Manteo on February 7 and 8. Mr. Richard Iobst, former Staff Historian of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, was featured speaker for the event. Prior to Mr. Iobst's address, Mr. Larson presented, on behalf of the Commission and the State of North Carolina, two battle markers to Dare County.

On January 17 the Executive Secretary met with members of the Audio-Visual Committee at a supper meeting in Durham. Plans to secure network time for the WUNC-TV production of Manly Wade Wellman's "One Night in Chambersburg" were discussed. Mr. Larson and Audio-Visual Committee representatives were in New York January 27-29 to talk with representatives of NBC, CBS, ABC, NEBA, and NET in this regard.

At a program in Charlotte on January 31, the Nationwide Insurance Company presented identical Civil War medical exhibits to the States of North Carolina and South Carolina. The staff of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission was present at ceremonies at which Governor Terry Sanford accepted the exhibit on behalf of the State of North Carolina.

A special Civil War Centennial Army Exhibit was shown in the Hall of History February 5-10. Governor Sanford officially opened the exhibit at a preview and reception on the night of February 5. Sponsored jointly by the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, the Department of Archives and History, and the Raleigh Subsector Command, Twelfth U. S. Army Corps, the exhibit was shown along with items from the T. Price Gibson Collection of Civil War Memorabilia, Currier and Ives prints from the collection of Colonel L. C. Rosser, and Civil War small arms from the Sir Walter Gun Club of Raleigh.

Over seventy-five County Centennial Committee members representing some forty-five counties met in Raleigh on February 10 at a workshop meeting sponsored by the Commission. All phases of North Carolina's Centennial program were discussed in the series of six panels which comprised the all-day program. Mr. Edmund Harding, "North Carolina's Ambassador of Good Will," was featured speaker at the luncheon at the Hotel Sir Walter.

A new addition to the staff of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial is Miss Jan Hayes, stenographer. Miss Hayes is a graduate of Robert E. Lee High School in Jacksonville, Florida, and is a former employee of the North Carolina State Department of Public Welfare.

Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission

On January 17 a joint resolution was introduced in the United States Senate, by Senators Samuel J. Ervin, Jr., and B. Everett Jordan, to establish a federal commission which will co-operate with and assist the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission. The proposed North Carolina Tercentenary Celebration Commission would be composed of fifteen members: four representatives, four senators, and seven members appointed by the President. In addition to working with the Charter Commission on a program already formulated, the federal commission is expected to be prepared to communicate with the governments of any other nations when they are invited to participate in the Tercentenary celebration. The resolution was referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Other plans and projects were expedited at the meeting of the executive committee of the Commission on February 9 in Raleigh. A report by the Executive Secretary, General John D. F. Phillips, U.S.A. (ret.), outlined several projects which are either underway or in the planning stage. Among these are: a commemorative stamp to be issued in 1963 by the U. S. Post Office Department; a mobile history museum; documentary motion picture production; musical compositions; state-wide commemorative observances; visits by national and international notables during 1963; and historical pamphlets now being written by professional historians for use by school students. Six pamphlets currently in preparation are: The Highland Scots in North Carolina, by Professor Duane Meyer of Southwest Missouri State College; Culpeper's Revolt, by Dr. Hugh F. Rankin of Tulane University; Indian Wars in North Carolina, by Dr. E. Lawrence Lee, Jr., of the Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina; The Proprietors of North Carolina, by Mr. William S. Powell, Librarian of the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library; Albemarle County, 1664-1689, by Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., East Carolina College; and Royal Governors of North Carolina, by Professor Blackwell P. Robinson, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. Three additional pamphlets will be commissioned at a later date. The Commission approved a budgetary request for 1963-1964 of \$54,821, Mr. Joel Fleishman, Legal Assistant to Governor Terry Sanford, was guest speaker at the luncheon. Speaking in behalf of the Governor, who could not be present, he challenged the Commission with the monumental task of "building a bridge between the history of our State to the people of North Carolina today to make them more conscious of our proud heritage." He further stated that "there cannot be quality education in North Carolina until they are made fully aware of the origins of our State and our nation."

Mr. William C. Fields, well-known artist of Fayetteville, was recently

appointed a Commission member by Governor Sanford.

Two new committees have been established by the Commission as a result of its broadening activities. The Committee on Public Information Activities, headed by Mr. Henry Belk of Goldsboro, will act as a steering group for the Public Information Program; and the Committee on Tourist Activities, with Mr. Dan M. Paul of Raleigh as chairman, will work with the North Carolina Travel Council and other travel agencies in encouraging tourist travel in the State during the Tercentenary year. Plans have been made for a travel workshop to be held in April and May to acquaint agencies and others interested in tourist trade with Tercentenary plans and opportunities in 1963.

The literary sub-committee, a part of the Committee on the Arts, recently announced a \$3,000 literary contest which should be of particular interest to all North Carolina authors and writers. This contest is open to all who have maintained either legal or actual physical residence in the State for a total period of three years. Each entry must be an original published work concerned with North Carolina history prior to the American Revolution. All entries and inquiries should be mailed to Box 1881, Raleigh.

There were five additions to the present staff during the last quarter. Mr. Robert C. Page, III, of Charlotte joined the staff as Public Information Officer. He was formerly associated with the *Charlotte Observer*, WIS-TV in Columbia, South Carolina, and WBTV in Charlotte. Working with Mr. Page as his secretary is Mrs. Billie Couch. Mrs. Grace Hale, formerly of Rocky Mount, is now employed as General Phillips' secretary. Two part-time stenographers have been added to the Colonial Records staff: Mrs. Audrey Piner and Mrs. Carol Teachout.

Director's Office

On December 12 the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial Commission adopted plans for the landscaping of the site which were prepared by Mr. Richard C. Bell, landscape architect of Raleigh, Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Superintendent of Historic Sites, and Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department. Dr. Crittenden announces that, as a result of action taken in December, the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation has granted \$7,000 to the Department of Archives and History for the restoration of the Birthplace of Wake Forest College in Wake Forest. The grant was made available "provided sufficient funds are received from other sources to complete this restoration." The Department has worked closely with the Wake Forest College Birthplace Society in attempting to preserve this historic building, familiarly known as the Calvin Jones House. On January 15 the Executive Board of the Roanoke Island Historical Association met in Raleigh and elected Mr. Edgar Thomas of Chapel Hill as Business Manager of "The Lost Colony," historical outdoor drama. Mr. Thomas was formerly connected with the Alumni Office of the University of North

Carolina. Mrs. Fred W. Morrison of Kill Devil Hills and Washington, D. C., is chairman of the Association and Mrs. Burwell A. Evans of Manteo is Secretary. On January 19 Dr. Crittenden attended the meeting in Chapel Hill of the Advisory Editorial Board of the Colonial Records project of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission. He was present for the luncheon meeting and the opening of a special exhibit at the Greensboro Historical Museum on January 25. He met on February 6 with members of the Executive Committee of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association and representatives of a number of other cultural societies to discuss plans for the annual Culture Week to be held in December, 1962. On February 14 the Raleigh Historic Sites Commission held its organizational meeting. The program of the Commission, its plans, and its projects were discussed. Previously appointed as members were Mrs. Edward Waugh, Chairman; Mr. William Henley Deitrick, Vice-Chairman; Miss Beth G. Crabtree, Secretary; Mr. Armistead J. Maupin, Treasurer; Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Consultant; Mrs. Raymond L. Murray, Mrs. Bruce R. Carter, Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Mr. Henry D. Haywood, Mr. Edwin Preston, Jr., and Mr. Jonathan Daniels. This group is expected to work closely with the City Planning Commission and to serve in an advisory capacity to the City Council. Meetings will be held the first Tuesday of each month.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist and Treasurer of the Society of American Archivists, and Mr. T. W. Mitchell, Assistant State Archivist and Chairman of the Society's Nominating Committee, met with members of the Council of that organization in Washington, D. C., December 27-29, in conjunction with the meetings of the American Historical Association. On December 11-15 Mr. Jones attended conferences in Dover, Delaware, and Washington, D. C., and on January 31-February 2 he represented the Society of American Archivists at the meeting in Chicago of the Survey and Standards Committee of the Survey of Library Functions of the States.

Mr. Francis J. Fallon, Secretary General of the National Archives of Argentina, visited the Department on December 5 and discussed archival

problems and practices.

In the Archives Section almost 600 persons registered for research during the quarter ending December 31, and 654 persons were given information by mail. These figures do not include visitors and inquiries handled directly by the staff without reference to the Search Room. The following numbers of copies were furnished during the same period: 639 photocopies; 25 paper prints from microfilm; 68 typed certified copies; and 25 feet of negative microfilm.

Significant records accessioned recently include the official papers of Governor Luther H. Hodges for the year 1960. Work has been completed on processing the records of the office of State Comptroller and State Treasurer from the colonial period through the nineteenth century.

The Local Records Section completed arranging 110 boxes of Hyde County estates, court and miscellaneous papers, and 58 boxes of Forsyth County estates and guardian papers. These are now available to researchers visiting the Department. Work continues on the arrangement of Bertie, Chowan, and colonial court papers.

Records have been received from Northampton and Alamance counties. From the former 24 volumes and 96 cubic feet of court and estates records, deeds, dowers, and miscellaneous material were received, and from the

latter 20 volumes of court and estates records were received.

The security microfilming of permanently valuable records continues with camera crews now working in Johnston and Duplin counties. Anson

County is next on the schedule.

The Advisory Committee on County Records, established by the Director on December 7, met in the Department on January 9 and is engaged in the revision of The County Records Manual, published by the Department in 1960. Membership on the Committee includes: Mr. W. E. Church, Clerk of Superior Court, Forsyth County; Mr. P. W. Davenport, Assistant Tax Collector, Mecklenburg County and City of Charlotte; Mr. G. K. Eubank, Auditor-County Accountant, Onslow County; Mr. R. G. Hall, Jr., Assistant Director, Institute of Government, and Secretary, North Carolina Association of Clerks of Superior Court; Mr. L. R. Johnson, Register of Deeds, Chatham County; Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist; Mr. H. W. Lewis, Assistant Director, Institute of Government, and Secretary, North Carolina Association of City and County Tax Collectors; Mr. A. M. Markham, Assistant Director, Institute of Government, and Secretary, North Carolina Association of Registers of Deeds; Mr. D. M. McLelland, Clerk of Superior Court, Alamance County; Mr. J. R. Nipper, Clerk of Superior Court, Wake County; Rear Admiral A. M. Patterson, Assistant State Archivist (Local Records); Mr. F. G. Perry, Tax Supervisor, Forsyth County; and Mrs. Christine W. Williams, Register of Deeds, Duplin County.

In the State Records Management Section, the expanded program was inaugurated in January with the support of Governor Terry Sanford and Mr. Hugh Cannon, Director of the State Department of Administration.

On January 24 Governor Sanford in a letter to all agency heads called attention to the expanded records management program administered by the Department in accordance with legislation enacted by the General Assembly in 1961. The Governor noted that the initial emphasis of the program would be the completion of the inventories and schedules of all State records. As a guide to achieve this goal, the Department issued a Records Management Handbook: Records Disposition late in January. This 21-page offset publication was prepared by Mr. T. W. Mitchell, Assistant State Archivist for State Records, and staff members. A meeting of all agency Records Officers was held on February 14 at which the over-all records management program was discussed as were the steps that are necessary to complete the scheduling phase. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department; Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist; and Mr.

Hugh Cannon, Director of the State Department of Administration, participated in the discussion along with Mr. Mitchell.

Inventorying and scheduling activities were devoted principally to major revisions of the Department of Public Instruction and Board of Education schedules during the period ending February 15. The schedule for the Teachers' and State Employees' Retirement System was being revised also. Amendments to the Motor Vehicles, Department of Labor, Department of Archives and History, State Highway Commission, and Probation Commission schedules have also recently been adopted.

In the State Records Center, 1,510 cubic feet of records were accessioned and 1,274 cubic feet were disposed of, resulting in a net gain of 236 cubic feet. Agency representatives visited the Center 195 times to use records; and the Center staff handled 400 reference requests for 16 agencies. Plans have been prepared to increase the capacity of the Records Center by 12,400 cubic feet through additional shelving.

The Microfilm Project filmed 207 reels of microfilm during the quarter ending December 31, with a total of 983,493 images. An unusually large amount of time was spent in preparing material for filming.

Mr. Alexander R. Tuten joined the staff of the State Records Manage-

ment Section on February 1, 1962.

A twelve-page brochure, North Carolina Newspapers on Microfilm: A Checklist of Early North Carolina Newspapers Available on Microfilm from the State Department of Archives and History, has been released and is available from the State Archivist, P. O. Box 1881, Raleigh, for twenty-five cents per copy. The checklist contains a descriptive list of issues available for all titles completed prior to February 15, 1962. More than 100 titles are included. Supplemental lists will be published from time to time.

Division of Historic Sites

Mr. Frank Walsh, formerly with the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, has been appointed as Exhibits Designer of the Division of Historic Sites, effective April 1. Bid opening on the Town Creek Museum-Visitor Center was held on January 11 in the office of Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Superintendent of the Division of Historic Sites. Contracts have been awarded to low bidders as follows: General, J. V. Barger and Company, Mooresville; Electrical, Winecoff Electric Company, Albemarle; Heating, Scholl Plumbing and Heating, Rockingham; and Plumbing, Clyde Whitley, Albemarle. The building is expected to be completed this spring. Mr. Tarlton attended a meeting of the North Carolina Travel Council in Charlotte on February 3, and on February 10 he spoke briefly on Civil War historic sites at the Confederate Centennial Workshop and attended a meeting of the Raleigh Historic Sites Commission. He spoke on February 15 to the Mecklenburg County Committee, Colonial Dames, on historic sites in North Carolina. On February 27 Mr. Tarlton spoke to the Watauga Club in Raleigh, and during the month of February he visited the Arcadia Community in Davidson County and inspected an early log schoolhouse and reported his findings to the local people. If it is decided to restore this building, the Division will serve in an advisory capacity.

The Division has reactivated its Historical Highway Marker Program and on February 1 Mr. Richard Iobst transferred from the Confederate Centennial Commission to the Division to conduct the marker program. He will continue to serve as historical adviser to the commemorative commissions. On February 6 he spoke to the Swansboro Historical Commission on a Confederate fort located nearby and other aspects of the Civil War in the area. He spoke on February 8 at ceremonies commemorating the 1862 Battle of Roanoke Island, and on February 16 he visited New Bern and Swansboro in connection with the marker program. Mr. Iobst has prepared an information sheet concerning the new program and a policy outline is awaiting completion.

Miss Nan Pattullo, Edinburgh, Scotland, a professional lecturer, photographed the interior of the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace State Historic Site on February 5 for inclusion in a group of color slides made during her current tour of the United States under the auspices of the English-Speaking Union. It is expected that she will show the slides to audiences on her return to the United Kingdom. Col. Paul A. Rockwell, immediate past president of the Western North Carolina Historical Association, accompanied Miss Pattullo to the site. Mr. Robert O. Conway, Site Specialist at the Vance Birthplace, has spoken recently on the historic sites program to the following groups: the Biltmore Kiwanis Club, Rhododendron Club, and the Wilshire Park Community Club, From February 4 to 10 he presented seven programs in the Asheville and Buncombe County schools, the first in a series of programs to be given also to schools in other counties of the mountain area. The Vance Birthplace attracted 4,501 counted visitors in 1961.

Specific invitations have been extended to school classes of North Carolina history to arrange visits to Alamance Battleground State Historic Site as a part of their customary annual tours of the State capital and other places of interest. Mr. Walter R. Wootten, Historic Site Specialist at the Battleground, states that the educational program at the site has been completed and includes a slide-lecture, distribution of literature on the State's historic sites, special exhibits, and a tour of the battlefield. Mr. Wootten has been appointed to represent Alamance County on the Travel and Recreation Committee of the Northern Piedmont Development Association, an organization which has as one of its objectives to publicize the Alamance Battleground site as a tourist attraction.

Museum construction is underway at Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site with the J. V. Barger Construction Company handling the general contract. Initial planning for exhibits for the new museum has been undertaken by Mr. Bennie C. Keel, Archeologist in charge, and Dr. Joffre L. Coe of the University of North Carolina. The plans will be turned over to the new Exhibits Designer, Mr. Frank Walsh, for execution. It is hoped that the exhibits will be completely installed by October. During January Mr. Keel spoke to the Troy Parent-Teachers Association and to

the men of the Albemarle Lutheran Church on phases of the work at Town Creek. He has worked closely with the Order of the Arrow, Boy Scouts of America Council for Anson, Montgomery, Richmond, and Stanly counties in the preparation of a new lodge focused on the culture of the Town Creek inhabitants. In December two test excavations were made in one of the major village sites on the Indians who lived in the Pee Dee basin, using the Town Creek Mound as their political and ceremonial center. Investigation of this site and others similar are needed for a better understanding of the daily life of these people. Plans have been made for two television presentations in the early spring. Mr. Lee Kinard of WFMY-TV of Greensboro will return to the site and focus one program on the restored mortuary and the second show, entitled "Indians of the North Carolina Piedmont," will be filmed in Charlotte as a part of the Charlotte. Children's Nature Museum series produced by WSOC-TV of Charlotte. Paving of the access road to the site is scheduled for April.

The restoration of the exterior of the old one-room schoolhouse recently purchased and moved to the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site by the Charles B. Aycock Memorial Commission has been completed by the E. F. Taylor Company of Goldsboro. Work included a new wooden shingle roof, a new chimney, replacing weatherboarding, and new doors and windows made by Langdon Woodworks of Dunn. The schoolhouse when completed will serve as an educational exhibit and as an assembly room for visitors to the site. Ten old two-seated type desks were presented to the site by the Pitt County Board of Education. Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., Historic Site Specialist in charge of the Aycock Birthplace, and other workers have removed the paint from the desks, washed the walls and ceiling and repainted them, and installed wooden blackboards (three of which are original) to reproduce the identical appearance of the interior. Mr. Sawyer made trips to Kenly, Elm City, Winterville, and New Hill to locate additional desks and other furnishings. Two desks were found and completion of the schoolhouse is slated for late spring. On February 8 Mr. Sawyer met in Fayetteville with Mr. Mason Hicks, architect for the Aycock Museum-Visitor Center. Construction of the center will begin in the early summer. The Fremont Garden Club has again presented the site with flower bulbs which have been planted at the sign on Highway 117 and at the entrance road to the site.

Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist in charge of the Brunswick Town State Historic Site, recently uncovered the palisade wall posts during excavations at Fort Fisher. He has also prepared a report on the ceramics from the ruins of Brunswick Town. He has prepared reports on the following excavations: the George Hooper House in Wilmington, the Ringware House in Swansboro, and an Indian mound near Brunswick Town. He has completed reports on "Nath Moore's front," the John Fergus House, the Hepburn-Reonaldi House, and the Roger Moore House in Brunswick. Work continues on clearing the ruins around Brunswick Pond, and some of the ruins of the James Espy outbuildings have been located. Mr. South has been working with the North Carolina Garden Clubs Council on the pro-

posed restoration of the formal garden of Judge Maurice Moore in Brunswick. He gave talks to the Defiance Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Wilmington and to a number of Boy Scout troops and school groups during the quarter ending March 31.

Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., Historic Site Specialist at Fort Fisher, reports that during recent excavations of a section of the palisade fence (originally nine-feet high, sharpened logs with a three-foot sand embankment behind), about two feet of the old pine logs were found to be well preserved. A portion has been left exposed and another portion reconstructed as an outdoor display at the site. Battery Buchanan has been cleared and picnic tables have been placed there for visitors. On January 7 Mr. Honeycutt spoke briefly on Fort Fisher at the district meeting of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Carolina Beach and on January 24 he attended the Fort Fisher-Southport ferry hearing before members of the State Highway Commission in Southport, where he talked briefly on the importance of the Fort Fisher site in development of the area. He attended the January 29 meeting of the Lower Cape Fear Archaeological Society at Wilmington College and on February 1 attended a meeting of the Wilmington Merchants Association to assist in planning a tour-a-rama of the Wilmington area to be held in late March. The George Davis Chapter, Children of the Confederacy, on February 3 presented Mr. Honeycutt with a check for \$75 with which to buy flags for Fort Fisher. On February 12 Mr. Honeycutt spoke to the Carolina Beach Lions Club on Fort Fisher. A committee composed of Mrs. Alice Strickland, Mr. Glenn M. Tucker, Hon. Robert Calder, Mr. Mike Hall, Mr. John Williams, Mr. Frank Turner, Mr. Ray Brady, Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Dr. Christopher Crittenden, and Mr. Honeycutt met with Governor Terry Sanford on February 14 to request funds from the Contingency and Emergency Fund to purchase 12 acres of private property essential to the development of Fort Fisher. The acreage contains the remains of three well-preserved gun emplacements and mounds of land defense, the section of land defense to be reconstructed across the World War II airstrip, the permanent Museum-Visitor Center and parking area site, and access to the section of land defense now exhibited by the State. Since August, 1961, visitors have parked at the end of an active airstrip and have walked three-tenths of a mile to the State property. On February 19 Mr. Honeycutt attended the meeting of the New Hanover County Confederate Centennial Committee at which time plans were made for a May 10 Confederate Memorial Day Service to be held at Fort Fisher. The Museum-Pavilion will be dedicated at the same time. On February 21 he attended the sixteenth annual Southeastern North Carolina Beach Association banquet held in Wilmington.

Mr. Nicholas B. Bragg, Historic Site Specialist for the Bentonville Battleground and Bennett Place State Historic Sites, represented the Department in Rocky Mount on November 14 at the organizational meeting of the Nash County Historical Society. He assisted during recent months with the development of the Averasboro Battleground Site, making a preliminary survey and later presenting a master plan to the Chicora

Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy as a guide. On November 28 he spoke to the Bentonville Battleground-Harper House Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, on "North Carolina in the Civil War—1865," and on December 5 he installed a temporary display at the Bennett Place in preparation for the open house on December 10. In the December 23 issue of The Raleigh Times, Mr. Bragg had an article, "Johnston vs. Sherman in the Battle of Bentonville." On January 23 he gave a slide-lecture on the Civil War in North Carolina in 1865 to students at the Seymour Johnson Junior High School, Goldsboro, and gave the same program on February 2 to two twelfth grade history classes at Needham Broughton High School, Raleigh. He repeated this lecture on February 15 to the Benson Kiwanis Club. He spoke on "The Importance of Bentonville" to the Wake County Committee of the Battleground Advisory Committee at Balentine's Restaurant on January 25 and on January ary 29 he had a topographical survey done of the Bennett Place in order to facilitate future development. The fund-raising drive under the auspices of the Bentonville Battleground Advisory Committee was begun on February 6 with a donation from Governor Terry Sanford. The campaign is concentrated primarily in Wake, Johnston, Wayne, Harnett, and Sampson counties. Recent improvements at the site include the painting of the Harper House with the original colors—white with dark green trim and apple green ceilings on the porches. Plans for the Museum-Visitor Center, to be built with funds raised by the Advisory Committee, are being prepared by Ingram and Johnson, Architects, of Charlotte. A topographical survey of the site has been made to aid in planning construction of the museum.

Mr. Max F. Harris, on special assignment with the Division of Historic Sites to investigate the problem of Andrew Jackson's birthplace—whether in present-day Union County, North Carolina, or in present-day Lancaster County, South Carolina—has been preparing a preliminary report after utilizing the available primary and secondary sources in the State Archives and the Southern Historical and North Carolina collections at the University. Jackson said that he had been told he was born in South Carolina and referred to that State as his "native state." North Carolina's claim is substantiated by a number of affidavits dated around 1858. The two sites in dispute—the loghouse of George McCamie and the home of James Crawford, uncles of Jackson—are both in the Waxhaws less than two miles apart. Mr. Harris is interested in receiving information from primary sources relating to this problem and may be contacted at Box 1881, Raleigh.

Division of Museums

On December 1 the Victorian Christmas Exhibit was opened to the public in the Hall of History. It consisted of a Victorian parlor, occupied by a family, overlooking a street scene of the early 1900's.

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator, spoke to the Daughters of the American Revolution on November 27 in Lenoir on "Colonial Silver and Silversmiths." On the same date she spoke to the Caldwell County

Historical Society on organizing a small museum. On December 14 Mrs. Frances Ashford, Education Curator of the Division, gave a talk on "Early Christmases in North Carolina" to a group of students from the Josephus Daniels Junior High School in Raleigh. Mrs. Jordan, Mrs. Madlin Futrell, Photographer, and Mr. Robert Mayo, Exhibits Designer, were in Kinston on December 18 to photograph artifacts from the Ram "Neuse" and to advise local persons on their care. On January 9 Mrs. Jordan presented a slide-lecture on the Tryon Palace restoration to the Country Clods Garden Club and gave the same lecture to the Reviewers Book Club on January 23. Both clubs are in Raleigh. Mrs. Sue Todd, Mrs. Bonnie Walker, and Mrs. Futrell were in Weaverville January 21-25 to accession and photograph items at the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace. On January 25 Mrs. Jordan attended the Council meeting of the American Association of Museums in Washington, D. C. From January 30 through February 1 Mrs. Jordan, Mrs. Todd, Mr. Mayo, and Mr. John Ellington, Exhibits Curator, were in Charlotte for the opening of the new regional Allstate insurance Building. At the opening a new Civil War medical exhibit, designed and built by Mr. Mayo and Mr. Ellington, was presented to the State of North Carolina by Allstate. In this connection, a booklet, Civil War Medicine and Home Remedies, written by Mrs. Jordan, was distribited. During the stay in Charlotte this group inspected a number of artiacts to determine whether or not their purchase was feasible. The Hall of History presented on February 2 a lingerie fashion show, "Then and Now," o the wives attending the Engineers Convention in Raleigh. On Febuary 9 Mrs. Jordan was in Goldsboro to assist a group of citizens planning Wayne County museum, Mrs. Jordan and several members of the staff of the Hall of History participated in the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission Workshop on February 10. Mrs. Ashford and Mrs. Jordan were in Creedmoor to work with Granville County teachers and students in organizing Junior Historian associations. At present there are 60 active clubs in the State for whom two magazines have been pubished and distributed for their use as well as a "how to" projects manual or teachers.

Division of Publications

The Division of Publications has continued to publicize its program, and he efforts have resulted in increased sales. During the quarter October 1 hrough December 31, 1961, receipts from the sale of publications totaled 35,889.62. Distributed during this period were 43 documentary volumes, 85 small books, 1,040 governors' letter books, and 22,592 pamphlets, maps, harts, and brochures. During the same period there were 49 new subcriptions and 454 renewals to The North Carolina Historical Review.

The successful sale of sets of The Review is being extended to accomnodate those who failed to send their orders in before March 31. Through February 14 a total of 89 sets had been sold; in addition, numbers of beople bought separate volumes to complete their sets. At \$25, The Reviewas been in demand, despite the fact that several issue are out of print. Numbers of persons and agencies have taken advantage of the sale and

ater subscribed.

The change in format of *The North Carolina Historical Review* has met with an unexpected amount of favorable comment. Numbers of letters and telephone calls, as well as visits to the Division, have indicated that the changes were approved by subscribers and other readers of the quarterly.

Because of continued demand for Dr. A. R. Newsome's two-part article, "Records of Emigrants from England and Scotland to North Carolina, 1774-1775," first published in the January and April, 1934, issues of *The North Carolina Historical Review*, the study has been reissued in pamphlet form. A copy may be purchased from the Division of Publications for twenty-five cents.

Mrs. Betsy J. Gunter, Editorial Assistant I, resigned as of January 31

and was replaced by Mrs. Mary A. Holloway on February 19.

The R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company donated \$500 to be used in the publication of a brief study of the history of the tobacco industry in North Carolina. Mr. Jerome E. Brooks, author of *The Mighty Leaf*, has agreed to write the pamphlet as an addition to the series designed for school children. Pamphlets on North Carolina's role in the Spanish-American War, the War of 1812, World War I, and World War II are in the process of being written. Other subjects to be included in the Division's pamphlet series are North Carolina's signers of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, gold mining in the State, a history of the furniture industry, a history of the textile industry, ante-bellum transportation, ante-bellum agriculture, a history of colleges and universities in North Carolina, and a history of literature in the State, all of which are being prepared at present.

A grant of \$15,000 from the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation will permit the publication of two additional volumes in the series, *The Records of the Moravians*. The editing is being done by Dr. Minnie J. Smith. Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Editor, went to Winston-Salem on March 1 to confer with representatives of the Moravian Archives concerning the publication of these volumes. Plans were made to publicize the fact that Volume VIII of *The Records* is still available for \$3.00 from the State Department of

Archives and History.

Editors are now working on the papers of the Pettigrew family and Governors Ellis, Jarvis, and Glenn. The second volume of the Hodges Letter Book and the fourth volume of the *Papers of William A. Graham* should be available within the next few months.

Mrs. Blackwelder spoke to a class at Meredith College on January 16 and to the Wake County Committee, Colonial Dames, on January 18; she participated in a panel on publications at the Confederate Centennial Workshop on February 10. Mrs. Blackwelder attended the luncheon meeting of the Greensboro Historical Museum members in Greensboro on January 25. She was recently appointed chairman of the committee on local historical societies of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

The following members of the Department of History of the University of North Carolina presented papers at the seventy-sixth annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington, D. C., December 28-30: Dr. Fletcher M. Green, "Johnny Reb Could Read"; Dr. Stephen B. Baxter, "William III: The Professional Soldier in a Civilian Society"; and Dr. Henry C. Boren, "Social Justice in the Roman Republic." Dr. James E. King was Discussant at the session, "England and France in the Seventeenth Century."

Dr. Burton F. Beers of the Department of History and Political Science, North Carolina State College, read a paper, "China and Japan through American Eyes," at the first Southeastern Regional Conference on Asia held at Duke University, Durham, on January 27. Dr. Beers had an article, "Robert Lansing and His Policy toward Japan," translated into Japanese with notes on Japanese views of Lansing by Akira Iriye for publication in Kokusai Seiji (no. 1, 1961). He is the author of Vain Endeavor: Robert Lansing's Attempts to End the American-Japanese Rivalry published early this year by the Duke University Press. Mr. Sheldon F. Koesy and Mr. Frederic S. LeClercq joined the faculty, effective February 5, as part-time Instructors. Dr. Preston W. Edsall, Head of the Department, was elected in November, 1961, as President of the North Carolina Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration.

Dr. Henry S. Stroupe, Head of the Department of History of Wake Forest College, announces that Dr. Ottis C. Skipper, Professor of History, Mississippi State College for Women, will be visiting Professor of History at Wake Forest College during the Summer Session of 1962. Dr. Balkrishna G. Gokhale spoke on "The Western Impact on the Indian Caste System" at the Miami, Florida, meeting of the Southern Regional Meeting of the American Sociological Association. He is the author of an article, "India, America and Cornwallis," published in the Journal of Indian History, XXXIX (1961). Dr. Gokhale's book, Indian Thought through the Ages, was published by Asia Publishing House late in 1961. Dr. David L. Smiley's book, The Lion of White Hall: The Life of Cassius M. Clay, was published in January by the University of Wisconsin Press. Dr. Smiley was on leave for the winter semester and taught at the University of Wisconsin.

Dr. Donald G. Gillin, a specialist in Chinese history, was recently assigned the Far East Courses in the Department of History at Duke University and Dr. Charles Young has been assigned to conduct a senior-graduate course on Europe during the Middle Ages (395-1500). The Department has been accorded an endowed William K. Boyd Professorship, which is to be awarded to an outstanding historian not currently a member of the Department. The new chair has not yet been filled. Dr. Alfred P. Tischendorf and Dr. J. Fred Rippy co-authored an article, "The San José Conference of American Foreign Ministers," which was published in *Inter-American*

Economic Affairs (Winter, 1961). Mrs. Anne Scott, Visiting Professor, had an article, "Saint Jane and the Ward Boss," in American Heritage (December, 1961). Dr. Frederic B. M. Hollyday is editing for publication the posthumous volume of E. Malcolm Carroll, The Western Powers and Soviet Russia, 1917-21.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL

Mr. Manly Wade Wellman of Chapel Hill spoke at the November 22 meeting of the Moore County Historical Society. Mr. Wellman is writing the second volume of the history of Moore County which is scheduled for publication late in 1962. Mr. John A. McPhaul, Treasurer, gave a report. On January 30 Mr. Edmund Harding of Washington spoke to the same group in Southern Pines. Approximately 100 guests and members were present for the meeting and the social hour which followed at Shaw House in honor of Mr. Harding. Mr. Norris L. Hodgkins is President of the Society and presided at both meetings.

The Union County Historical Society met November 30, 1961, and reelected Mr. S. Glenn Hawfield President for 1961-1962 and Mr. W. R. Bogan President for 1962-1963. Other officers elected to serve two years were Mr. E. H. Broome, Vice-President; Mrs. J. Conley Baucom, Secretary; and Mr. Claude Eubanks, Treasurer. The Society, which was organized five years ago, has as one of its projects the restoration of the George McCamie cabin site where some historians have stated that Andrew Jackson was born.

The Wayne County Historical Society met December 7 with Mr. Stanley A. South as principal speaker. Mr. R. L. Cox of Mt. Olive, President, presided. It was announced that the new Wayne County history by Mrs. Eleanor B. Powell will be published in 1962. Advance orders at \$10.00 per copy may be placed with Mr. B. G. Stowe, 318 E. Mulberry Street, Goldsboro.

The Christ Church Rectory in Raleigh has been officially recognized by the United States Department of the Interior as a historic building. The certificate, received by the Reverend B. B. Sapp, Rector, was signed by Mr. Robert E. Smith, Chief Architect, and Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall. Originally housing the North Carolina State Bank, the building dates from about 1818 and was converted into a rectory in 1873. Drawings used to obtain official recognition are on file at the Library of Congress and the North Carolina State College School of Design. They were done by Mr. J. M. Peterson, Mr. I. M. Zubizarreta, and Mr. Charles H. Kahn.

The Catawba County Historical Association met on December 9 in Newton with Mr. J. Weston Clinard of Hickory as principal speaker. The group met again in January with Mr. Tom Warlick, Mr. Paul Wagner, liss Gladys Moody, and Mrs. Ray Setzer participating on the program. Irs. J. M. Ballard, President, presided at both meetings and announced the availability of reprints of the old Lincoln County marriage bonds 1769-1867). Mrs. James Nowell of Newton presented a song to the atawba Association at a meeting on February 10. The song was written by Howard Earnshaw, father of Mrs. Nowell, who retired to Newton after the erving as conductor of the Pittsfield, Massachusetts, Symphony. It is a ribute to North Carolina, his adopted State. Mr. Neal Wilfong read a saper on pottery making in Catawba County.

Mr. T. W. Ferguson read a paper on the Civil War at the January 15 eeting of the Wilkes County Historical Society.

The Wake County Historical Society met on December 20, 1961, to hear eneral John D. F. Phillips discuss the program of the Carolina Charter ercentenary Commission. Senator John R. Jordan, Jr., President, conacted the business session. New officers elected were Dr. A. M. Fountain, resident; Mrs. J. Bourke Bilisoly, Vice President; Mrs. Memory F. Blackelder, Secretary; and Mr. Richard Seawell, Treasurer.

The Burke County Historical Society met January 16 in Morganton with resident William A. Leslie presiding and Mrs. Paul Smith and Mrs. ubert Rutherford making the principal speeches. New officers are Mr. W. tanley Moore, President; Dr. Robert Pascal, Mrs. Walter W. White, and Ir. Samuel J. Ervin, III, all Vice-Presidents; Mrs. Finley W. Davis, Secretry; and Mrs. John I. Barrow, Treasurer.

At the December meeting of the Gaston County Historical Society in astonia Mr. W. T. Robinson of Cherryville was elected President and Irs. Paul C. Jones of Belmont was elected Treasurer. Other officers have nother year to serve. Mr. William M. Craig gave a slide-lecture on injustries in Gaston County. Forty members attended. The Society met on ebruary 2 in Dallas with Mrs. Carrie Puett Lewis as principal speaker. he talked on Dallas in the 1880's.

Trustees of the Cherokee Historical Association named Mr. Carol White, lanager (for a five-and-one-half-year period) of "Unto These Hills," and wo other attractions for the coming season. A report showed 1961 income rom the drama was down \$4,054 from 1960. The schedule for 1962 is: adian Museum—open March 1 to December 1; Oconaluftee Indian illage—open from May 15 through Labor Day (September 3); and "Unto hese Hills"—performed from June 26 through September 2. The nine-tenth National Congress of the American Indians met in Cherokee September 2-4, 1961, according to Chief O. B. Saunooke—the first time this congress ever met east of the Mississippi River. More than 400 Indians attended the sessions planned by both the Tribal Council and the Cherokee distorical Association as "Cherokee is looked upon as the model Reservation in the Nation."

A paper on Merriman Township history was read by Mrs. F. C. Salisbury when the Carteret County Historical Society met at the Webb Civic Center in Morehead City on January 27. Mr. F. C. Salisbury, President, conducted the business meeting and paid tribute to Miss Amy Muse who recently moved to Charlotte. She has served as Curator for the Society for a number of years.

The Brunswick County Historical Society met in the Parish House of St. Philips Episcopal Church in Southport on January 23 with Mrs. M. H. Rourk, President, presiding. The group voted to increase the number of meetings from four to six yearly (second Monday of every other month beginning with January). Mr. R. V. Asbury spoke briefly and members attending discussed ways to celebrate the Tercentenary of the Carolina Charter in Brunswick County.

The Western North Carolina Historical Association met on January 27 at Asheville-Biltmore College where they were greeted by Dr. Glenn Bushey, President, and led on a tour of the College. Mr. Weimar Jones, Editor of the Franklin News, made a talk and Col. Paul A. Rockwell spoke on "Sidelights of the Civil War in North Carolina."

The Rockingham County Historical Society met February 27 at the Williamsburg School. Mr. Allen Lewis, President, presided. The program was based on the Civil War and members visited the Civil War exhibit at the school.

The Rowan Museum News Letter for January, 1962, had articles on the Old Stone House, the membership drive, the registration room at the Museum, and letters from school children who have been visitors. Mrs. Gettys Guille is Director of the Rowan Museum.

The February, 1962, issue of the Lower Cape Fear Historical Society Inc., Bulletin contains a message from President R. Jack Davis; announcement of the February 14 meeting at which Mr. David Stick of Colington Island spoke on "Coastal North Carolina"; an article, "Nineteenth Century Wall Painting in North Carolina," by Mr. Ben F. Williams of the North Carolina Museum of Art; and a reprinting of "Mrs. Whistler's Letters, 1853-1877."

The News Bulletin of the Moravian Music Foundation for the fall, 1961, noted the receipt of the merit award of the American Association for State and Local History by the Foundation, announced new members of the Board of Trustees, and cited Mr. Irving Lowens of the Library of Congress as winner of the first Moramus Award for distinguished service in the field of American Music. The Foundation is presently conducting its annual Friends of the Moravian Music Foundation membership drive.

Officers elected on November 18 at the thirty-seventh annual meeting of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina are: Dr. Sturgis E. Leavitt, Chapel Hill, Governor of the North Carolina Society, Assistant General of the National Society; Mrs. W. O. Crotts of Charlotte, Secretary; Mrs. J. Frazier Glenn of Asheville, Treasurer; and Mrs. William T. Powell of High Point, Deputy Governor. The Society voted to present to Duke University a number of books donated to the Society by the late Burnham Standish Colburn. They will be cataloged as the Burnham Standish Colburn Collection of Mayflower Books.

The National Park Service recently released figures showing that during the year 1961 there were 257,109 visitors to the Wright Brothers National Memorial at Kitty Hawk.

The Nash County Historical Society held its organizational meeting on February 12, 1962. Officers elected were Mr. L. S. Inscoe of Nashville, President; Mr. Byron Hilliard of Rocky Mount, Vice-President; and Mrs. Frank Thigpen of Rocky Mount, Secretary-Treasurer.

The Department recently received a brochure, written by Dick Gorrell and Bruce Roberts, on the U.S.S. "North Carolina." The history of the battleship is reviewed from the date Congress authorized the building of the ship on June 3, 1936, until she was brought to North Carolina in 1961. The profusely illustrated brochure also gives information on other ships which have borne the name "North Carolina." Copies are available for twenty-five cents each from the Heritage Printers, Inc., 501 West Fourth Street, Charlotte 2, North Carolina.

On February 27 the Moores Creek Battleground Association and the Moores Creek Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, cosponsored the 186th anniversary celebration of the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge. More than 85 persons attended the program in the Visitor Center at the National Military Park. Principal speakers were General John D. F. Phillips, Executive Secretary of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission; Dr. William H. Wagoner, Superintendent of the New Hanover County Schools; and Mr. D. W. Lucas, President of the Pender County Historical Society. Also represented on the program were the Moores Creek, Rockfish, and Defiance Chapters of the Daughters of the Revolution; the local chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy; and the National Park Service. Mr. S. Michael Hubbell is Park Historian at Moores Creek.

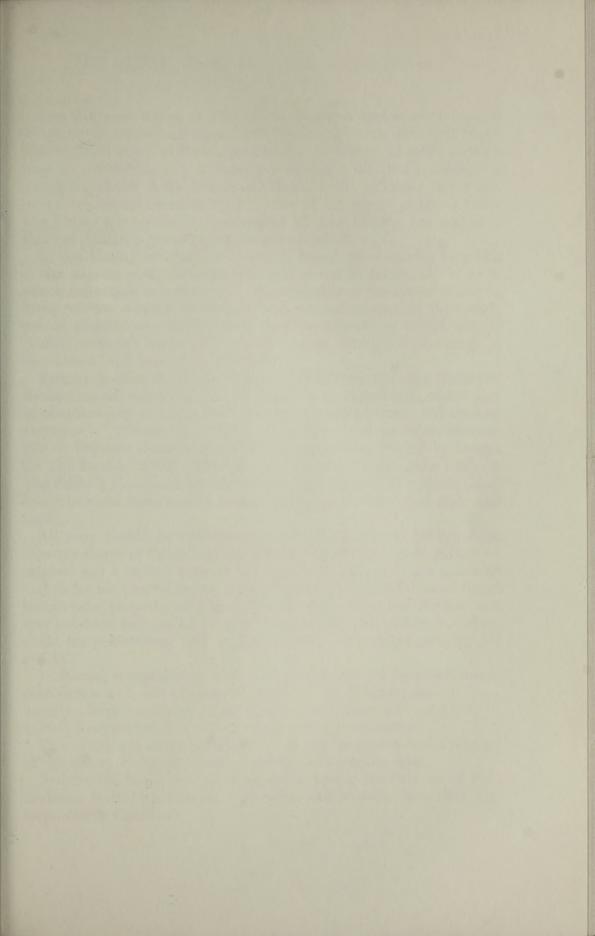
A new book, Wilmington, North Carolina, Historic Area: A Part of the Future Land-Use Plan, by John Voorhees and Jerry Turner, was issued in March. It may be ordered for \$2.00 per copy from the Division of Community Planning, Department of Conservation and Development, Raleigh. The book is the result of a project to incorporate historic houses and landmarks into a rapidly expanding community of modern design. There are

numerous photographs by Mr. Chiles Larson of the Division of Advertising and a number of drawings and plates from the files on historic architecture of the School of Design at North Carolina State College. Mr. Voorhees directed the project and prepared the text; Mr. Turner was responsible for the design and layout.

MISCELLANEOUS

The New-York Historical Society Quarterly, XLVI (January, 1962), published an article, "The Early Blockade and the Capture of the Hatteras Forts—from the Journal of John Sanford Barnes . . . 1861." Edited by John D. Hayes and Lillian O'Brien, the manuscript journal is a part of the Naval History Collection of the Society. There are numerous illustrations in the 26-page article and the first page of Barnes' journal is reproduced. Individual issues of The Quarterly may be purchased for \$.75 from The New-York Historical Society, 170 Central Park West, New York 24, N. Y.

A volume of essays, based on papers presented at the 1960 meeting of the Philosophical Society of Texas, has recently been received by the Department. The 126-page book, *Texas: Today and Tomorrow*, was edited by Herbert Gambrell, with a preface by the President of the Society, George C. McGhee. Essays entitled "The Heritage and Goals of Texas," "Educational Resources in Texas," "The Wealth of Texas," and "The Economy of Texas," were written by W. St. John Garwood, Harry H. Ranson, Allan Shivers, and E. B. Germany. Published for the Society by the Southern Methodist University Press in Dallas, the book is available for \$3.00.



THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW EDITORIAL POLICY

The Editorial Board of *The North Carolina Historical Review* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of North Carolina and adjacent States. Articles on the history of other sections may be submitted, and, if there are ties with North Carolinians or events significant in the history of this State, the Editorial Board will give them careful consideration. Articles on any aspect of North Carolina history are suitable subject-matter for *The Review*, but materials that are primarily genealogical are not accepted.

In considering articles, the Editorial Board gives careful attention to the sources used, the form followed in the footnotes, the style in which the article is written, and the originality of the material and its interpretation. Clarity of thought and general interest of the article are of importance, though these two considerations would not, of course, outweigh inadequate use of sources, incomplete coverage of

the subject, and inaccurate citations.

Persons desiring to submit articles for *The North Carolina Historical Review* should request a copy of *The Editor's Handbook*, which may be obtained free of charge from the Division of Publications of the Department of Archives and History. *The Handbook* contains information on footnote citations and other pertinent facts needed by writers for *The Review*. Each author should follow the suggestions made in *The Editor's Handbook* and should use back issues of *The North Carolina Historical Review* as a further guide to the accepted style and form.

All copy should be double-spaced; footnotes should be typed on separate sheets at the end of the article. The author should submit an original and a carbon copy of the article; he should retain a second carbon for his own reference. Articles accepted by the Editorial Board become the property of *The North Carolina Historical Review* and may not have been or be published elsewhere. The author should include his professional title in the covering letter accompanying his article.

Following acceptance of an article, publication will be scheduled in accordance with the established policy of the Editorial Board. Since usually a large backlog of material is on hand, there will ordinarily be a fairly long period between acceptance and publication.

The editors are also interested in receiving for review books relating

to the history of North Carolina and the surrounding area.

Articles and books for review should be sent to the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina.





The North Carolina Historical Review



Summer 1962

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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This review was established in January, 1924, as a medium of publication and discussion of history in North Carolina. It is issued to other institutions by exchange, but to the general public by subscription only. The regular price is \$3.00 per year. Members of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, Inc., for which the annual dues are \$5.00, receive this publication without further payment. Back numbers may be purchased at the regular price of \$3.00 per volume, or \$.75 per number. The review is published quarterly by the State Department of Archives and History, Education Building, Corner of Edenton and Salisbury Streets. Second class postage paid at Raleigh, North Carolina.

COVER—The photograph of a Ku Klux Klan uniform worn by one of the Klan in North Carolina in 1870 was furnished by the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, Buffalo, New York. For an article on the Ku Klux Klan, see pages 340-362.

7he North Carolina Historical Review

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RELIGIOUS TOLERATION AND POLITICS IN EARLY NORTH CAROLINA

By HASKELL MONROE *

Many studies have been made of the efforts of William Penn to use the promise of religious freedom as an attraction for settlers coming to the New World. Almost no work has been done on the similar attempt by the Lords Proprietors of Carolina to use the same promise to populate their grant of land which extended from Virginia to Spanish Florida. In an era marked by religious strife, they advertised their lands as a haven for dissenting and unchurched immigrants. Throughout the seventeenth century, toleration encouraged people of widely divergent beliefs to come to Carolina and share the benefits of land, liberty, and commerce. Only when religion became involved

in provincial politics did toleration cease.

Freedom in religious matters marked the life of the Carolina colonists through most of the seventeenth century. This came as a result of indifference, the economic ambitions of the Lords, and the sentiment of the times. Even the name Carolina is said to have been selected in the search for religious toleration. French Huguenots, fleeing Roman Catholic persecution in the sixteenth century, made an unsuccessful attempt to found a colony in the area which they named for King Charles IX of France. Later, the first English patent for the area granted by Charles I in 1629 to Robert Heath mentioned the king's pious desire . . . of enlarging the Christian religion of our Empire," but commanded the settlement only of those professing the "true religion." The grant of Carolina by Charles II in 1663 to eight Lords Proprietors also contained religious provisions. The new charter demonstrated that the Proprietors hoped toleration would aid the colony economically, but all "churches and chappels" were to be "dedicated according to the ecclesiastical laws of our kingdom of England." But

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¹Charles I Patent to Sir Robert Heath. William L. Saunders (ed.) The Colonial Records of North Carolina (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1895), I, 56, hereinafter cited as Saunders, Colonial Records; Edward McCrady, The History of South Carolina, 1670-1783 (New York: Macmillan Company, 4 volumes, 1897-1902), I, 45-49, hereinafter cited as McGrady, South Carolina.

the King ordered "indulgencies and dispensations" for those who might not agree with the Anglicans.2 A second charter in 1665 repeated most of the provisions of the first and promised freedom of conscience to

all persons.3

More important than the charters in determining the colony's policy concerning religion were the "Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina" drawn up by John Locke in 1669. Although they never went into effect, their theories were particularly significant in the southern portion of Carolina. Of 120 articles in the document, 15 dealt entirely with religion. Declaring that only the Church of England could receive public support, they did not assure the Dissenter his political rights and gave no legal protection to the unchurched. But the Constitutions proudly announced that no citizen would be disturbed because of his religion or method of worship and allowed any group of seven or more persons to form a congregation, provided they stated their terms of membership in writing. All Christians were ordered to show their faith so that "heathens, Jues, and other disenters from the purity of the Christian religion may not be scared." To enforce these provisions, Locke planned a Court of Chancery whose jurisdiction would extend to "all state matters, liberty of conscience, and all invasions of the public peace upon pretence of religion."4

The Proprietors hoped to attract their first settlers from Barbadoes, where the Church of England had always prevailed. Most Barbadians who came to Carolina were Anglicans, but the promise of greater toleration also drew Dissenters from the island. To please all sects, the Lords promised acceptance of those whose beliefs did not "actually disturbe the Civill peace" and forbade any legislation limiting liberty of conscience, for they believed "the persons that at present designe thither expect liberty of conscience and without that they will not

² Heath's patent had been voided by Charles II on August 12, 1663; "State of the Case of the Duke of Norfolk's Pretensions to Carolina," Saunders, Colonial Records, I, 35-36, 42-43; "First Charter of Carolina," March 24, 1663, Saunders, Colonial Records, I, 20-33.

ords, I, 20-33.

"Second Charter Granted by King Charles the Second, to the Proprietors of Carolina, Dated the Thirtieth Day of June, in the Seventeenth Year of His Reign, A. D. 1665," Saunders, Colonial Records, I, 102-114.

"William Warren Sweet, Religion in Colonial America (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942), 39, hereinafter cited as Sweet Religion in Colonial America; First Set of the Constitutions for the Government of Carolina, by John Locke, July 21, 1669, The Shaftesbury Papers, Volume V of The Collections of the South Carolina Society (Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 1897), 93-117, hereinafter cited as Shaftesbury Papers; Anne King Gregorie and J. N. Frierson (eds.), Records of the Court of Chancery of South Carolina, 1671-1779 (Washington: American Historical Association, 1950), 4, hereinafter cited as Gregorie and Frierson, Court of Chancery.

goe." ⁵ In their early grants in 1663, they emphasized this liberty of conscience for all "Free-Holders." But the Lords realized that these promises would not be enough for emigrants from New England, from where they hoped the major portion of the future Carolinians would come. Knowing the need of special treatment for these early Yankees who would not submit to the Church of England, they directed their appointed governor to "contrive all the good wayes you cann imagen to get those people to joyn with you." Soon, Carolina advertisements proclaimed liberty of conscience for all persons, "provided they behave themselves." 6

At first, the Lords paid little heed to the settlements already on their lands around Albemarle Sound, just south of Virginia, where a heterogeneous group had begun to farm the fertile Tidewater acres. Apparently indifferent to religion, most of them had come south from Virginia for land or escape. The Lords' first actions were to insure government according to the charter and their instructions to the Governor of Albemarle mentioned liberty of conscience as one of the primary rights of all. Later instructions indicated the presence of Quakers, for provisions allowed those people opposed to swearing oaths of office or allegiance to make their statements in writing. Such provisions led the advertisers of the Albemarle and Cape Fear areas to list as the first of the "privileges" of the inhabitants, "full and free liberty of conscience . . . to all." 8

Apparently the first minister to visit the Albemarle area was the diligent Quaker missionary, William Edmundson, who came in the winter of 1671-1672. Soon after entering Carolina, he met Quakers

^{**}Golina Wilson Manross, A History of the American Episcopal Church (New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1950), 88, hereinafter cited as Manross, A History of the American Episcopal Church; W. P. Cumming, "The Earliest Permanent Settlement in Carolina," The Johns Hopkins Press, 1892), 7-38, hereinafter cited as Salley, Shaftesbury Papers, 6; William Hilton's Relation, September 8, 1663, A. S. Salley, Jr. (ed.), Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), 59-61, hereinafter cited as Salley, Narratives; Lords Proprietors to Sir John Yeamans, January 11, 1664, Shaftesbury Papers, 51; unnamed advertisement for settlers in Carolina, 1666, Saunders, Colonial Records, I, 153-155.

*William Wilson Manross, A History of the American Episcopal Church (New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1950), 88, hereinafter cited as Manross, American Episcopal Church; W. P. Cumming, "The Earliest Permanent Settlement in Carolina," The American Historical Review, XLV (1939-1940), 82-89; Stephen B. Weeks, Religious Development in the Province of North Carolina (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1892), 7-38, hereinafter cited as Weeks, Religious Development.

*"Instructions for Our Governor of the County of Albemarle in the Province of Carolina," 1666, Saunders, Colonial Records, I, 165-175; Lords Proprietors to Governor of County of Albemarle, October, 1667, Saunders, Colonial Records, I, 162-164; "Coppy of Instruccons Annexed to ye Commission for ye Governor and Councell," July 27, 1669, Shaftesbury Papers, 119-123; "Instructions to the Governor and Councell of Albemarle," 1670, Saunders, Colonial Records, I, 181-182; "A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina . . . , 1666," Saunders, Colonial Records, I, 155-157.

who wept with joy for they had not "seen a Friend for seven years." Edmundson preached to a large number but was distressed by the lack of religion among his hearers, although they asked him to remain

and preach regularly.9

Not letting unchurched people go untended, the Quakers moved to convert the people of Albemarle. George Fox spent eighteen days in the area during the autumn of 1672. After his visit, he noted that folk of other creeds came to hear him and received him cordially. As for the people in general and the chances of successful missionary work among them, he believed they were "generally tender and open" and found even the Indians receptive to his message. Also, the governor of the section heard Fox and treated him "Loveingly" when the leader of the Friends held a "glorious and pretious meetinge" without difficulty.10

The journal of Edmundson's return trip to Albemarle in 1676 infers that the Friends were organized. After holding several meetings near Albemarle Sound, he wrote that "there was no room for the priests, for the Friends were finely settled." As he departed, he felt the success of Quaker efforts was secure.11 In 1680 and 1681, on the advice of Fox, these Friends began regular meetings. Although forming only a small percentage of the population, the importance of the Quakers caused the Proprietors to repeat the provision eliminating the swear-

ing of oaths on at least two occasions. 12

These Friends did sometimes suffer because of their faith, for in 1679, twenty-two from "the people of God in Scorne called Quakers" wrote to the Lords protesting the cruel treatment they had received in the rebellion two years earlier. Better times came for them when John Archdale, who had been converted after hearing Fox preach in England, became the temporary Governor of Albemarle in 1685-1686. His office gave prestige to the Quaker position, so that two missionaries

Weeks, Religious Development, 22-23; Extract from the Journal of William Edmundson, 1671-1672, Saunders, Colonial Records, I, 215-216.

Destract from the Journal of George Fox, September and October, 1672, Saunders, Colonial Records, I, 216-218; Norman Penney (ed.), The Journal of George Fox (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1892), II, 233-239; Weeks Religious Development, 24-27.

Extracts from the Journal of William Edmundson's Second Visit to Carolina," 1676, Saunders, Colonial Records, I, 226-227.

Allen C. Thomas and Richard H. Thomas, History of the Society of Friends in America (New York: Revell, 1894), 225-226, hereinafter cited as Thomas and Thomas, Society of Friends; Stephen B. Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1896), 42, 46-47, hereinafter cited as Weeks, Southern Quakers; "Instructions to John Hearvey, Esq., Precident and Councell of the County of Albemarle in the Province of Carolina," February 5, 1678, Saunders, Colonial Records, I, 235-239; "Instructions to Captain Henry Wilkinson, Governor . . .," 1681, Saunders, Colonial Records, 334-338; Weeks, Religious Development, 272.

in 1686 received official aid.13 Although a later missionary found only a "very rude senseless people," most of the preachers who visited the section in the last decade of the century found the Quakers organized and increasing in number. No other group in northern Carolina fared so well as the Quakers, and there was little genuine religious interest outside of the meetings of the Friends, although one of the charges against the rebel Thomas Miller in 1679 was that he "didst utter and declare . . . in speaking of the Sacram't of the Lds Supper . . . whats a

litle hogs wash putt in a piggs trough." 14

The Anglicans were slow in demonstrating any zeal in the lands along the Albemarle. They made no attempt to secure the tax support which the charter allowed them and in 1703, the Bishop of London learned that the section had been twenty-one years "without priest or altar." In 1699, Henderson Walker, a loyal churchman and responsible leader, became Governor of Albemarle and led an Anglican group which called for missionaries. Despite the first missionary's being called "ye Monster of ye age," and the absence of any Anglican congregations in all of northern Carolina, this call for ministers led to the establishment of the Church of England in the Albemarle area in 1701.15 Thus, the area that became North Carolina had a peculiar tolerance for a few years, stemming largely from the absence of enough zeal or denominational fervor to produce intolerance.

When the Proprietors guided the first permanent settlers to southern Carolina in 1670, they carefully repeated their promise of religious liberty. These people lived on the south bank of the Ashley River for ten years, and then moved to the narrow peninsula separating the

Letter to Proprietors, July 13, 1679, Saunders, Colonial Records, I, 250-253; Weeks, Southern Quakers, 48, 55-56.

**Quoted in Weeks, Southern Quakers, 63-69; testimony on November 6, 1679, Saunders, Colonial Records, I, 317. Two sets of instructions to governors of Albemarle contained no mention of religion: "Instructions for Coll. Philip Ludwell Governor of Carolina, 8 November, 1691," Saunders, Colonial Records, I, 373-380, and "Instructions Given . . . Unto the Governor and Councill of That Parte of Our Province Called Albemarle," 1676, Saunders, Colonial Records, I, 230-232.

**Letter to the Bishop of London, printed in Manross, American Episcopal Church, 88; Weeks, Religious Development, 34-35; Henderson Walker, quoted in Hugh T. Lefter and Albert Ray Newsome, North Carolina: The History of a Southern State (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 53-54. A portion of Reverend John Blair's Mission to North Carolina, 1704, describes the picture of religion in northern Carolina as seen by an Anglican: "The country may be divided in four sorts of people: first, the Quakers, who are the most powerful enemies to Church government, but a people very ignorant of what they profess. The second sort are a great many who have no religion, but would be Quakers, if they were not obliged to lead a more moral life than they are willing to comply to. A third sort are something like Presbyterians, which sort is upheld by some idle fellows who have left their lawful employment, and preach and baptize through the country; without any manner of orders from any sect or pretended Church. A fourth sort, who are fully zealous for the interest of the Church, are the fewest in number, but the better sort of people." According to Blair, the first three groups agreed in their opposition to an established church. Salley, Narratives, 216. church. Salley, Narratives, 216.

Cooper and Ashley rivers. There, they founded Charles Town, the center of all activity in the colony for more than a century. Unlike most of the colonists in America, these immigrants had spent a generation in Barbadoes. The great work of the colony's first years was to attract additional settlers. Here the headright system and religious toleration aided each other, for both would attract the ambitious and hardy. While the Proprietors encouraged Dissenting colonists, they never were willing to remove the guarantee of protection of the Church of England from the charter and grant real religious equality.¹⁶

The southern Carolinians demonstrated mixed reactions to religion from the beginning of the settlement. While the Grand Council of the colony in its first official act called for a more strict observance of the Sabbath, a number of settlers were writing the Proprietors about their need of a minister. These requests asked for "some able godly minister to come to us"; "a minister qualified according to the Church of England and an able Councellor to end controversies amongst us"; "an able minister by whose meanes corrupted youth might be very much reclaimed, and people instructed in the true religion, and that the Sabboth and service of Almighty God be not neglected." The Proprietors tried to contact the minister the colonists preferred, but they informed Governor William Sayle that they would not allow anyone to force religious views upon any of the colonists.¹⁷

With a charter that granted religious freedom to all but "Papists," the Ashley settlers assigned four acres of land near the river for the "Church yard." No records remain of a church being built on this site, nor in the area apportioned along Stono Creek in 1671 where space for a church was also reserved. 18 Still, some men wanted a governor "of a moderate zeale . . . especially turneing his face to the liturgie of the Church of England." Regardless of this desire, the new

¹⁶ McCrady, South Carolina, 8-12; Herbert L. Osgood, The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (New York: Macmillan, 3 volumes, 1904), II, 323; Weeks, Religious Development, 17.

¹⁷ McCrady, South Carolina, 132-133; Gov. Sayle to Lord Ashley, June 25, 1670, Shaftesbury Papers, 268; "F. O'Sullivan to L⁴ Ashley, 10th Septr 1670." Saunders, Colonial Records, I, 207; Council to Proprietors, September 9, 1670, Shaftesbury Papers, 180; Locke's "Carolina Memoranda, 1670/71," Shaftesbury Papers, 245, hereinafter cited as Locke's "Carolina Memoranda"; Gov. Sayle to Proprietors, June 25 and September 9, 1670, printed in McCrady, South Carolina, 131-132; Lord Ashley to Gov. Sayle, April 10, 1671, Shaftesbury Papers, 312.

¹⁸ "The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, Drawn up By John Locke, March 1, 1669," Saunders, Colonial Records, I, 187-205; map showing assignment of land, opposite page 1, Shaftesbury Papers; September 7, 1671, A. S. Salley, Jr. (ed.), Journal of the Grand Council of South Carolina (Columbia: South Carolina Historical Commission, 1907), 6, hereinafter cited as Journal of Grand Council.

governor, Joseph West, was most concerned with the type of religious provisions necessary to attract New Englanders.¹⁹

By the beginning of the second decade of settlement in southern Carolina, the population of the colony numbered about 1,200 whites. This figure doubled by 1682 because of the arrival of Dissenters fleeing persecution in England. The planners of the new town reserved a lot for a church. On the space assigned, the site of the present St. Michael's, the churchmen built the first St. Philip's, described by contemporaries as "large and stately." 20

Many Huguenots came to Charles Town in the 1680's through the encouragement of Charles II and James II. The Proprietors offered large sections of low country lands to these Calvinists and between 1685 and 1687, French, Swiss, and Belgian Protestants received grants totaling more than 38,000 acres. In 1687, the year of the largest migration to the Charles Town area, more than 400 Huguenots landed in Carolina. These new subjects of the King of England received their land on the same basis as the English immigrants, but the English looked on these French-speaking newcomers as foreigners.21 The frugal and industrious Calvinists quickly learned the language and proved their worth by the manner in which they transformed marshes into productive plantations and themselves into loyal citizens.

The last decade of the seventeenth century marked the rise of religious factionalism in the area around Charles Town. In 1692, the Grand Council agreed that for the time being, the "Lawes of England" would rule the colony, and thereby adopted the chancery law of England. With repeated mention of bills for "ye Better observation of the Lord's Day," the acts of the colonial legislature neglected the varied representation of Dissenters, Anglicans, and later, Huguenots.²²

Joseph West to Lord Ashley, July, 1671, Shaftesbury Papers, 304; Joseph West to Lord Ashley, July, 1671, Shaftesbury Papers, 349; Henry A. M. Smith, "Joseph Smith, Landgrave and Governor," South Carolina Magazine, XIX

Smith, "Joseph Smith, Landgrave and Governor," South Carolina Magazine, XIX (1918), 189-193.

Description of the Colony of South Carolina (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1895), 115; McCrady, South Carolina, 194, 315, 334; Thomas Ashe; "Carolina, or a Description of the Present State of the Country," 1682, Salley, Narratives, 158. The assignment of lots is in Henry A. M. Smith, "Charleston—The Original Plan and the Earliest Settlers," South Carolina Magazine, IX (1908), 1890.

The Original Plan and the Earliest Settlers," South Carotina Magazine, 1A (1966), 12-28.

The Charles Weiss, History of the French Protestant Refugees from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to the Present Time (New York and Edinburgh: Stringer and Townsend, 1854), 293-299; "Printed Warrants, 1680-92" in Henry A. M. Smith, "Goose Creek," South Carolina Magazine, XXIX (1928), 88, hereinafter cited as Smith, "Goose Creek"; A. S. Salley, Jr., "The House at Medway," South Carolina Magazine, XXXIII (1932), 245; grants listed in McCrady, South Carolina, 321-322.

Journal of Grand Council, June 21, 1692, 44; A. S. Salley, Jr. (ed.), Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, September 23, 1692, 8 ff.; November 22, 1695, 4, hereinafter cited as Journal of Assembly, 1692, 1692, 1695, 1692, 1695, 1692, 1695, 1692, 1695, 1692, 1692, 1692, 1693, 1692, 1693, 1692, 1693, 1692, 1693, 1692, 1693, 1692, 1693, 1692, 1693, 1692, 1693

The status of the Huguenots in Carolina was shown in the acts of the Grand Council and Assembly. In 1692 the Assembly ordered them to begin their services at inconvenient hours. Five years later, the situation had changed so much that both houses of the legislature agreed upon a general act of naturalization for all aliens taking the oath of allegiance, an act which guaranteed lands and liberty of conscience to all except Roman Catholics.23

While the dissenting group gained in political prestige, the Anglicans also strengthened their position. In 1696 the Assembly decided to buy land to be added to the churchyard at St. Philip's with funds "out of publick money" and two years later, it decided to pay the minister. Also in 1698, both Assembly and Council joined in thanking the Bishop of London for his assistance in sending an Anglican minister and

beginning a public library in Carolina.24

Thus, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, the settlers who looked to Charles Town for their political and social leadership, and for their religious direction as well, found an uncertain attitude. Although toleration was promised to all, the Anglican position was threatening. The Dissenters had hoped Huguenots would aid them in opposing the Anglicans, but had seen these hopes fade. And yet, each of the governors between 1693 and 1700 had been a non-Anglican. Nonetheless, this period saw a continued move toward the climax which came in 1704 when Anglican votes achieved the official establishment of their church in southern Carolina. Before this event, however, ever-increasing numbers of religious groups came to the flat lands between the Edisto and the Santee. Not only Anglicans and Huguenots, but all sorts of Dissenters (Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Independents), Quakers, a few Jews, a Roman Catholic or two, and even some Baptists. The events relating to each of these groups yield much information about toleration in seventeenth-century Carolina.

The laws of the colony always favored the Anglicans. The settlers accepted this pre-eminence without question when they reserved land for a church in the first settlement on the Ashley. Apparently the first Anglican minister came to the area about the time of the origin of the Charles Town settlement, but the people never accepted him, perhaps because they considered him to be "too great a lover of Strong Liquor,

²³ Journal of Grand Council, June 21, 1692, 44; Journal of Assembly, February 25, 1697, 7; a "Bill for Unition of all protestants and making aliens ffree . . ." passed on March 3, 1696/97, Journal of Assembly, 11 ff.

²⁴ December 5, 1696, September 20, 1698, October 8, 1698, Journal of Assembly, 17, 14, 27, 20

etc." ²⁵ This lack of acceptance, plus the general absence of zeal among many of the first Anglicans, allowed other groups to vie for converts among new immigrants. Still, the Anglican St. Philip's became the church home of the social leaders of the area. This black cypress building was probably the finest structure in all of Carolina and most Anglican families came to its services from their homes which clustered along the banks of the Cooper and Ashley. No events had more social significance than these services. As new settlers came to town, the natural tendency was to go to the church of the colony's leaders. New immigrants, especially the Huguenots, who soon intermarried with the older Barbadian families in Carolina, joined the Anglicans in the colonial legislature. The alliance produced a series of bills which began the move toward Establishment. Not only did the Commons House agree in 1696 to purchase a lot for the use of St. Philip's Church, but it provided for the "Sufficient mainetaineance" of the minister. But these Carolinians held a broad view of the work of the Church of England. The library which the Reverend Thomas Bray organized in Charles Town was for the use of all citizens.26

In contrast to the custom in England, Huguenots not only joined the Anglican Church in Carolina, but were welcomed by that group. These energetic folk came in significant numbers between 1680 and 1690 at the urging of the Proprietors, who hoped they would develop a highly profitable production in silk, olives, and wine. After brief, unsuccessful attempts at these ventures, the Huguenots turned their remarkable talents to agriculture and the trades. In both areas they made impressive contributions as they settled in Charles Town, around Goose Creek above the town, in the "Orange Quarter" on the eastern branch of the Cooper, and in the locality called Jamestown on the Santee.27

No other Carolina immigrants had been more attracted by the promise of toleration than the Huguenots. The Dissenters expected the Huguenots to join them in a show of strength, but their attempt to

^{**}A. S. Salley, Jr. (ed.), "Letter from Thomas Smith to Mr. Robert Stephens, January 16, 1708," South Carolina Magazine, XXXII (1931), 61-62; Manross, American Episcopal Church, 80; McCrady, South Carolina, 183-184.

**Wallace, South Carolina, 58; December 5, 1696, September 20, 1698, October 8, 1698, Journal of Assembly, 17, 14, ff., 28; Charles C. Tiffany, A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, for the Christian Literature Company, 1895), 225; McCrady, South Carolina, 353. This was probably the first truly public library in the English colonies.

**Charles M. Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 4 volumes, 1934-1938), III, 241, hereinafter cited as Andrews, Colonial Period; McCrady, South Carolina, 319-324; Wallace, South Carolina, 61-62; account of settlement of the Goose Creek area in Smith, "Goose Creek," 1-25, 71-96, 265-279.

withhold the franchise from aliens prevented the union. Two French ministers were in the colony as early as 1687 and within three years the group had built a church. Huguenot numbers and financial successes, plus the natural English dislike of all things French, led briefly to troublous times. An indication of this antipathy was the bill specifying the hour of the French worship services. Englishmen questioned whether Frenchmen who could hardly speak the language of their new home had the right to participate in the colonial legislature.28 Finally, a bill declared the marriages conducted by Huguenot ministers were "not Lawfull because they are not ordained by some bishopp and their children that are begotten in Such Marriages are bastards." On hearing of this in 1693, the Proprietors wrote the governor and council that they wanted the Huguenots given better treatment. As a final word, the Lords reminded their administrators that it was "for their majesties Service to have as many of them as we can in Carolina." Before the Naturalization Act of 1697 gave them the rights they sought, the Huguenots attempted to prove that many of their numbers had been naturalized in England. 29 The Naturalization Act paved the way for complete assimilation of the Huguenots, some of whom had earlier served in the Commons House. Eventually, all the French congregations except the one in Charles Town, accepted Anglican doctrine, saving the frugal Huguenots from supporting two clergies and aiding them in business and social relations in the colony.

With their legal position established, the Huguenots exercised an influence far out of proportion to their numbers. They registered stock marks for their animals, left legacies to their church, and lived as "decently and happily as any planter in these southward parts of America." By the turn of the century, they numbered only slightly less than five hundred and although a few ambitious Huguenots were discouraged because they still could not own vessels, their religious alliance with the Anglicans and their hard work led one observer to conclude that this important ten per cent of the population "by their

Wallace, South Carolina, 61-65; Journal of Grand Council, 44; Bartholomew R. Carroll, Historical Collections of South Carolina (New York: Harper and Brothers, volumes, 1836), II, 101-102; McCrady, South Carolina, 238-239; Andrews, Colonial Period, III, 242.

Letter from four Proprietors to Governor and Deputies, April 11, 1693, Journal of Assembly, 29-32; "Liste des Francois et Suisses," City Gazette and Commercial Daily Advertiser (Charleston, South Carolina), May 5, 1826, lists Huguenots between May 17, 1694, and September 27, 1695; a list of the first naturalized Huguenots is in McCrady, South Carolina, 323-324; Arthur Hirsh, The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina (Durham: Duke University Press, 1928), chapters III and IV; letter of Edward Bandolph, March 16, 1698, Salley, Narratives, 208-209. ward Randolph, March 16, 1698, Salley, Narratives, 208-209.

endeavors and mutual assistance . . . have outstript our English." 30

Members of the Society of Friends received a welcome in southern Carolina from the beginning of the Ashley settlement. One of the Colony's founders, Sir John Yeamans, had long been friendly to the group. In 1670 the Proprietors learned of a Captain James Gilbert, a Quaker who had a "great inclination to our Country," and with "any incouragement . . . he can gett abundance of his sect or friends to settle." 31 But Friends were not completely trusted, for a recommendation of a new governor described the candidate as "an honest man tho' a Quaker." A number of the group came to southern Carolina before the building of Charles Town, where they later concentrated. Lord Shaftesbury, one of the Proprietors, asked the Carolina leaders to assist Friends whenever possible for he believed tolerance would bring more Quakers to Carolina. Among those who did come to the Ashley to escape the persecutions in England was Mary Fisher, a widely-traveled and outspoken leader of the Friends.32

Almost as soon as the colony moved its center to Charles Town, the Quakers began their meetings there. In 1681 Fox wrote to Friends in the town suggesting that they hold Yearly or Half-Yearly Meetings with brethren from the northern section of Carolina. The next year, this group received a large bequest in a will. Regular Quaker meetings began in Charles Town about 1683, but they did not obtain the lot for their meetinghouse on King Street until about 1696 and completed

their building by the end of the century.³³

The greatest period of Quaker influence came from 1694 to 1696,

Isaac Mazeque (Mazyck), a Walloon from Liege, registered a stock mark on May 16, 1698. A. S. Salley, Jr., "Stock Marks in South Carolina, 1695-1721," South Carolina Magazine, XIII (1912), 227; will of Antoinne Prudhomme in Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, XI (1904), 17-30; actions of the Assembly in 1698 indicate a general concern over the Huguenots, Journal of Assembly, 20-25; letter of Edward Randolph, February, 1698/99, Salley, Narratives, 208-209. Randolph lists the numbers of French in Carolina: 195 at the French Church in Charles Town, 31 at the Goose Creek Church, 101 on the east branch of the Cooper River, and 111 in the French Church on the Santee River. John Lawson's observation on the French in Henry A. M. Smith, "Jamestown," South Carolina Magazine, IX (1908), 220-221, hereinafter cited as Smith "Jamestown."

31 M. Alston Read, "Notes on Some Colonial Governors of South Carolina and Their Families," South Carolina Magazine, XI (1910), 108; Henry Brayne to Lords Proprietors, November 20, 1670, Shaftesbury Papers, 237-238.

32 Locke's "Carolina Memoranda," August 20, 1671, 348; Lord Shaftesbury to Andrew Percivall, June 9, 1675, shaftesbury Papers, 464-465. Shaftesbury suggested giving the Quakers up to 12,000 acres in "such convenient place as you and they shall pitch on." Mabel L. Weber, "The Records of Quakers in Charles Town," South Carolina Magazine, XXVIII (1927), 22, hereinafter cited as Weber, "Records of Quakers"; James Bowden, History of the Society of Friends in America (London, England: G. Gilpin, 2 volumes, 1850-1854), I, 39-41, hereinafter cited as Bowden, Friends in America.

32 Sweet, Religion in Colonial America, 156; Weber, "Records of Quakers," 22-23; Andrews, Colonial Period, III, 241.

during the administration of John Archdale, a convert of Fox, who had bought the proprietary share of the deceased Lord Berkeley and was a powerful figure in Charles Town until his departure in 1697. Not only did Friends hold influential positions in the colonial government during his tenure, but he went with a Quaker missionary to hold services in the back country. He demonstrated his toleration when he dispatched a ship to bring fifty-two shipwrecked New England Congregationalists from Cape Fear to Charles Town.34 By the turn of the century, the Quakers had achieved almost full equality. Like the Huguenots, they usually sided with the Anglicans, but these quiet people held office without swearing oaths, went before the Grand Council and won judicial decisions there. Mention of a "public meeting of the Christian people commonly called Quakers at Charles Town" in 1697 demonstrated that these energetic though sober people were allowed to concentrate their efforts and habitations in the town without difficulty.35

Among the first settlers on the Ashley were Dissenters who later became Congregationalists and Presbyterians. During the ten years of the Ashley settlement, they showed no real religious interest, but they built a church soon after moving to Charles Town. The exact date of the construction is not known, but it was probably after 1683, the year a Presbyterian minister visited the city, but received "little encouragement." Another Dissenter preacher is said to have visited briefly in 1684 or 1685.36 The building which housed a congregation originally made up of most non-Anglicans in the area was variously called the Presbyterian Church, the Congregational Church, Independent Church, the New England Meeting House, and the White Meeting House.

In Carolina, Dissenters tended to congregate in Charles Town, on the Edisto, and in the outlying counties of Colleton and Craven. The period of their greatest strength began with the arrival in 1691 of the Reverend Benjamin Pierpont, the first minister who remained with the congregation of the Independent Church for any length of time. His able leadership continued until his death in Charles Town in

³⁴ Weeks, Southern Quakers, 50-60; Bowden, Friends in America, I, 415; Andrews, Colonial Period, III, 234-235; McCrady, South Carolina, 286.

³⁵ Bowden, Friends in America, I, 44; Thomas and Thomas, Society of Friends, 226-227; Gregorie and Frierson, Court of Chancery, 64; Weber, "Records of Quakers,"

<sup>22-23.

36</sup> The memorandum of John Typar, "clerk of the Congregational Church," February 8, 1737, stated that the church was built at the "beginning of the settlement" at Charles Town, George N. Edwards, A History of the Independent or Congregational Church of Charleston, South Carolina (Boston, Massachusetts: Pilgrim Press, 1947), 4-7, hereinafter cited as Edwards, Congregational Church; McCrady, South Carolina, 334-335; Wallace, South Carolina, 59.

1697. During these last years of the seventeenth century, non-Anglicans sat in the governor's chair in Charles Town, and, for a brief time, it seemed that real religious equality might result. Then the Dissenters attempted to push their advantage too far in the laws to exclude aliens from the franchise.37 This move led to the alliance of the Huguenots with the Anglicans and the formation of rival factions, both in religion and business.

The Reverend Hugh Adams succeeded Pierpont at the Independent Church. He soon became involved in a series of disputes which continued until his departure in less than a year. Upon leaving the town, he preached in two meetinghouses on the Wando River. There he met the Reverend William Screven, the first Baptist preacher in the colony. Adams was troubled by Screven, whom he labeled "a mighty preacher of the Anabaptist error," and immediately challenged him to a theological duel, with unknown results. The Reverend John Cotton, a former missionary to the Indians, followed Adams in Charles Town. He made a marked impression with his first sermon in December, 1698. According to a contemporary opinion, "He was abundantly respected by the good and even the Governor himself." Cotton wrote that the Church contained about 150 members with new accessions weekly. As for his accomplishments in the town, he said, "Landgrave Morton . . . of all the Council is my most ingenuous friend and comes to heare me each Sabbath," and Cotton proudly considered the possibility of baptizing a Jew who had come to him "lively in his good notions." 38

Cotton died in the yellow fever epidemic in 1699. Three months later, the ships carrying the survivors of the tragic Scottish colony at Darien stopped in Charles Town's fine harbor. Upon hearing that the Reverend Archibald Stobo, a Presbyterian minister, was among the passengers, a delegation rowed out to the ships and requested the minister to come ashore and preach at the Independent Church. He consented to do so and after he left the ships, a violent hurricane swept the small fleet out to sea, apparently causing the death of all aboard. Convinced of the providential nature of his survival, Stobo accepted the pastorate of the Dissenters in the town and though the congregation sometimes complained about his narrow Scottish ideas, the church continued to prosper as the century ended.³⁹ This congre-

^{*&}quot;Journal of Elder Pratt," Salley, Narratives, 199; Edwards, Congregational Church, 8-9; McCrady, South Carolina, 329-335.

** Fragment of letter dated 1699 in Massachusetts Historical Society and reprinted in Edwards, Congregational Church, 10-11.

** McCrady, South Carolina, 311; Wallace, South Carolina, 57; Edwards, Congregational Church, 15.

gation, claimed as one of the first Presbyterian churches in the American colonies, included the opponents of any possible attempt to establish the Anglican Church formally. The first movement toward establishment came late in 1700 when the Dissenter candidate for governor lost a heated and disputed election to the favorite of the Anglicans and their allies.⁴⁰

The Dissenters in Charles Town had failed to assist one group of immigrants who might have joined their party. These were the Scotch Presbyterians sent by Lord Cardross in 1684 to the Port Royal area. Some pamphlets which promised religious toleration had attracted these people and more than 100 ambitious Scots sailed to Charles Town. This was the group which the Reverend William Dunlop accompanied, and when they arrived in Carolina, he found that some of the local leaders tried to discourage the Scots. Most of the group went on to their small settlement called Stuart's Town, which the Spanish destroyed in a year. Dunlop escaped and came to Charles Town where he was an active preacher until 1689 and the proprietor of a mercantile business at the same time. He even performed the marriage ceremony of Sabrina de Vignon, a Huguenot, and Landgrave Thomas Smith, a leader among the Dissenters.⁴¹

Ten years after the burning of Stuart's Town, another religious colony came to Carolina. This group was a part of the Congregational Church from Dorchester, Massachusetts, led by the Reverend Joseph Lord who came to Carolina "to settell the gospell ther." The townsmen fired salutes and rowed out to welcome the New Englanders. One of the newcomers wrote: "Thay war not only very kind to us, but allso used all menes and touk great pains to obtain our setteling upon ashley rever." Though these strangers received a hospitable welcome, they "herd of sum of thos that came from Newingland that had ben giltey of gros miscarages which was a trobel to us." But to their great satisfaction, they learned that the Carolinians understood that all men from Massachusetts were not alike. After only a short search for a favorable location for their church, these immigrants settled on some high ground along the Ashley, about twenty miles from Charles Town. Here they built what came to be called the Old White Meeting House

40 Sweet, Religion in Colonial America, 259; Salley, Narratives, 267-268; Wallace,

South Carolina, 67.

41 G. P. Insh, Scottish Colonial Schemes (Glasgow, Scotland: Maclehose, Jackson, and Co., 1923), 193; Verner W. Crane, The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1928), 26-31, hereinafter cited as Crane, Southern Frontier; Lord Cardross and William Dunlop to Sir Peter Colleton, March 27, 1685, in G. P. Insh, "Letters Concerning the Arrival of the Cardross Settlers," South Carolina Magazine, XXX (1929), 72; Edwards, Congregational Church, 7-8; "Paul Grimball's Losses by the Spanish Invasion of 1686," South Carolina Magazine, XXIX (1928), 231.

and when the Reverend Lord "precht . . . many . . . neigbers . . . gave diligent atension." 42 In their new Dorchester, these Congregationalists worshiped without hindrance and remained almost completely aloof

from the politics of Charles Town.

Of all the religious groups in Carolina before 1700, least is known about the Baptists. There were apparently some members of this group among the earliest settlers, but there is no certainty about their first meetings. They may have begun regular meetings as early as 1683, but there is reliable information only that their first services took place in the home of William Chapman on King Street. The most reliable date for the organization of the Charles Town Baptists seems to be 1696 or 1697. With a few members highly placed in the town's society, the Baptists received a lot for their church in 1699. Here on the site of the present First Baptist Church of Charleston, they built their meetinghouse.43 At about the same time, a group of Baptists from Maine settled in an area called Somerton, adjacent to the Biggin Swamp above Charles Town. The placing of this group was largely the result of the efforts of the Reverend William Screven, a former victim of Puritan intolerance in New England. Vigorously active at Somerton, he preached to all who would listen, perhaps attracting a few refugees from the ill-fated Port Royal settlement, and incurring the wrath of the Presbyterian minister in the area, Hugh Adams.44 The Baptists apparently avoided politics during the seventeenth century and strengthened their congregations. At the end of the century, they adopted the Confession of Faith, later called the Philadelphia Confession, and prepared to enlist more members. 45

A few Roman Catholics and Jews came to Charles Town. The former were treated as untouchables, while the latter were welcomed. In 1674 four Catholic refugees from the Ashley settlement drifted into St. Augustine. Under the questioning of the Spanish governor, one of the Catholic men said he had left Carolina "because of the suffering

⁴² "Records of the First Church of Dorchester, New England," October 22, 1695, Salley, Narratives, 191-193; "Journal of Elder Pratt," Salley, Narratives, 194-200; McCrady, South Carolina, 327, 707; Konstance F. Woolson, "Up the Ashley and Cooper," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, LII (December, 1875), 11.

⁴³ A. H. Newman, A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States (New York: American Baptist Publication Society, 1898), 224, hereinafter cited as Newman, Baptist Churches; Sweet, Religion in Colonial America, 141; Edwards, Congregational Church, 1; McCrady, South Carolina, 337.

⁴⁴ Contrary to some versions, records of the Maine Historical Society printed in Smith, "Jamestown," 230-231, show that Screven did not come to South Carolina until at least 1695, or possibly later. Somerton was hardly a town, but a plantation settled by members of Screven's congregation, Henry A. M. Smith, "Some Forgotten Towns in Lower South Carolina," South Carolina Magazine, XIV (1913), 134-136; Edwards, Congregational Church, 8-11.

⁴⁵ Newman, Baptist Churches, 225.

and want they had to endure," and the other stated he was "compelled to do so by the toil and suffering." Later, in 1695, when Governor Archdale found some Catholic Indians near Charles Town, he quickly

sent them to St. Augustine to rid the area of all Romanism. 46

The swift and relatively smooth acceptance of the Huguenots into Carolina society greatly eased the position of the Jews. The first person of Hebrew faith mentioned in existing documents was an interpreter used by the tolerant Archdale in 1695.47 Though mentioned in early versions, Jews were not mentioned in the final draft of the Fundamental Constitutions. Perhaps this omission helped them to secure their rights along with other aliens after the passage of the Naturalization Act. But this act did withhold freedom of worship from non-Christians. Apparently this restriction did not bother the Jews in Charles Town, for the last four names on the list of those who applied for naturalization in 1697 were probably Jewish. They were all identified as "merchant," and the three names which are decipherable are Simon Vallentine, Jacob Mendis, and Avila.48 The document which Vallentine received granted to him "all the rights Priviledges and Immunityes Given . . . any Alien Inhabitant of South Carolina." 49 The Act of Naturalization marked a real milestone, for it allowed Jews to hold land and to vote, the first grant of these privileges to Jewish people in the New World. Vallentine was the most active of all the Tewish settlers in Charles Town and often served the Court of Ordinary, which commended his work as administrator of an estate for the Court in 1696.50

In 1700, the southern portion of Carolina contained about 5,500 white people, about 3,000 of whom lived in and about Charles Townthe social, political, and religious center of the colony.⁵¹ There was

[&]quot;Letter of Acting Governor Don Nicholas Ponce de Leon to Queen of Spain, May 8, 1674, Jose M. Gallardo, "Letters Relating to the Spaniards and the English Settlement in Charles Town," South Carolina Magazine, XXXVII (1936), 94-98; Archdale's Description of Carolina, 1707, Salley, Narratives, 300.

Tharles Reznikoff, The Jews of Charleston (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1950), 3-4, hereinafter cited as Reznikoff, Jews of Charleston; Abram V. Goodman, American Overture: Jewish Rights in Colonial Times (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1947), 153, hereinafter cited as Goodman, American Overture.

Reznikoff, Jews of Charleston, 4, 6; Avila was also mentioned as Avilah, and Vallentine listed sometimes as Valentine or Valentijn.

Document printed in Goodman, American Overture, 157.

Case Papers, 1700-1720, Gregorie and Frierson, Court of Chancery, 75; Reznikoff, Jews of Charleston, 6; Barnett A. Elzas, The Jews of South Carolina from the Earliest Times to the Present Day (Charleston, South Carolina: Privately printed, 1905), 20-21; "Abstracts from the Records of the Court of Ordinary of the Province of South Carolina," South Carolina Magazine, X (1909), lists Vallentine as serving the court on November 24, 1696, 139; February 2, 1696/97, 89; July 14, 1698, 90; and October 16, 1699, 138. 1699, 138. McCrady, South Carolina, 315.

one government for province, town, and church, a government which handled affairs as varied as Indian relations, defense, church membership, and street paving. Charles Town was taking on some of the airs of a cosmopolitan center. Its walls enclosed people of many nations in the small area between Meeting Street and the eastern side of the Peninsula. Here were the "English, French, Independent and Anabaptist" churches, while the "Quaker Meeting House" stood a short distance west of the wall. 52 By this time St. Philip's could even

list a church bell as further proof of the town's civility.

While the city and the entire colony were progressing rapidly, there was still much to attest the need for further effort. Charles Town's Indian trade stretched to the Gulf and the Mississippi, but there were no substantial buildings inside the town walls except the churches. In addition, many slaveowners withheld religion from their Negroes because they felt that only heathens should be kept in bondage and prevented from voting.53 These same owners, and their fellow Carolinians as well, felt strongly about their religion and their politics. Both issues came to a head on September 7, 1700. On that day, the council selected a moderate Dissenter, Joseph Morton, as the new governor of the colony. Four days later, after some behind-the-scenes pressure, the Council reversed its position and chose James Moore, the favorite of the opposing group made up of Anglicans, Quakers, and Huguenots. This factionalism coincided with the attacks on Dissenters in England by Lord Granville, the Palatine of Carolina.

Soon, the spirit of toleration, which had existed in some form from the beginnings of the settlements on Albemarle Sound and on the banks of the Ashley River, vanished under the campaign to establish the Anglican Church in both sections of Carolina. This campaign affected all people and all areas of life, for control of the colonial legislature meant not only religious but social and commercial domination for the Anglicans-a domination which they maintained until the Revolution. Perhaps the consequences of the end of toleration were best summarized by an enemy of the Anglicans who asked: "Cannot Dissenters Kill Wolves and Bears, etc., as well as Church-men; and also Fell Trees and Clear Ground for Plantations?" 54

Map in David Ramsay, History of South Carolina (Newberry, South Carolina: W. J. Duffie, 2 volumes, 1858), II, 3.

Carl Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness (New York: Ronald Press, 1938), 262; for an excellent account of the Indian trade see Crane, Southern Frontier. The only towns outside of Charles Town were Dorchester, containing about 350 people, and Wiltown, on the South Edisto. Edward McCrady, "Slavery in the Province of South Carolina, 1670-1770," The American Historical Review, I (1895-1896), 644.

A concise account of the fighting over the establishment of the Church of England in both sections of Carolina is in Elizabeth H. Davidson, The Establishment of the English Church in the Continental American Colonies (Durham: Duke University Press, 1936), 47-66; Archdale's Description of Carolina, 1707, Salley, Narratives, 305.

DANIEL WORTH: TAR HEEL ABOLITIONIST

By Noble J. Tolbert *

North Carolina was plagued with several abolitionists shortly before the Civil War. None was more colorful, vigorous, or extreme than the Reverend Daniel Worth-North Carolinian by birth, Wesleyan

Methodist minister by profession, abolitionist by choice.

Daniel Worth, son of Job and Rhoda Macy Worth, was born in the "Old Center" Quaker community of Guilford County, North Carolina, on May 3, 1795. The Worth family were devout Quakers, but Daniel "was not religiously inclined in his earlier years. . . . "1 No reason is given for this lax attitude toward the Quaker religion by Worth, but one would imagine it was too peaceful and quiet for the robust and restless young Daniel. Though he may have been remiss toward his religion, he seems to have taken advantage of such educational opportunities as were offered him, for his letters are those of a learned man.² Worth married Elizabeth Swaim, daughter of Joshua and Sarah (Elliott) Swaim of Randolph County, on March 5, 1818.

The Quakers were discontented with slavery in North Carolina, and many of them joined the trek to Indiana after that territory became a State.3 Daniel and his little family, including his mother and father, left North Carolina in the spring of 1822 during this emigration. Daniel's father, Job, died on September 30, 1822, soon after they had arrived at their new home in the western part of Indiana. During the next year they moved to an eastern county, Randolph, to eighty acres

of land which Worth had acquired.4

⁸ North Carolina Quakers who settled in Indiana frequently named towns and coun-

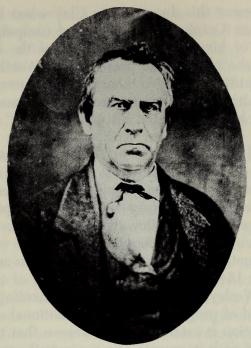
^{*} Mr. Tolbert is Library Assistant, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

¹ Roy S. Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South (Syracuse, New York: Wesleyan Methodist Publishing House, 1933), 78-79, hereinafter cited as Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South.

³ "Friends from an early date provided for elementary education and they constructed the first school house in southwest Guilford County. Levi Coffin taught there between 1813 and 1822." Francis C. Anscombe, *I Have Called You Friends* (Boston, Massachusetts: The Christopher Publishing House, 1959), 316. Levi Coffin, later chief engineer of the Underground Railroad, could have been an influence on Worth's anti-slavery sentiment.

ties there for those which they had recently left.

*E. Tucker, History of Randolph County, Indiana (Chicago, Illinois: [publisher unknown], 1882), 404-405, hereinafter cited as Tucker, History of Randolph County, Indiana.



This picture of Daniel Worth was taken from an original photograph in the possession of Everett Davis of Fountain City, Indiana.

In 1840 the first State Anti-Slavery Society of Indiana was organized, and Daniel Worth was elected its first president.⁵ On November 9 a district meeting of this society was held in Economy, Indiana. "A committee of three, consisting of Arnold Buffum, Daniel Worth and Nathan Johnson . . . was appointed to propose business for the convention." 6 They proposed that the convention, among other things, call a National Abolitionists Convention to nominate a president and vice-president for the coming national election; secondly, they suggested that the convention select five delegates to the State convention. Daniel Worth was slated to be one of the five delegates to the State convention.

On February 8, 1841, the State Anti-Slavery Society convened in Newport, Indiana, and also called for a national convention to nominate candidates for the forthcoming election. The annual convention of this society was again held in Newport the following year on September 5, 1842. During this meeting a resolution was adopted calling on Henry Clay to free his slaves. Worth was chosen a member of the

⁶ W. D. Waldrip, "A Station of the Underground Railroad," Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History, VIII (June, 1911), 64-65.

⁶ C. M. G., "The First Manumission Society," Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History, VII (December, 1910), 184-187.

committee to present this document to Clay when he came to Richmond, Indiana, on October 1 to speak and campaign for the presidency. Because of his position at the rear of the crowd and some confusion as to the time of the presentation, Worth did not join in presenting the petition with two thousand signatures to Clay. He was in the audience, however, when it was presented and heard Clay tell

the bearer to go home and mind his own business.7

Worth joined the Methodist Episcopal Church about 1831 but divorced himself from that body in 1842 and assisted in organizing in Indiana the Wesleyan Methodist Church whose doctrine was contrary to slavery.8 He devoted his full time and energy to his new. church and its related antislavery work, and in September, 1843, he was licensed to preach; the following September he was ordained an elder at a conference in Cincinnati. Apparently he was very active in the church, and notice must have been taken of his zeal in performing his duties, for in 1848 he was elected president of the General Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church meeting in New York.¹⁰ No specific record of progress made by the national church as a result of his administration is extant, but it is known that the denomination was growing, and with its growth one suspects the president's responsibilities grew also.

In 1850 he left Indiana for Ohio where he was pastor of several churches. From Ohio he moved into Kentucky in 1853 to help John G. Fee and the famous Cassius M. Clay with their anti-slavery work. Kentucky was a challenge to him; here was his first real test against those he termed "mobocrats." About 1855 he returned to Ohio where "he pastored a church of some sixty or seventy ex-slaves who had somehow managed to escape the clutches of this terrible dragon, slavery." 11

The Republican party was nationally organized at a convention on February 22, 1856, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The party adopted a platform and called for a national nominating convention for June 17. Between February and June the various States held conventions to select delegates to this nominating convention, but "the state convention which met in Indianapolis on May 1, 1856, refused even to adopt the name 'Republican,' insisting on being known as the 'People's'

⁷ Charles W. Osborn, "Henry Clay at Richmond," Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History, IV (December, 1908), 117-128.

⁶ Tucker, History of Randolph County, Indiana, 405.

⁹ Tucker, History of Randolph County, Indiana, 405.

¹⁰ Matthew Simpson (ed.), Cyclopaedia of Methodism (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts, 1881), 965-966.

<sup>1881), 965-966.

11</sup> Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, 80.

party. . . . "12 Worth was back in Indiana in 1856 and was interested in the new Republican Party, but he was disgusted that the State convention under the influence of the "Know-Nothings" had refused to have anything to do with this new party. Worth urged George W. Julian¹³ to call another convention composed of only anti-slavery men so that delegates could be chosen to represent Indiana at the Pittsburgh convention,14 but nothing was ever done about calling another convention.15

Worth was elected president of the Indiana Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1856, and he was immediately confronted with a new problem. One of the laws of the Wesleyan Methodist Church forbade its ministers and members from becoming members of "secret oath-bound societies." Although no particular society was mentioned by name, it is assumed the church was referring to fraternal organizations. Worth upheld this canon to the annoyance of some of the younger members of the conference who chose to be lax in their observance. This controversy caused much agitation within the conference. Worth said in a letter concerning one of his adversaries: "... before he can ever receive the recognition of a brother from me [he] has got to take back and apologise [sic] for the mean vulgar thrust made at me on the conference floor at Westfield." 16 This must have been a hectic meeting, but finally Worth won a vote of confidence by a narrow count of fourteen to eleven. This battle was won, but undoubtedly Worth knew the war was lost.

After this experience he was ready to go elsewhere to avoid being harrassed by "young upstarts" as he referred to them. The conference finally selected Worth to go to North Carolina as a missionary. He agreed to go to his native State if his expenses en route were paid.17 The selection of Worth to go afield could have been because he was

¹² Grace Julian Clarke, "Documents," Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History, XXVI (June, 1930), 152-154, hereinafter cited as Clarke, "Documents."

¹³ Congressman from Indiana, candidate for the vice-presidency on the free-soil ticket in 1852, he took a leading part in the formation of the Republican Party. Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone and Others, Dictionary of American Biography (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 20 volumes [Supplementary Volumes XXI and XXII], 1928-1958), X, 245-246, hereinafter cited as Malone, Dictionary of American Biography.

¹⁴ Daniel Worth to George W. Julian, May 13, 1856, Giddings-Julian Collection, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., hereinafter cited as Giddings-Julian Collection

Julian Collection.

Julian Collection.

¹⁵ Clarke, "Documents," 152.

¹⁶ Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, April 30, 1858, family papers of Everett Davis, Fountain City, Indiana, hereinafter cited as Everett Davis Papers.

¹⁷ Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, 81. There seems to be some question as to whether he was a missionary for the Wesleyan Methodist Church or the American Missionary Association. In a speech in New York after he escaped, Worth indicated he was appointed a missionary of the American Missionary Association. The Times (Greensboro), May 18, 1860, quoting from the New York Herald. The Greensboro paper will hereinafter be cited as The Times.

the most able and qualified to fight "sin" in the State of North Carolina, but it seems like thoughtlessness on the part of the conference to have chosen a man sixty-two years old to go to a new territory with such a huge circuit to cover. It could have been exile to relieve the conference of a source of trouble. This is the most likely reason, for Worth says in a letter to his nephew, "I do not expect I shall ever belong to the Indiana Conference again. I am now out of it, and I think probably, I shall not return to it." He was also bitter because the older members had not stood beside him as he thought they should. "My toils and sacrafices [sic] are known to all the brethren, and if these will not shield me from the flouts of upstarts, I can at least show a decolent self respect. . . . " 18

After being virtually ostracized by the Indiana Conference, Worth left for North Carolina. All references to his departure are vague, but all agree that it was in the fall of 1857. En route he attended the annual meeting of the American Missionary Association on October 14 in Mansfield, Ohio. The society loaded him down with copies of Helper's The Impending Crisis in the South and other anti-slavery propaganda. 19 There is no list of the other material, nor does it matter, because when Worth picked up fifty copies of Helper's book he became a human time bomb. One author has contended that Worth was shrewd enough to know not to give these books to the slaves; instead he gave them to slaveholders in an effort to influence their opinion against slavery.20 Whether he had the books for slaves or slaveholders, he was still ignoring the laws of North Carolina. He was about to prove to the Indiana Conference that his exile would be a noisy and spectacular

On November 9, 1857, Worth reported to his benefactors, the Ameri-

¹⁸ Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, April 30, 1858, New Salem, North Carolina,

¹⁸ Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, April 30, 1858, New Salem, North Carolina, Everett Davis Papers.

¹⁹ Hinton Rowan Helper was born on Bear Creek, Davie County, near the village of Mocksville, on December 27, 1829. He wrote *The Impending Crisis of the South* when he was twenty-seven years old. He was appointed Consul at Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 1862 as a reward for his contribution to the anti-slavery cause. He died in March, 1909, at the age of eighty by his own hand. In reference to *The Impending Crisis of the South*, "this book was probably the most caustic, scathing, and vituperative criticism of slavery and slaveholders ever written." ". . . it created a greater political furore than any volume ever published in America, and it had a tremendous bearing on Lincoln's election in 1860 and on the sectional conflict which followed. Here was a clear, caustic, vigorous attack on slavery by a Southerner of the non-slaveholders." He was convinced that the slave was ruinous to the economy of the South. In some sections of the country Helper was considered the new Moses. He would have led these was convinced that the slave was ruinous to the economy of the South. In some sections of the country Helper was considered the new Moses. He would have led these people out of bondage and back to Africa. This new Moses, however, did not have any love for his children, "it is doubtful if America has ever produced a more bitter Negrophobe than Helper." Hugh Talmage Lefler, . . . Hinton Rowan Helper, Advocate of a White America (Charlottesville, Virginia: The Historical Publishing Company, 1935), 1-19.

20 Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, 82.

can Missionary Association: "Dear Brother-I have reached my post, and preached my first sermon yesterday." 21 Worth's report was printed in *The American Missionary* of January, 1858, and quickly attracted attention in North Carolina. A "friend," no doubt a watchful guardian of the southern peace, sent the issue to the North Carolina Presbyterian and thus precipitated the local attack on Worth. The editor, the Reverend George McNeill, noting that the Missionary Society had included North Carolina in "the sphere of their benevolent operations ..." demanded that Worth leave the State at once and asked Thomas Ruffin, Jr., solicitor of the Fourth Circuit, to take action.22 There is no evidence that Ruffin attempted to do anything about Worth, and Worth ignored McNeill's suggestion that he leave the State.

Worth indicated in a letter to his nephew, Aaron Worth, that he had been traveling his circuit, which consisted of five counties and twenty preaching stations, until a week or two prior to April 30, 1858. He stopped at this point because his wife was dying. This was undoubtedly the most serious blow the old man had had to bear. Worth's letter to his nephew is filled with compassion for his wife and companion for forty years.²³ Mrs. Worth died May 12, 1858, and Worth poured himself into his work with even more vigor and determination than formerly. He finished selling the original fifty copies of Helper's book and sold seventy more copies; in addition, he secured subscriptions to the *New York Tribune*, the secular "Bible" of the abolitionists.²⁴

NORTH CAROLINA

From Rev. D. Worth Randolph Co. Nov. 9, 1857

Dear Brother—I have reached my post, and preached my first sermon yesterday. I had a large and attentive congregation, and trust good was done. In addition to these ordinary classifications assemblies, saints and sinners, we had in our assembly yesterday a few "chattels," who acted with as much reverence and decorum, as though they really supposed themselves human beings. A more unlooked for auditor was a slavetrader, whom I soon recognized as an old acquintance of some forty years standing. I received an invitation to visit him at his elegant mansion, and partake of his hospitalities. I am gratified with the hope entertained by friends here, that a more effectual door is now opening to a free gospel in the old North State than heretofore. My post office address is New Salem, Randolph Co., N. C.

The North Carolina Presbyterian (Fayetteville), January 15, 1858, hereinafter cited as North Carolina Presbyterian.

Ohow solemn, how sad the thought, that one you love, and with whom you have breasted lifes bitter cups, must now meet the last dread conflict alone! As I stand and look on her emaciated form I sometimes feel like I could take her by the hand and descend death's vale together, so that in death, as in life we should not be divided. But my chief consolation is that He who trod the way before her stands by her in this hour of extremity. May we each, when our turn shall come, find like supporting grace." Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, April 30, 1858, New Salem, Everett Davis Papers.

Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, 83-85.

²⁴ Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, 83-85.

²¹ Daniel Worth, "North Carolina," *The American Missionary*, II (January, 1858), 21-22. The letter is reprinted herewith in full:

He also went on a lecture tour in the North trying to raise money for

his personal expenses.

Worth openly defied his adversaries, but the people did not retaliate. In general, Worth was left to hang himself. This sort of toleration was not out of character for the people of North Carolina. Worth was not without insight into his peculiar situation. He wrote his nephew explaining the situation which existed in the State at this time:

They [the people of his circuit] are exceedingly anxious for me to remain another year, and there would seem to be a hand of Providence in it, as I can preach, and have done it, as strong and direct against slavery as ever you heard me in the north, and I believe there is not another man that could. The reasons for this I cannot explain in a short letter, but are mainly my southern birth on the very spot where I preach; my age, which has reached a point to attract somewhat of reverence, and influential connectionship, (my cousins are Slaveholders & are men of great popularity) my wife's very large relationship, and my general acquaintance with the old men of the country, and with the fathers of the young—25

After the death of his wife, Worth's daughter married Dr. C. W. Woolen, of New Salem, North Carolina. Worth resided with the Woolens until May 19, 1859, when he married Hulda Swaim Cude, the widowed sister of his deceased wife. This second marriage did not retard Worth's anti-slavery campaign. One author attributes to Worth a letter which appeared in the *Boston Tract Journal* of June, 1859, in which he reported success in distributing anti-slavery books. "These books were circulated at first rather covertly; but greatly disliking this covert operation, I came out boldly, disdaining all concealment, and my book agencies are probably doing more than I am able to do by preaching." ²⁶

During the summer of 1859 a breach occurred between Worth and the Quakers of the State. Worth did not believe in moderation in fighting slavery as used by the Quakers. He spoke out against this practice, and they retaliated by refusing to let him use their meeting-houses for his services. On August 17, 1859, Worth wrote a very uncomplimentary letter concerning the Quakers to Dr. Nathan Hill:

I charge the Quaker Church—with all its anti-slavery pretensions—with being one of the firmest props the infernal institution has in the land.

He explained the reason he could not vote for slaveholders as the Quakers did:

²⁶ Daniel Worth to Aaron Worth, April 30, 1858, New Salem, Everett Davis Papers.
²⁶ William K. Boyd, *History of North Carolina*, Volume II, *The Federal Period*, 1783-1860 (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1919), 324.

Yet I cannot vote for a slaveholder to save the Union, dear as it is. Truth is dearer than the Union. I cannot do evil that good may come. If the Union is only to be saved and held together by the cement of the blood of the slave, then let the Union perish.27

Some concern with the activities of the Reverend Daniel Worth was evident after the John Brown affair. On November 26, 1859, the die was cast. The North Carolina Presbyterian, which a year earlier had started the campaign against Worth, came out with an even more pointed article against him. The paper made it plain that anyone was welcomed in the State "to preach Christ and Him Crucified. . . . " But "tract agents" were not welcomed, and "society must be protected against cut-throats and assassins, and the sword of the civil magistrate is the instrument which God had appointed for their punishment." The paper further stated that because such punishment had not yet been imposed upon this "run-mad fanatic" this should not be taken as a sign of his innocence. In closing, a course of action was recommended: "The mildest treatment which can be administered to him is to remove him from the State, and this we advise." 28 The paper did not call this "run-mad fanatic" by name, but it was responsible for putting the lighted match to the tinder. The secular press soon took up the cry started by the North Carolina Presbyterian. The Western Democrat said, "We hope the Presbyterian will give the name of the Agent, his location, and thus let the public know who he is." 29 Next, the Weekly Standard asked, "What is his name?" and went so far as to suggest in type that it might be Daniel Worth. 30 The North Carolina Presbyterian had accomplished its purpose by inflaming the press. On December 17 the North Carolina Presbyterian, said: "In answer to the . . . explicit inquiries, it is our duty to state that the emissary to whom we have referred is Daniel Worth." 31 The editor insisted that he be punished for his incendiary action and called upon the authorities to do so immediately. Many of Worth's relatives, declared the editor, "have no sympathy with the man and sternly discountenance his proceedings." 32

A few days before Christmas the Weekly Standard asked, "Why is not this man arrested? If the law will not take hold of him, let the

²⁷ Daniel Worth to Dr. Nathan Hill, August 17, 1859, New Salem, printed in the North Carolina Whig (Charlotte), January 31, 1860.

²⁸ North Carolina Presbyterian, November 26, 1859.

²⁹ Western Democrat (Charlotte), December 6, 1859.

³⁰ Weekly Standard (Raleigh), December 14, 1859, hereinafter cited as Weekly

^{ss} North Carolina Presbyterian, December 17, 1859.
^{ss} North Carolina Presbyterian, December 17, 1859.

strong arm of an outraged people be stretched forth to arrest him in his incendiary work." 33 This paper was now asking the people to take the law into their own hands.

On the same date the Semi-Weekly Standard published a letter from one of its correspondents, A. M. Ingold. This letter is a splendid example of the disgust and contempt a segment of the populace had for the Reverend Daniel Worth and his operations. Ingold contended that Worth was not in slaveholding country but in a very poor section where few slaves existed. He suggested that he go to a richer section where he could find more slaves. "I have never yet heard of his 'preaching' to a congregation composed of respectable persons," he continued. "Those who attend his meetings are only the low-down and extremely ignorant. . . . "Ingold further cited Worth as a dangerous man because he was "sowing seeds of rapine and insurrection" among that class of people, and he pointed out that those people would be willing to follow anyone into a crusade-preferably religious. He closed his tirade on Worth with these remarks:

I have seen him frequently, and from what I saw of him I came to the conclusion that he is an ignorant, uncouth, ill-bred man, a very fair specimen of the country which he represents; and were he hamstrung and swung upon a pole with his heels up, and a corn-cob put into his mouth, he would more resemble a three hundred pound hog than anything I can compare him to just now.34

Worth's only means of escape from these threats was to flee the State, but being unyielding by nature and confident that "righteousness" would prevail, he continued his rounds of the circuit. Sometime on the afternoon of December 22, 1859, he called at the home of Hiram Worth, a relative, in Greensboro. He was advised at this time that several warrants were out for his arrest. Worth sent for the sheriff of Guilford County and indicated that he was ready to stand before his accusers. One Mr. Boon, the sheriff, and his men came without delay and took Worth to the Greensboro jail. Bail was offered by friends, but the offense was considered not to be bailable because the circulating of incendiary material was considered a capital crime. The Guilford County jail was far from comfortable, and Worth found himself in a cold cell without fire or adequate bedding.35 It certainly was not a place to spend a winter evening discussing the abolition movement with friends.

Weekly Standard, December 21, 1859.
 Semi-Weekly Standard (Raleigh), December 17, 1859.
 Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, 92-93.

On the afternoon of December 24, 1859, Worth was given a preliminary hearing before Justices Lindsay, Hiatt, and Adams. Some reports say the crowd was in a frenzy, demanding of the justices that Worth be lynched on the spot. 36 This report seems doubtful, but the crowd did become excited. Ralph Gorrell, a Greensboro lawyer, tried to reason with the crowd by asking them to let the law take its course. During the hearing Worth showed the State how stubborn he could be by refusing to retain counsel; he preferred instead to read aloud from the book which had got him into trouble. This procedure irritated the Court, and the officials refused to hear him read further from this violent document. The Weekly Standard of December 28, 1859, gave the following account of the trial:

Some fifteen or sixteen witnesses were examined. It was proved that he had used in his sermons the strongest and vilest incendiary language, and had circulated Helper's book. Among other things he has declared publicly that he has "no respect for the laws of North Carolina" . . . that "they were enacted by adulterers, drunkards, and gamblers" . . . and that he "would not have had old John Brown hung for a thousand worlds." 37

Worth was bound over to the Superior Court which would convene in the spring. His bond was set at \$5,000, and immediately it was posted by George W. Bowman and David Hodgins, but the Court demanded a second bond of \$5,000 to insure his good behavior.38 The bondsmen were not as quick to come forward now since they had found out that four other counties of his circuit were seeking him and would arrest him as soon as he was released on bond. They felt in all fairness to their pocketbooks that they should let the Reverend

Mr. Worth remain in jail until the spring thaw.

Ironically, the law under which Worth was to be tried had been passed thirty years earlier as the result of action by another North Carolina anti-slavery agitator. In 1829, a free Negro from North Carolina, who had emigrated to Boston, wrote one of the first incendiary publications which was of any concern to the South. David Walker, the author, suggested to the slaves in that pamphlet that they should free themselves by the use of violence if necessary. The whole South became frightened at what might come to pass if this and other pamphlets of similar nature were allowed to circulate among the Negroes. Various State legislatures passed laws against the circulation of such material. On December 9, 1830, the General Assembly of

Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, 93.
 Weekly Standard, December 28, 1859.
 Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, 93.

North Carolina passed a bill prohibiting the circulation of such material and also prohibited the teaching of slaves to read. The first offense was to be punishable by one year in prison, and at the discretion of the Court a whipping might be added. The second offense was punishable by death without benefit of clergy. This law abridging freedom of the press and of speech was rarely invoked. Only in troubled times when tension ran high and minds became clouded with thoughts of a black rebellion was there talk of invoking this law.³⁹

The second bond was not given by Worth's friends. He was, therefore, lodged in the Guilford County jail at Greensboro to await the convening of Superior Court in the spring. The most uncomfortable . part about returning to jail was the cold weather. 40 One author contends that Worth's feet froze owing to the severe winter and mean condition of the jail.41 The authorities were not concerned, however, with the temperature of the prisoner's cell but with the prisoner himself. The jail was placed under heavy guard for fear the prisoner would escape or be lynched. The authorities' caution was justified after such articles as the one that appeared in a New Bern newspaper:

IN LIMBO.—The Reverend Daniel Worth, John Brown sypathiser, is now in the Greensboro Jail, and the building is under guard. Why not take him out and hang him? 42

On the following day another article in the same tone appeared:

We still think that Worth when arrested, should have been taken in hand by the populace and swung to the nearest tree. Folly to talk about letting law take its course in such cases.43

The hope that Worth would be lynched went unfulfilled because the people of North Carolina, in general, were law-abiding citizens-they would wait upon the judgment of the Court.

About this time John W. Ellis, Governor of North Carolina, received a letter from John T. Harriss of Randolph County opening up an entirely new development in the Worth Case. Harriss pointed an accusing finger at several men in Randolph County who owned Helper's book:

William Clement Eaton, Freedom of Thought in the Old South (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940), 118-143.

The temperatures the first five days of January were: 24°, 14°, 2°, 18°, 22°.

Weekly Standard, March 7, 1860.

Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, 97.

Daily Progress (New Bern), January 2, 1860, hereinafter cited as Daily Progress.

Daily Progress, January 3, 1860.

Eden Randolph County N C December, the 30 day 1859

John W. Ellis, Governor

Sir I drop you a Fiew lines concerning Daniel Worth he has bin ciruclating a seditious Book in this neighbourhood by the title of Helpers inpending Crisis, one Jacob Briles, senr has one and also one Jacob Briles jur has one and one William Yates has one and it can bea proven that theay got them of this same Daniel Worth and it is thought by some of our best men that he has box of arms depoisited at Jacob Briles in this county Worth has made Briles his home when in this Neighborhood and at some time not long since there was a Waggon at Brileses and unloaded a large long Box what the contents was no one knows the report is that it was guns as to truth of the mater I cant say but I think that the matter should be looked into in the investigation of Worths Case you can get any amount of proof against him by sending to this county in different cases you should have Dr N. B. Hill brought before you of this county he has letters in his possesion, sent to him by Worth that Hill says that if the People knew what the contents was that Worth would be mobed I think the matter in this county should be investigated before Worth is discharged 44

Upon receipt of this letter from Harriss Governor Ellis requested Judge John M. Dick45 to "investigate the facts, and have due search made for arms incendiary books etc." 46 To Harriss he wrote, "You are entitled to the thanks of the public for the zeal which you manifest and may continue to manifest in bringing the guilty to justice." 47 Judge Dick hastened to assure the Governor that "You, and all friends of Law & order, may be fully satisfied, that we will do our duty & our whole duty in this matter, and no one will escape against whom evidence can be procured." 48

Worth withstood the agony of the prison cell as any martyr shouldwithout complaining. In a letter to his new wife dated "In my Prison, Jan. 6th, 1860," Worth assured her that they would be rewarded for the many afflictions which they had suffered. "If needs be," he continued, "let us suffer as Christians, for it is better to suffer under the wrong interpretation, and consequent injurious enforcements of the

[&]quot;John T. Harriss to Governor Ellis, December 30, 1859, Governor's Papers (John W. Ellis), State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Ellis

Papers.

**John McClintock Dick, born 1791 in eastern Guilford County; graduate of the University of North Carolina; State Senator, 1829-1831; elected to the Superior Court bench in 1835 and served until his death October 16, 1861. Kemp P. Battle, History of the University of North Carolina . . . (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, Co., for the author, 2 volumes, 1907-1912), II, 321, hereinafter cited as Battle, History of the University.

**Governor Ellis to John M. Dick, January 4, 1860, Letter Book (John W. Ellis), hereinafter cited as Ellis Letter Book.

**Governor Ellis to John T. Harriss, January 4, 1860, Ellis Letter Book.

**John M. Dick to Governor Ellis, January 6, 1860, Ellis Papers.

law than to resist." 49 Worth knew he was safe in the jail, but he was uncertain what he might find outside if he were free. "I could have given bail, but I sought the security of bolts and prison bars. The fact is, that if I had been outside the prison of Greensboro I would have

lost my life through the violence of a mob." 50

About January 12 Worth was taken out of the jail in Greensboro and transported to Randolph County to face charges of circulating Helper's book. Judge John M. Dick found probable cause and required him to give bond of \$5,000 to appear at the spring term of the Randolph Superior Court. Worth was remanded to jail for failure to give bond, but he was returned to Greensboro since the jail there was considered. safer.51

From New York on January 14, 1860, Benjamin S. Hedrick⁵² wrote Ralph Gorrell urging him to take the Worth case and any others involving abolitionists. He promised that money would be raised in the North for his fees. Hedrick felt that Judge Romulus M. Saunders and William W. Holden both should be hanged because, in his opinion, they were responsible for inciting mobs to persecute the abolitionists.⁵³ Gorrell had been instrumental in calming the mob at Worth's preliminary hearing in Greensboro in December.

Hedrick was also trying to win over Thomas Ruffin, former justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, to Worth's side and persuade him to use his influence to help Worth. In a letter to Ruffin, Hedrick

In order that you may have an opportunity to know also what offence is laid to some of these men I send you a copy of Helper's book. You will

**Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, 95.

**Address by Daniel Worth before a meeting in New York on May 7, 1860. The Times, May 19, 1860, quoting from the New York Herald.

**Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, 96. The story was also told that several ladies had attended a meeting held by Worth in Randolph County the previous summer and set on the front row. Worth ordered them to give up their seats to some "black sisters" and sit elsewhere. Semi-Weekly Standard, January 18, 1860.

**Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick was born in Davidson County, on February 13, 1827. He graduated from the University of North Carolina with honors in 1851. In 1852 he returned to that institution as professor of chemistry as applied to agriculture and arts. In 1856 he was accused of being a "black Republican" by W. W. Holden after he made the statement that he would vote for Fremont if a Republican ticket were formed in North Carolina. He was dismissed from the University because of this opinion after he refused to resign. He went North and later became principal examiner in the U. S. Patent Office. Battle, History of the University, I, 654-657.

**B. S. Hedrick to Ralph Gorrell, January 14, 1860, Ralph Gorrell Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Ralph Gorrell Papers. R. M. Saunders was a judge of the Superior Court, and the only one Worth feared because of his extreme prejudice against the abolition movement. W. W. Holden was editor of the North Carolina Standard and an influential figure in the State. Under his attack B. S. Hedrick had been dismissed from the University in 1856. His prejudice against the abolition cause was no less than that of Saunders. Battle, History of the University, I, 654-657.

find that not a word in it is addressed to either free or slave negroes, That most of the sentiments that are current in the state and attributed to this book, are the fabrications of the New York Herald.54

Ruffin was never moved to intervene in the Worth case even though

he was reputed to have been a childhood friend of Worth's.55

While counsel for Worth was being sought, the case against him remained in the public eye. On December 28, 1859, a package being shipped by train to Jesse Pope, "a simple inoffensive and illiterate fellow" in High Point, came open in Raleigh. The package was found to contain two hundred copies of Helper's Impending Crisis of the South. 56 Holden and Judge Saunders were notified of this package at the Raleigh station. They agreed to let the books go on to the High Point post office, however, and a writ was issued for the arrest of Pope when he should claim the package. It so happened that Pope was an invalid and could not go to the post office for the books. After consultation with Pope it was learned that he had permitted Daniel Worth to use his name and address to receive a package of books the previous year. Pope presumed Worth was doing the same again. He swore he knew neither the contents of the package nor of its existence until informed by the authorities. After several weeks the package was taken from the post office, and High Point had a "bookburning" in the public square. 57

Jonathan Worth, later Governor of North Carolina and a cousin of the incarcerated Daniel, came to the aid of his relative. On March 10, 1860, he wrote to the Reverend George McNeill, editor of the North Carolina Presbyterian, asking for help. McNeill's paper had been the first to start the campaign against Worth, and Jonathan pointed out that the abolitionists would make a martyr out of his cousin comparable to John Brown. He was also concerned with the horror of having an old minister whipped, but he quickly pointed out that:

Daniel Worth is as fit a case for the execution of the law as could well be presented, if he were not an old man and a minister of the Gospel of exemplary character, save in the particular of Abolitionism. In this particular he is an enthusiastic monomanic.58

Jonathan Worth requested that McNeill write Judge Ruffin and secure

Galeigh: North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 4 volumes, 1918-1920), III, 64, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, Ruffin Papers.

Solvential Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, 79.

The Weekly Raleigh Register, January 4, 1860.

Semi-Weekly Standard, March 17, 1860, quoting from the High Point Reporter.

Solvential Papers.

⁵⁸ Hamilton, Ruffin Papers, III, 74.

his influence for a light sentence for cousin Daniel. Jonathan felt that Daniel should be convicted but that the sentence should be suspended on the condition that he leave the State.

While a plea for a light sentence was being made by Jonathan Worth, Ralph Gorrell dunned Hedrick for his fees. Gorrell and James T. Morehead took Worth's case after Gorrell had received the request to do so from Hedrick in the middle of January. In his letter Gorrell complained to Hedrick that he must be paid immediately because Randolph Court was only two weeks away and Worth had made no other arrangements for paying counsel.⁵⁹ Worth relied entirely on Hedrick and his friends for financial assistance.

On March 12, 1860, the Worth case appeared to take a turn for the better. Editor McNeill, of the North Carolina Presbyterian, complied with the request of Jonathan Worth and wrote a letter to Judge Ruffin enclosing Jonathan's letter. McNeill told Ruffin that if Worth were convicted he would publish an appeal to the Governor on the condition that Worth leave the State. "But if you advise the contrary it will not be done." 60 There is no record that Judge Ruffin advised McNeill on what course to pursue, but no appeal by McNeill ever appeared.

The money for Gorrell and Morehead was on its way from the North. Hedrick wrote Gorrell on March 17, indicating that four hundred dollars would soon be in his hands. The remaining one hundred dollars would be forthcoming before March 21, 1860.⁶¹ Five hundred dollars was the fee that Gorrell and Morehead were paid.⁶² Hedrick also informed Gorrell that Edgar Ketchum, a prominent New York attorney, had raised two hundred dollars and had sent it to Dr. Woolen, Worth's son-in-law. This money was undoubtedly meant for the personal use of

Hedrick was amazed that Helper's book was to be used against Worth. He pointed out that the book was not liked by the abolitionist at first because it ignored the Negro. Only after the book had been so abused by the "slavite" did the abolitionists defend it. Hedrick contended that there was much concern in the North over the Worth case. He said that some people in New York were afraid that North Carolina would postpone his trial or kill him by long imprisonment. A trial might reflect unfavorably on the Democratic candidate for President.⁶³ Worth, however, went on trial in two weeks.

Duke University Manuscript Collection, Durham.

Hamilton, Ruffin Papers, III, 73.

B. S. Hedrick to Ralph Gorrell, March 17, 1860, Ralph Gorrell Papers.

Daniel Worth to George W. Julian, May [7], 1860, Ralph Gorrell Papers.

Ralph Gorrell, March 17, 1860, Ralph Gorrell Papers.

The first trial of Daniel Worth was held in Asheboro on March 30, 1860, with Judge John L. Bailey presiding. Solicitor Thomas Settle,64 James R. McLean, and Levi M. Scott appeared for the State; for the defense Morehead and Gorrell. This was indeed an array of legal talent to command attention on that spring day. A jury was finally selected after fifty men had been examined. The indictment was twenty pages long on "foolscap paper." Scott's opening remarks to the jury were meant to scare a conviction from them:

If they [the jury] failed to convict, and thus encourage these abolition emissaries it would not be long until our fair land would be deluged in blood. The darkness of midnight would be lighted up with our burning buildings to see the massacred bodies of our wives and children, and that the sun would rise ere long upon the dead bodies of slave-holders with their throats cut.66

The State called a number of witnesses to testify that Worth had sold them Helper's book. Two of the witnesses reported that Worth had said a man could get his back whipped if he were caught with this book. There is no record that the defense called any witnesses to counter this strong testimony. In the closing speeches the State used all the talent at hand to paint Worth as the devil returned. Gorrell spoke for two hours on behalf of the accused. He argued that the statute under which Worth was being tried was too rigorous. Morehead closed the speeches with an impassioned plea in Worth's behalf. The jury retired at 11:30 that night and returned at 4:00 the next morning with a verdict of guilty. The prisoner was sentenced to twelve months imprisonment, but the Court exercised its discretion to omit the whipping.67 The sheriff was ordered to surrender Worth to the Guilford County authorities for trial there during the fourth week in April.

Gorrell and Morehead now felt that Worth would also be convicted in Guilford County if they could not present new evidence to the jury. As a last resort Gorrell wrote Louis Tappan⁶⁸ trying to find that all-

dated October 25, 1876. At this time Settle for being unfair during the trial in a broadside dated October 25, 1876. At this time Settle was running against Zebulon B. Vance for Governor of North Carolina and Vance won the election. There is no evidence as to the number of votes Settle lost because of this attack by Hiram Worth. Hiram C. Worth, Rev. Dan'l Worth and Mr. Solicitor Settle (Broadside), Quaker Room, Guilford College Library, Guilford College.

""They were: Jacob Elliston, Peter Von Cannon, Adam Brown, John Arnold, Henry Varner, Calvin Brown, Micajah Cox, Henry Fuller, Thomas Redding, Riley Hill, Wm S. Allbright, and Jesse H. Miller." Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, 98-99.

"Semi-Weekly Standard, April 7, 1860.
"Semi-Weekly Standard, April 7, 1860.
"Semi-Weekly Standard, April 7, 1860.
"Louis Tappan was prominent in organizing the American Missionary Association. He served this society as treasurer and president. Malone, Dictionary of American Biography, XVIII, 303-304.

important angle. Gorrell wanted to know the feelings of Tappan concerning the possibility of getting Worth acquitted on the condition that he agree to leave the State. "If he does he will hardly be received as a preacher in any State of the Union," Tappan replied. Gorrell explored the possibility of charging the American Missionary Society with inducing Worth to circulate these books, thereby transferring the guilt. Tappan emphatically denied this, adding that, "As a missionary of the Society with which I am connected, or otherwise, he was never advised to circulate Helper's book." 69 Of course, Tappan did not explain the gift of anti-slavery literature from the American Missionary Society when Worth was starting out for North Carolina in 1857. Tappan gave Gorrell only one consolation-that Worth's friends would not publish anything calculated to inflame the minds of North Carolinians

concerning Worth.

The second trial of Worth was held in Greensboro on April 27, 1860. This trial was held before the same judge with the same attorneys for the prosecution and defense. Two witnesses⁷⁰ were introduced by the prosecution; one had bought three books from Worth and the other testified that he understood Worth had said that he had sold one hundred copies of Helper's book. The defense made the point that Helper's book could not be introduced as evidence because it did not come under the statute. The statute specified a written or printed paper or pamphlet, and a book was neither one of these. The judge overruled this and said the statute included any and all printed matter. The case was decided by the jury in only fifteen minutes.⁷¹ They returned a verdict of guilty. The Court sentenced Worth to be confined to the common jail for twelve months. The judge permitted an appeal to the North Carolina Supreme Court. Worth's bail was substantially reduced in both Guilford and Randolph counties by the judge over the violent objections of Solicitor Settle. 72 The total amount of the bonds in all cases now amounted to \$3,000. Security was quickly given for this small bail, making Worth a free man.73

The editor of *The Times* in Greensboro made an accurate prediction

 Louis Tappan to Ralph Gorrell, April 20, 1860, Ralph Gorrell Papers.
 The witnesses were George W. Bowman and Joshua Lindey, Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, 99.

The Members of the jury were: "J. N. Millis, G. W. Coble, J. D. McCullock, Peter Shoe, George Cannon, C. Alfred Wyrick, Alexander Hanner, E. G. Benthis, Joseph Hoskins, Ananel Owens, Wm. J. Love, and Daniel Gillespie." Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, 100. 72 The Times, May 5, 1860.

The 1 mes, May 5, 1800.

To The bond was signed by George W. Bowman, James Davis, John Russell, Elihu Mendenhall, and Stephen White. James Davis was a slaveholder, and he let it be known that he would sell a Negro to pay the bond if he had to. Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, 100.

when he wrote, "Hence we presume Worth is now at large, and it is the general opinion that he will soon make his escape North, to be forever a fugitive from justice from his native state." ⁷⁴ Worth was tried on April 27, and he arrived in New York on May 5. Worth wrote, "I have been permitted to make my exodus from the den of slavery." 75 One report says he fled in a closed carriage soon after the bonds were signed and was driven to Virginia where he boarded a train for New

On Sunday, May 6, Worth started a campaign to raise his bond money so that those people who signed his bonds would not lose their money since he did not plan to return to North Carolina. He attended services at Henry Ward Beecher's church. Beecher declared himself unworthy to unfasten "Brother Worth's" shoes.77 Worth received a donation from Beecher's congregation and wrote to George W. Julian in Indiana asking him to collect money for him in his congressional district. "I expect if I live, to vote for somebody for Congress this fall myself in that district." ⁷⁸ It would appear that Worth was seeking Julian's help in return for his vote.

One of the most interesting meetings at which Worth spoke in this period was attended by a gentleman from North Carolina. At this meeting, held in the City Assembly Rooms in New York, following Worth's appeal for funds to pay his bond, A. Perry Sperry from North Carolina arose to question the speaker. The New York Herald gave the

following account of Sperry's remarks.

I think Mr. Worth will agree with me, that the majority of the better class of the intelligent people of our State only want to be let alone on this slavery question. We want you to let us alone. (Cries of "We won't let you alone.") We want you to let us alone. "We won't." Then it is fight to the death. "Go in!"

Mr. Louis Tappan rose to a point of order. "The gentlman said he wished to ask a few questions; but instead of that, he is going to make a speech." Cries of "Go on," "Go on, North Carolina."

After the commotion had subsided, Sperry asked Worth why nonslaveholders had not signed his bond. Worth answered that slaveholders could be counted on the side of human liberty just as much as nonslaveholders. Sperry asked if Worth did not know that Helper's book

⁷⁴ The Times, May 5, 1860.
75 Daniel Worth to "Dear Br," May 17, 1860, Personal Miscellany Collection, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
76 Tucker, History of Randolph County, Indiana, 405.
77 Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, 102-103.
78 Daniel Worth to George W. Julian May [7], 1860, Giddings-Julian Collection.

was contrary to the laws of North Carolina. Worth answered that he did not.79

Worth's case came before the North Carolina Supreme Court during the June term of 1860. Gorrell and Morehead insisted in their arguments before the Court that Judge Bailey had interpreted the statute wrongly. They contended that a bound volume or book, such as Helper's book, was not a pamphlet or paper. They further stated that the sale and delivery of a copy to George W. Bowman was not a publication nor circulation within the meaning of the statute. Finally the defense said the book had to be delivered to a slave or free Negro or be read in his presence to constitute an offense.

The court's opinion, written by Judge Matthias E. Manly, held that the term "paper" was used in the comprehensive sense in the statute to embrace all written or printed matter. It held that anyone who delivered a copy of the book was in fact helping the publication of the material. Selling a copy to one man was considered circulation of the book. The opinion stated that the book did not have to be delivered to a slave or free Negro but that the circulation with the intent of causing slaves to revolt was an offense. The Supreme Court upheld

the Guilford Superior Court decision.80

Worth traveled over New England during the summer of 1860, seeking funds to pay his bond after the Supreme Court failed to make him a free man. On July 11, 1860, Worth wrote his wife, "I have half the money to pay my bonds. Thank God for this success. I believe it is his gracious will that I should be delivered. If so I shall get the remainder of the money." ⁸¹ By August 6 he had raised all the money for his bondsmen. ⁸² Included was the sum of fifty dollars from Hinton Rowan Helper whose book had been the center of the entire controversy.

Worth went back to Richmond, Indiana, after he had gotten the money for his bond, and his wife followed shortly from North Carolina to make the homecoming complete. On his way home the stage stopped in Fair Mount, Indiana, for a few moments. J. P. Winslow wrote Ralph

Gorrell of the occasion:

Danil Worth was in our town this week seams in fine spirits he passing through on the stage had but little time to talk with him says that he has addressed over 75000 people since he left Carolina people seem to

⁷⁶ The Times, May 19, 1860, quoting from the New York Herald.
80 State v. Daniel Worth, 52 N. C. 488 (1860).
81 D. Worth to "Ever dear Wife," Nantucket, Massachusetts, July 11, 1860, North Carolina Collection, Greensboro Public Library, Greensboro.
82 Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, 104.

simpathise with him generally think that he was not treated justly but much rather he had not come away until it was tried out they think that he is not quite the pluck that he represented himself to be83

Plucky or not, Worth went back to Indiana as a hero. He returned to the Indiana Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church although he had said he never intended to do so. He was elected Conference Missionary in the latter part of 1860 and in 1862 was elected president of the Indiana Conference, a post he held for the remainder of his life.84

There is some confusion over the date of Daniel Worth's death. His tombstone records the date as February 13, 1863.85 Apparently the correct date is December 12, 1862:

Died, of erysipelas, on the 12 inst., at his residence in Newport, Wayne County, Ind., Rev. Daniel Worth, in the 69th year of his age. 86

Daniel Worth was guilty of breaking a law in North Carolina, and for this he was tried and found guilty by his peers. The "due process of law" never gave way to mob violence; rather, the people of North Carolina chose the law as a means of defense against Daniel Worth. The mob, so feared by Worth, probably consisted of curiosity seekers much like the one who wrote:

We go by the Jail evry time we go to church they have got the Rev D E Worth in yet we can see them through the window but I dont know wich is Old Daniel Worth room.87

A most remarkable story concerning the Worth case was told by Aaron Worth, forty-four years after the two trials, when he was seventy-eight years old. This is undoubtedly the final impression gained by Aaron from the reminiscences of Daniel Worth. Writing for a religious paper, Aaron told the fantastic story of a bolt of lightning from a cloudless sky striking the courthouse during one of the trials. He said the lightning "scared those old proslavery lawyers nearly to death, and they asked the judge to adjourn court for awhile and see whether the world would straighten up all right." Daniel Worth, the story goes, told them to go on with the trial because they would hear thunder before long. In Aaron's opinion Daniel's prophecy soon proved

SS J. P. Winslow to Ralph Gorrell, September 14, 1860, Ralph Gorrell Papers.

SI Nicholson, Wesleyan Methodism in the South, 105.

SI Worth's tombstone reads: "Rev. Daniel Worth President of the Ind. Conference of the W. M. C. who closed his labours on earth Feb. 13, 1863."

SI The Indiana True Republican (Centerville), December 25, 1862.

SI Anna Harrington to "Dear Brother," January 29, 1860, John McLean Harrington Papers, Duke University Manuscript Collection.

correct; in a short time the "guns were thundering at Bull Run, and they never ceased their reverberations over the valleys and hills of the South until at Appomattox the Rebel chieftain threw down his sword and slavery was dead." 88

⁸⁸ Aaron Worth, "Pioneers of Indiana Conference," The Wesleyan Methodist, LXXI (December 2, 1914), 6.

SAGA OF A BURKE COUNTY FAMILY

BY EDWARD W. PHIFER*

CONCLUSION: THE SONS

WILLIAM WAIGHTSTILL AVERY

William Waightstill Avery, the first child84 of Isaac Thomas and Harriet Avery, was born at "Swan Ponds" May 25, 1816-the namesake of his two grandfathers, Waightstill Avery and William Willoughby Erwin and a favorite grandchild of his grandfather Erwin. No information is available on the means by which he obtained his preparatory education, but he undoubtedly attended one of the academy-type schools, such as Morganton Academy, that flourished intermittently

around Morganton during this period.

When W. W. Avery went to Chapel Hill in 1833, "the State University was a small college with a classical complexion." Five buildings graced the campus, and there were nine teachers on the faculty. There were about 8,000 volumes in the University library including those volumes in the libraries of the Dialectic and Philanthropic societies. Mathematics, Latin, and Greek were the principal subjects taught, but the natural sciences, rhetoric and French were also included in the curriculum. The Bible was taught each Sunday afternoon. Seniors attended class about eleven hours a week and the three lower classes, fifteen hours a week. Textbooks were used almost exclusively for instruction. Occasional lectures were delivered in all departments during the Junior and Senior years.85

At the end of four years at Chapel Hill, W. Waightstill Avery was awarded the A. B. degree in 1837, graduated first in a class of nine and delivered the valedictory address at the commencement exercises.86

796, 825.

^{*} Dr. Phifer is a local historian and medical practitioner in Morganton.

4 He was one of twins. The other twin lived less than twenty-four hours.

5 Peterson, "W. W. Avery," quoting Kemp P. Battle, History of the University of North Carolina from Its Beginning to the Death of President Swain, 1789-1868 (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1907), I, 408, 410, 461, hereinafter cited as Battle, History of the University.

6 Peterson, "W. W. Avery," quoting Battle, History of the University, I, 433, 434, 796, 825

Among his classmates in the Class of 1837 were Perrin Busbee, Peter

W. Hairston, and Pride Jones.87

He was back at home in June of that year when his grandfather Erwin died, leaving behind him a strange and dramatic deathbed scene in which young Avery played a central role. It was a warm night and the gentle patriarch lay on his big bed at "Belvidere" in a restless coma. As was the custom, his sons, his sons-in-law, his daughters, and some of his grandchildren watched and waited. Suddenly, the patient seemed to rouse and his namesake, the recent university graduate and burgeoning young lawyer, leaned over him, hoping to catch his last words. "William IV is dead," the old man whispered ever so softly and Waightstill repeated the bewildering words to the others present. A few minutes later W. W. Erwin died and his statement was forgotten until several weeks later the news arrived that William IV, King of England, had died on the same night that this weird and mystical incident had occurred at "Belvidere." 88

Following his graduation, Avery read law under Judge William Gaston, "then considered the greatest lawyer in North Carolina." 89 He was licensed in 1839 and began to practice in Morganton during the same year. His brilliance at the bar soon won him recognition as as one of the State's outstanding lawyers. Like his father, he became active in politics at an early age and was elected to the legislature from Burke County in 1842.90 He had been in practice only three years and

was barely twenty-six at the time.

In 1846, when he was thirty years old, he married Mary Corinna Morehead, the daughter of John Motley Morehead, the great Whig governor of 1841-1845. This marriage most certainly "did not impair his political opportunities." Corinna Morehead was a woman of great dignity and charm; and her personal warmth and tact made her extremely popular with all ages and classes. A Christian and an active member of the Morganton Presbyterian church, presently she was to see hours of darkness that would have unhinged a lesser soul.

Shortly after his marriage, W. W. Avery erected a permanent home in Morganton. This was a comfortable, well-built structure of red brick surrounded by spacious landscaped grounds.91 He also built a

^{**}Z. V. Walser, "Colonel W. W. Avery," a newspaper clipping, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, dated July 18, 1926, hereinafter cited as Walser, "Colonel W. W. Avery."

**A. C. Avery, History of the Presbyterian Churches, 76-77; Chambers, The Breed and the Pasture, 57, 63.

**Ouring this period the Whigs outnumbered the Democrats about two to one in Burke County. Avery was elected in spite of the fact that he was a Democrat.

**I This house, the Hairfield home, is still standing on the northeast corner of Patterson and Bouchelle Streets in Morganton.

summer home at Plumtree, North Carolina, in the nearby Blue Ridge Mountains. In 1850 he was again elected to the legislature and in the same year he was appointed a trustee of the University of North Carolina, serving continuously in that capacity until 1864. At the time of his election as a trustee, he was asked to deliver the commencement address. The title of his address was "Advantages of State Pride" and he is said to have spoken quite prophetically on this subject. Like his father, he was a Democrat who followed the political creed of John C. Calhoun and was an ardent exponent of State Rights and a tariff

"for revenue only."

In the autumn of 1851, Avery was involved in a tragic incident which almost wrecked his life. The trouble began on Saturday, October 21, in the courtroom in Marion, North Carolina, the county seat of the recently formed county of McDowell, where Avery appeared that day in behalf of a client, Ephraim Greenlee, the guardian for John H. Greenlee, and against a politician from Yancey County named Sam Fleming. Avery and Fleming had been in the preceding legislature together and Avery had appeared against him in court on several previous occasions. In addition, Avery's father was a large landowner in Yancey County and operated a cattle and stock farm there. If Fleming bore Waightstill any ill-will, however, it was not common knowledge at the time. William Waightstill Avery, at thirty-five, was a rather small delicately-built man, clean-shaven with large somber eyes and a somewhat heavy square jaw. He had suffered with severe bouts of rheumatic fever during his boyhood which undoubtedly left him with a damaged heart.93 Otherwise, good fortune had shone upon him throughout his entire life and he had ample reason to suspect an even brighter future. His manner was pleasant, charming, and graceful and consequently he had many friends. Fleming was a big rugged mountain man. Blatant and boastful, truculent yet proud, he felt that he had made his mark in life by his own efforts and under a great handicap and that he was entitled to some recognition. He held claims of indebtedness against John Greenlee and had a judgment against him but Greenlee's guardian had countered with a restraining order prohibiting the collection of the debt by suggesting that the judgment was fraudulent. Avery defended his client's position vigorously but his language was said to have been less mordant than many other lawyers would have used under the circumstances. At any rate, Fleming took offense at his remarks-or perhaps used them as an excuse to display

Walser, "Colonel W. W. Avery"; Peterson, "W. W. Avery," 467; C. H. Wiley, The North Carolina Reader (New York, 1860), 281-282.

St. T. Avery to Selina L. Lenoir, July 26, August 9, 1832, Lenoir Family Papers.

a smoldering resentment toward a man who possessed enviable qualities of deportment and intellect in which he felt himself lacking. His antipathy to Avery may well have developed during his stay in Raleigh, where a minor slight, whether real or imaginary, could easily have in-

censed a man of Fleming's type.

When court adjourned, Avery left the courthouse and strolled about the little town. As he approached Whitsun's Store he encountered Fleming who was obviously belligerent and dared him to repeat the provocative remarks which he had made in court. Avery refused to do so, and explained that any remarks which he made in court were made as a part of his duty as counsel to Greenlee, that he was not accountable to Fleming for his courtroom language and that he had nothing further to say to him about the matter. Whereupon Fleming became more enraged than ever and challenged Avery to a fist fight but when the latter made a conciliatory answer and turned to walk away, Fleming drew a cowhide whip from under his coat and lashed him with it several times in rapid succession. Avery fought back with his fists but was no match for Fleming. By the time they had been separated he was generally bruised and his face was bleeding. He wandered off to the hotel in a daze. A physician, Dr. John S. Erwin, 94 came by, treated his wounds, furnished him with a pistol, but proffered no advice. His friend, E. P. Jones, was there also and was solicitous but circumspect. Distraught, bewildered, and fraught with conflicting emotions, Avery was unable to decide the proper course to follow. All of his life, things had gone well with him but now he was confronted with a situation that he could neither meet nor avoid. He was in a horrible dilemma, for he surely realized, even then, that under the moral code of his day he must destroy either himself or Fleming. After darkness had fallen, he left for Morganton.

During the following week, Avery maintained an outward semblance of "business as usual," attending court in Caldwell County as he had planned, but Morganton seethed with excitement and indignation, the community was rife with rumors and some of these undoubtedly reach Fleming. It was whispered about that Avery's father had adjured him to kill Fleming, that one of his uncles had counseled him likewise, and that his brothers had pressed him to act in a similar manner. Word was about that Fleming dared not show his face in

Morganton.

On the second Monday in November Superior Court convened in

⁹⁴ John Simianer Erwin was the son of Adolphus L. Erwin. He lived at "Pleasant Gardens" and was Avery's first cousin.

Morganton and the first day passed uneventfully. Avery was present and went unobtrusively about his affairs. However, early Tuesday morning, November 11 Fleming rode into town on horseback. His young son rode with him and they were leading several other horses which they planned to take to Charleston. He pulled up short in front of Dr. John M. Happoldt's "Mountain Hotel," dismounted, tied up his horses, and loitered there conversing with the middle-aged physician about one thing and another until finally he asked whether Happoldt had heard any threats made against him. The doctor shook his head; he was relatively new in the community, and saw no reason to implicate himself in the affair. Fleming went out, unstrapped his saddlebags, and brought them inside. They contained his revolver and when he departed he failed to take it with him, remarking at the time that he was not afraid to go wherever his business took him. Throughout the morning, he made certain to be seen about the town and in the courthouse, issuing a flood of rodomontade wherever he went, declaiming on one occasion that he would not take a thousand dollars

for the cowhiding he had given Avery.

After the noonday recess, Judge William Horn Battle took his seat on the bench and called the Court to order as usual. He was, at fortynine, an unusually handsome man, well-groomed, cleanshaven, with fine regular features and the gentle eyes of a scholar. Heavy creases arched about the corners of his mouth. He had been appointed Superior Court judge a short time before without his knowledge or assent and the work was not particularly to his liking. At this moment, Fleming sauntered into the courtroom, entered the enclosed bar, crossed over, and stood at the clerk's desk in front of Avery. The courtroom was aghast at his contumely. Nicholas W. Woodfin called to Fleming and he sidled over and leaned forward to converse with the Asheville lawyer. Nicholas Washington Woodfin, a thin tired man of medium height with stiff unruly iron-gray hair and piercing black eyes, was a Buncombe County Whig lawyer; he had achieved success, mainly through hard work, and had ample reason to feel sympathetic toward Fleming.95 Avery sat about five feet away from him and immediately in front of the judge. He suddenly stood up, took a step or two forward, drew a pistol from an inside pocket and fired point blank at Fleming. The missile struck him in the right side, traversed his heart and emerged near the left nipple. He stood erect, brought his hand quickly to his left breast, jerked out his watch as if it were a

¹⁶ A. R. Newsome (ed.), "The A. S. Merrimon Journal, 1853-1854," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, VIII (July, 1931), 304, hereinafter cited as Newsome, "The A. S. Merrimon Journal."

weapon, spun entirely around, sank down, toppled over on his side, and died without uttering a sound. In a last act of utter frustration,

Avery hurled his pistol at the hated figure of the dying man.

Judge Battle automatically swung his gavel and with the familiar sound came the sickening realization that he had been a reluctant witness to the tragic drama. So had the sheriff, Alexander Duckworth, the bailiff and the clerk, Joseph D. Ferree, the lawyers within the bar, and the audience without. So in fact had the solicitor of the district, Colonel Burgess S. Gaither who had married Avery's aunt and lived in Morganton. Forty-four years old, tall and Lincolnesque, with a large mouth and flashing white teeth, he was noted for his animated facial movements and his courtroom histrionics. He stepped quickly forward, took Avery by the arm and led him from the chamber. Presently, he returned and announced that he could not conduct the prosecution for the State. Whereupon Judge Battle appointed John W. Woodfin and Tod R. Caldwell as prosecuting attorneys. John W. Woodfin was an affable yet determined man, impulsive, sensitive, intelligent, and honorable; his stocky commonplace figure was more at home on the farm than at the bar. He lived in Asheville and was a brother of Nicholas Woodfin. 96 Tod Caldwell, a Morganton lawyer, and a contemporary of Avery's, was relieved of a painfully unpleasant duty when he was retained for the defense together with Nicholas Woodfin and John Gray Bynum, a prominent lawyer and Whig politician from Rutherfordton. Meanwhile, Avery had given himself over to the proper authorities and had been lodged in jail. The following day-a cold, rainy Wednesday-he was arraigned, a true bill was found against him, and his trial was set for Friday.

On Thursday the sky was overcast and there was a penetrating chill in the air. A cold drizzle fell intermittently and turned the red clay of the village streets to slick, tenacious mud. On Friday the weather was no better. A pall hung over the town and profound gloom pervaded the entire community. Feeling reached a fever pitch and a suggestion was made that the trial be moved to another county but no one came forward to make the necessary affidavit.

When the case was called on Friday, the courtroom was jammed. Avery's father and older brothers sat with him but his wife had been

prevailed upon to remain at home. As might be expected, selection of a jury was tedious and slow but after this obstacle had been hurdled

⁹⁶⁰ Newsome, "The A. S. Merrimon Journal," 308. For full details on the weather for the week see the Diary of James Hervey Greenlee, bound typewritten copy, Volume II, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library and also in the possession of Mr. J. Harvey Greenlee, Box 168, Morganton.

events moved rather swiftly.97 The prosecution based its case on primafacie evidence all too familiar to everyone in court. The defense based its major argument on the assertion that "the indignity was . . . so well calculated to degrade, disgrace and utterly ruin the prisoner that preying upon his sensitive mind, it had for the time made him a madman. . . . "In short, they maintained that he had been temporarily insane and they produced three witnesses who had had business dealings with him in the interim and thought him to be mentally ill: Benjamin Hamilton, John Burgin, and Robert C. Pearson. "Squire" Pearson, a great mountain of a man, was a "wheeler-dealer" in his day and his word carried tremendous weight with the jury. On Saturday morning John Woodfin made an energetic but just appeal to the jury calling for Avery's conviction. Caldwell, Bynum, and Nicholas Woodfin each made lengthy impassioned pleas, asking for his acquittal. Then came the charge-concise, painstaking, learned, yet esoteric. All this mattered little, however, for the jurors had long since reached a decision in their own minds based on old loyalties, nativistic tendencies, and an inherent sense of justice. After ten minutes deliberation, they reported a verdict of "Not Guilty." 98 Said Judge Battle later: "The rendering of the verdict was immediately followed by the most deeply affecting scene which I have ever witnessed. Not a word was spoken but almost every person in the courtroom, in silence and in tears, went and shook the prisoner by the hand.99 W. W. Holden, in an editorial published in the Raleigh Standard summarized the opinion of the public on the verdict as follows:

That man who has acted the part of an assassin, by attacking a peaceable man without arms, himself being fully armed, creates a reasonable ground for supposing that he who had once so acted, will renew his dastardly attack the first chance that presents itself. It is more dangerous to society for the law to give protection to such characters, then to authorize and excuse those who must otherwise submit to irreparable injury, or defend themselves at every hazard, and whatever these political maligners

⁹⁷ Jurors were: William Conly, S. W. Melton, Joseph L. Collins, Peter J. Walker, Abram Franklin, Richard V. Michaux, James Estes, Philip Warlick, Philip Whisenhunt, William R. Aiken, Jacob Seagle, Stephen Winters. Minutes of Burke County Superior Court, 1830-1854, September Term, 1851, State Department of Archives and

^{**}Sory.**

**Sorth Carolina Star* (Raleigh), November 26, 1851, quoting Asheville Messenger; R. C. Pearson to Thomas Ruffin, November 14, 1851, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (ed.), The Papers of Thomas Ruffin (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 4 volumes, 1918-1920), II, 317.

**William H. Battle, Rutherfordton, to Lucy M. Battle, November 17, 1851, Battle Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

may say, the voice of the public has already pronounced its approval of the verdict rendered by the jury. 100

The effects of this incident on Avery's professional reputation were minimal and he continued to enjoy the respect and confidence of the large majority of the population. In 1852 he was again elected to the legislature from Burke County—an early indication that his political potentialities were unimpaired. However, the effect on his psychic and emotional make-up was profound. For long afterwards he brooded, seemed preoccupied; he suffered from insomnia and was frequently seen out walking the streets late at night. Undoubtedly destiny had played a trick upon him from which his proud and sensitive soul could not recover.

In 1856 he was elected to the State Senate and was chosen as the Speaker of that body and in that year, as well as in 1860, he was chosen chairman of the North Carolina delegation to the Democratic National Convention. He was a candidate for Congress in 1858 on the Democratic ticket but was defeated by that great Whig vote-getter, Zebulon Baird Vance. During the campaign, Thomas L. Clingman attended one of the debates and someone asked his opinion about the speeches. "He replied that Avery made a fine argument, but Vance made the crowd laugh with his anecdotes."

The succession of offices to which Avery was elected indicates his influence, good reputation, and popularity. The following appeared

in the Raleigh Standard in 1856:

Mr. Avery comes from the western portion of the state, where for several years he sustained the banner of Democracy and defended its cause against an overwhelming majority of the people and the whole bar of the mountain circuit—Mr. Avery enjoys much personal popularity, having been repeatedly elected to the house of commons in his own county, giving a large anti-Democratic majority.¹⁰²

One reason for his political and legal eminence was his skill as a public speaker. Newspapers praised his speeches with one accord. Together with his brothers, Moulton and Isaac, he was active in organizing the Western North Carolina Railroad Company and was

¹⁰¹ Wooten, "Avery Family." ¹⁰² Peterson, "W. W. Avery," 468, quoting North Carolina Standard, November 26, 1856.

¹⁰⁰ Guion G. Johnson, Ante-Bellum North Carolina (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 47, quoting North Carolina Standard (Raleigh), December 17, 1851. This newspaper title varies, but will hereinafter be cited as North Carolina Standard.

elected a director in 1857. ¹⁰³ In 1860 he was again elected to the State Senate but refused the nomination for Speaker and supported his

friend, Henry T. Clark, for this office. 104

Without a doubt, his greatest influence upon the course of history resulted from the part that he played in the Democratic Convention of 1860. At that time there were two factions in the party. Simply stated, the question that produced the schism was this: Did a slaveowner have the right to move into a territory, take his slaves with him, and still maintain ownership of his slaves? The Dred Scott decision held, in essence, that the slaves were property and that the answer to the above question was in the affirmative. This view was supported by most of the southern Democrats. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854, sponsored by Stephen A. Douglas, begged the question by allowing each territorial legislature the right to decide whether that particular territory be slave or free. This Bill was recognized by the southerners

as a threat to the right to carry slaves into the territories.

The Convention first met in Charleston, South Carolina, in April. William Waightstill Avery was placed on the resolutions and platform committee and was elected chairman. The majority report of the committee upheld the southern viewpoint and Avery presented it to the floor on two occasions. Both times he spoke to the Convention, defending this position in a logical manner. After lengthy debate, the minority report was voted into the platform with the southerners dissenting. Immediately after the vote, the delegations of six southern States and parts of other southern delegations walked out but the North Carolina delegation remained and took part in the prolonged balloting which finally ended in adjournment when Douglas failed to muster the required two-thirds majority. When the Convention reconvened in Baltimore in June, Avery again spoke, this time against the attempt to unseat the dissenting delegations from the South who had walked out at Charleston but were now willing to return. However, his protest went unheeded and all, save three, of the North Carolina Delegation withdrew from this convention and joined the "dissenters" convention in nearby Institute Hall where Avery again served on the Resolutions Committee. This convention nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky and the "Northern" Convention nominated Douglas. Thereby occurred the split which resulted in the election of the Republican candidate, Abraham Lincoln. With Lincoln's victory,

¹⁰³ Proceedings of the General Meetings of Stockholders of the Western North Carolina Railroad Company, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1860, passim, hereinafter cited as Proceedings of Western North Carolina Railroad. A bound copy of the proceedings of these meetings is in the possession of Mr. C. V. Walton, Morganton.

104 Walser, "Colonel W. W. Avery."

Avery became an avowed Secessionist. "Thus the political metamor-

phosis of another southern leader was completed." 105

When North Carolina seceded, Avery was chosen a member of the Confederate Provisional Congress where he served from July 20, 1861, until February 17, 1862. In that body he was made chairman of its most important committee-that of Military Affairs, where he earnestly and actively supported the policies of President Jefferson Davis. In the subsequent North Carolina legislature, a majority of the Democrats supported Avery for re-election but a stalemate developed between the Burke County man and Thomas L. Clingman of Buncombe, resulting in the election of a compromise candidate. 106 In 1864 he was designated by Jefferson Davis to raise a regiment in North Carolina and to serve as its commanding officer, but was finally reconciled to remain at home when prevailed upon to do so by his

aged father and four brothers.

In June of that year, Colonel George W. Kirk, the notorious Federal commander who had collected a regiment of Union sympathizers, Cherokee Indians, and Confederate deserters from the western North Carolina and East Tennessee mountains, launched a daring raid from Morristown, Tennessee, into western North Carolina. The objective of the raid was to destroy the railroad bridge across the Yadkin River. Early in the morning on the 28, they reached the terminus of the Western North Carolina Railroad about three miles east of Morganton where they surprised and captured several hundred Junior Reserves who were in training there. After carrying out sabotage at the railhead and looting the countryside, they decided to return to Tennessee. The local militia, consisting of several hundred older men and boys, pursued them in the hope that they might free the conscripts. Kirk made a brief stand at Beck's Farm near Brown Mountain about fourteen miles from Morganton, then went up the Winding Stairs Road, and camped for the night about two miles from Lovens Cold Springs Tavern, a point about twenty-one miles from Morganton. On the next morning advance files of the militia made contact with Kirk's men before their main body had come up. W. W. Avery and several other members of the militia were in front and in the exchange of fire that ensued, Avery was seriously wounded.107 He was taken back home to Morganton and died of his wounds on July 3, 1864.108 He was only

<sup>Peterson, "W. W. Avery," 477.
Walser, "Colonel W. W. Avery."
Arthur, Western North Carolina, 605-608.
W. W. Avery is buried in the Presbyterian Churchyard at Morganton.</sup>

forty-eight years of age. Even so, he lived longer than any of his brothers, save one.

His was no warring spirit; kind, affable, unselfish, and a scholar, his talents lay in gentler, quieter fields where man's efforts are more enduring.



"Magnolia" is located at the intersection of Interstate 40 and Highway 64, southwest of Morganton. The oldest part of the house was built by John H. Stevelie and expanded to its present size by Clarke Moulton Avery. It now belongs to Mr. H. L. Wilson, Jr., and the children of H. L. Riddle, Sr., and is the home of Mr. Henry L. Browning, III, and his family.

CLARKE MOULTON AVERY

Clarke Moulton Avery was the second child born to Isaac Thomas and Harriet Erwin Avery. His date of birth is recorded as October 3, 1819. He grew up a strapping fellow with more interest in farming and other plantation activities than in his studies. Nevertheless, he made satisfactory progress with his preliminary schooling and entered the University only two years after his brother Waightstill had entered the same institution. In 1839 he graduated, being awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree. He did not pursue professional studies, but returned home with the intention of becoming a planter.

 $^{^{100}}$ He was the second child who reached adult life; actually, he was the fourth child born to his parents. 110 Wooten, "Avery Family."

On June 23, 1841, he married Elizabeth Tilghman Walton. His bride was a daughter of Thomas and Martha McEntire Walton, who had migrated to Morganton shortly before the turn of the century.¹¹¹ Thomas Walton was a merchant and trader and apparently had been financially successful, for he soon purchased considerable real estate

in and around Morganton.

All in all, the newly married couple seemed to be in no dire distress for want of financial aid. In 1847 from his father-in-law, Avery acquired 915 acres of farmland and a brick house several miles southwest of the town. 112 The house was enlarged to more than twice its original size. and a stately porch was added. This place was called "Magnolia" because of the beautiful trees in the yard. For the next twenty years, Moulton Avery occupied himself with the peaceful and pleasant, though not necessarily profitable, pursuits of a slaveholding planter. During this period, nothing extraordinary happened to him or his family. His children were born, and he tilled the none-too-fertile land with slave labor. 113 Although he took an active part in local politics, he did not seek public office. 114 Inured to this life, as were others of his class, he reacted vigorously when the institution of slavery came under attack. Impetuous by nature, he became a fiery Secessionist and soon was willing to maintain the righteousness of his convictions by force, if necessary.

On April 12, 1861, hostilities began in Charleston harbor and on April 15 Lincoln issued "his proclamation for coercion" calling on all States to furnish troops to fight to preserve the Union. For North Carolina this was the "last straw." On April 17 Governor John W. Ellis issued his rejoinder, calling the General Assembly in special session on May 1. On the same date, April 17, the companies of the first regiment

Company.

May 1. On the same date, April 17, the companies of the first regiment

111 A. C. Avery, History of the Presbyterian Churches, 89.
112 Will of Thomas Walton, William Carson Ervin Papers, Southern Historical Collection; H. L. Riddle, Jr., to Edward W. Phifer, September 12, 1957.
113 In 1850 his farm was valued at \$5,000; acreage was listed as 80 (improved) and 920 (unimproved); farm implements were valued at \$200. He owned 11 horses, 4 mules, 16 milk cows, 4 work oxen, 35 cattle, 25 sheep, and 70 swine. Livestock was valued at \$2,000. That year his farm produced 1,700 bushels of corn, 500 bushels of oats, 100 bushels of wheat. Census of 1850, Schedule IV, Agriculture. In 1860 he owned 37 slaves. Census of 1860, Schedule II, Slave Inhabitants. In 1860 he owned real estate valued at \$15,000 and personal property valued at \$29,000. Census of 1860, Schedule I, Free Inhabitants. In 1860 he owned 460 improved acres and 1,850 unimproved acres; farm implements were valued at \$500. He owned 11 horses, 1 mule, 16 milk cows, 3 work oxen, 15 other cattle, and 75 swine. Livestock was valued at \$2,000. That year his farm produced 2,900 bushels of corn, 200 bushels of oats, 335 bushels of wheat, 200 bushels of Irish potatoes, 60 bushels of peas and beans, 250 pounds of butter, and 10 tons of hay. Census of 1860, Schedule IV, Agriculture.

114 He was elected to Burke County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions in 1845, to the Council of State in 1856, as a Secessionist delegate to the State convention in March, 1861, and President of the State Democratic Convention at Charlotte in 1858; and he was active in the formation of the Western North Carolina Railroad Company.

of North Carolina troops volunteered and by May 16 had been formed into a regiment at the State capital by orders from the Adjutant General's office. They called themselves the First North Carolina Volunteers and they signed up to serve six months, which evidently they felt would be ample time to end any hostilities that might occur. Company G-the Burke Rifles-was one of the ten companies of this gay regiment and Captain Moulton Avery was its company commander.115 The field officers of the regiment were the three ranking officers of the North Carolina Military Institute at Charlotte with Colonel Daniel Harvey Hill as the regimental commander. By May 21 the entire regiment had reached Richmond, camped there for several days receiving the plaudits of the local press, and on May 24 moved by rail and steamboat to Yorktown on the Peninsula between the York and the James rivers. This was exactly four days after the State of North Carolina seceded from the Union and ratified the Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States of America. 116

The Union high command had been concentrating its forces at Fortress Monroe and in early June began to move up the Peninsula with a force of about 4,400 men. On June 10 Colonel Hill's troops with several Virginia companies were attacked by this force at Big Bethel Church, a point about thirteen miles below Yorktown where Hill had taken up defensive positions. In this small battle, the Federal forces were defeated and driven from the field within a few hours. In this brief engagement "Company G, Captain Avery, was thrown beyond the stream to the right of the road, near an old milldam, where they took part in the repulse of the enemies first advance on our right. Subsequently, they were moved forward to the support of the howitzer which had replaced the spiked and abandoned one." 117 Wrote D. H. Hill in his official report: "Captain Avery, Co. G. displayed great coolness, judgment, and efficiency at Battle of Bethel." 118

This, the "Battle of Big Bethel," represented the only contact with the enemy experienced by this organization of enthusiastic young men during their stay on the Virginia Peninsula. However, Big Bethel was the first land battle of the war and this regiment has been referred to since that time as "The Bethel Regiment." While they were still at Yorktown, an order was received from the Adjutant General of North

James C. S. McDowell.

118 Walter Clark (ed.), Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-'65 (Raleigh and Goldsboro: State of North Carolina, 5 volumes, 1901), I, 71-74, hereinafter cited as Clark, Histories of the North Carolina Regiments.

117 Clark, Histories of the North Carolina Regiments, I, 90-91.

118 Semi-Weekly Raleigh Register, June 26, 1861.

Carolina changing their designated number from the First to the Nineteenth Regiment. Whereupon a meeting was held of the Officers of the Regiment, at which time resolutions were adopted opposing this change in a most vehement manner. Captain Avery was the chairman of this meeting and as chairman, his name appears on the Resolves. On November 12, 1861, the regiment was mustered out of service in Richmond and returned to North Carolina on the following day. The Bethel Regiment has been called a "training school for officers" as it surely proved itself to be in the great battles that followed.

On returning to North Carolina after the Bethel Regiment disbanded, Captain Avery was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the Thirty-Third Regiment of North Carolina State Troops which was in the process of organization and training at the old Fairgrounds in Raleigh and later at Camp Mangum. During the organizational period in the latter part of 1861, Colonel L. O'B. Branch, the commander of the Thirty-Third, was made brigade commander and Avery was promoted to colonel, 120 his date of rank being January 17, 1862. He thus became, and continued to be until his death, the highest ranking officer in the Confederate Army from Burke County.

Like the First Regiment through the Tenth Regiment, the Thirty-Third was a "war regiment." Its officers were appointed by the Governor and its troops were selected entirely from those volunteers who had signed up for three years or the duration of the war. ¹²¹ Therefore, its efficiency was not impaired by the periodic elections prescribed in the conscription acts of April, 1862, which proved to be detrimental to the organization and function of many regiments of the Confederate

Army during this period.

As soon as Colonel Avery took command he instituted a rigorous training program. "How well he did this, the brilliant record made by this veteran band for four years of its bloody history, bears most true and honorable testimony." ¹²² In February, 1862, the regiment was ordered to New Bern and on March 14, it was a part of an inadequate force which attempted to thwart a well-conceived amphibious operation by General Ambrose E. Burnside directed against the Town of New Bern. Says the historian of the Thirty-Third concerning the regiment at the beginning of the battle: "We had spent a rather uncom-

C. M. Avery."

¹²¹ Clark, Histories of the North Carolina Regiments, I, 6.

¹²² Foote, "Colonel C. M. Avery."

¹¹⁹ Clark, Histories of the North Carolina Regiments, I, 129-130.

¹²⁰ James H. Foote, "Colonel C. M. Avery, Sketch of the Life of This Brave Soldier and Gallant Officer," a clipping from a newspaper dated April 4, 1895, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, hereinafter cited as Foote, "Colonel C. M. Avery."

fortable night, as it began to rain about dark and continued to rainslowly all night. Still there were no complaints, no murmurings. Everyone seemed to be anxious to do his duty to his country and to his God. Colonel Avery made a short talk to his regiment, full of fire and patriotism, to which the men responded with the utmost heartiness and enthusiasm." Soon after the Federal forces attacked, a penetration was made in the Confederate lines which forced a general withdrawal. However, no orders to withdraw reached the Thirty-Third and Twenty-Sixth North Carolina Regiments. They made a valiant stand but after several hours were surrounded and overrun. In the confusion, Colonel Avery and sizable elements of his command were captured. Says the historian of the Twenty-Sixth: "Colonel Avery was everywhere along the trenches animating the men by his presence." Colonel Clark of the Twenty-First Massachusetts Regiment in his official report stated: "These two regiments (the Thirty-Third and Twenty-Sixth) were the best armed, and fought the most valiantly of any of the enemy's forces. They kept up an incessant fire for three hours until their ammunition was exhausted, and the remainder of the rebel forces had retreated." 123 However, commendations and accolades would have brought little consolation to this captured Confederate colonel even had he been where he could have heard them.

He was transported to Old Fort Columbus on Governor's Island, New York, and was moved to Johnson's Island during the summer of 1862. This small island, used during the Civil War as a prison for officers, is in Lake Erie about two and one-half miles from Sandusky, Ohio. The prisoners were confined in a stockade measuring about 200 by 300 yards and containing thirteen two-story wooden buildings where the inmates were housed. The climate was very severe in winter, hygienic conditions poor, but the food was sufficient to prevent starvation. Overcrowding was perhaps its worst feature, there usually being about 2,500 prisoners in this small enclosure with as many as fifty to sixty men housed in a room thirty feet square.124 During Colonel Avery's imprisonment there, an incident occurred which sheds considerable light as to his personality. A prisoner had been brutally murdered by a sentinel and the inmates were highly incensed over the

¹²⁸ Clark, Histories of the North Carolina Regiments, II, 308-321, 541-545. For further remarks on Colonel Avery at New Bern, see R. N. Scott and Others (eds.), The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 70 volumes [127 books, atlases, and index], 1880-1901), Series I, IX, 246, General Branch's Report. See also, Lt. Col. Hoke's Report, Series I, IX, 260. This reference will hereinafter be cited as Official Records.

124 Clark, Histories of the North Carolina Regiments, IV, 657-712.

occurrence. A revolt had been planned against the prison garrison and Colonel Avery was ready and willing to lead it but he was dissuaded by a fellow officer with less daring and more discretion. Said this wise officer and friend: "There could have been but one ending, for we were without a single weapon of any kind, located on an island three miles from shore, commanded by artillery from block houses at the corners of the stockade, by a sufficient force of Yankee infantry and by an armed vessel on the lake." 125

After seven months imprisonment Colonel Avery's release was effected through the process of exchange-at this time a policy adhered to by common consent of the two governments, but later discontinued by the Union when they realized that it was one of the factors responsible for prolongation of the war. He returned to active duty in the late fall of 1862 and took part in the Battle of Fredericksburg, in December-where his regiment played a vital role in closing the gap between the troops of Lane 126 and Archer when, early in the day, Burnside dashed his Union brigades against the Confederate right. Wrote Major General A. P. Hill in his report: "The three remaining regiments of Lane's brigade (seventh, eighth, and thirty-third N. C.) steadily continued to battle against overwhelming numbers, and the attack was checked by well directed volleys from the thirty-third Regiment, Colonel (Clark M.) Avery." 127

Avery's health had been shattered by his imprisonment, however, and he was unable to tolerate the rigors of the Virginia winter. The medical board found him so malnourished and debilitated that they advised him to leave his command until he could recover his vitality. This he did for a few weeks and probably went home to "Magnolia." But ambition and a sense of duty drove him back to camp before he was fit and again he began to prepare his regiment for the campaigns that were sure to come with spring. "Those who witnessed his thorough police and inspections of arms, the drills and dress parades of his command at 'Moss Neck' will long remember the neatness of his camp and the soldierly bearing of his men." 128 On such an occasion General Dorsey Pender, Lee's great field commander, allegedly remarked: "If

Frank S. Roberts, "An Echo of Johnson's Island," a newspaper clipping from a Raleigh paper dated October 1, 1922, North Carolina Collection, University of North

Raleigh paper dated October 1, 1922, North Carolina Confection, Oliversity of Rolls. Carolina Library.

136 Following the death of Brigadier General Branch at Sharpsburg, this brigade (of which the Thirty-Third was a part) was commanded by Brigadier General James H. Lane and was thereafter called Lane's Brigade. It was a part of A. P. Hill's Division, Jackson's Corp, until Chancellorsville when it was in Heth's Division. After Chancellorsville it was in Pender's Division, A. P. Hill's Corp; after Pender's death at Gettysburg, Cadmus Wilcox became division commander.

137 Official Records, Series I, XXI, Part I, 646.

238 Foote, "Colonel C. M. Avery."

all the Colonels were Averys, our army would indeed be invincible." 129

And so the winter passed, but with spring, General Lee was on the move again. He found the Union forces in a thickly wooded country south of the Rappahannock, eagerly fortifying around a road junction called Chancellorsville. Using his accustomed finesse, he swung Jackson's entire corp in a giant flanking movement around the right of the unsuspecting Federals executing that maneuver which was to bring everlasting fame to "Old Blue Light." Amidst this orderly throng was the Thirty-Third North Carolina Regiment, Lane's Brigade, Hill's Division, and with like elements of the famous Light Division it stormed up the Orange Plank Road toward the rising sun on that beautiful Sabbath morning, May 3, 1863. In this charge, Colonel Avery incurred his first disabling wound of the war and was robbed of the deep satisfaction that comes to troops with victory. But when Jim Lane's Brigade swung into the dusty road and started north with the rest, in June of that same year, Colonel C. M. Avery was back with the Thirty-Third. This campaign reached its zenith at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. In this great three-day battle, Lane's Brigade was a part of that avalanche of Pender's that drove the Union Army from Seminary Ridge on the First Day. On the Third Day, placed temporarily with Scale's Brigade under General Isaac Ridgeway Trimble, they collaborated with the Divisions of Pettigrew and Pickett against Cemetery Ridge in that valiant charge that for some inexplicable reason, now bears General Pickett's name. General Lane's description of this charge vividly describes the part played by his brigade which follows, in

My brigade was now the extreme left of the attacking force, and the Thirty-Third Regiment was on the left of the brigade. I never saw, even in drill, a more beautiful line than my brigade kept as it advanced under that murderous fire. The field was open-no troops in front of us, and it was our yell, as we joined the front line that caused General Trimble to make that remark, "I believe those fine fellows are going into the enemy's lines." The men reserved their fire in accordance with orders, until within good range of the enemy, and then opened with telling effect, repeatedly driving the cannoneers from their pieces, completely silencing the guns in our front and breaking the line of infantry which was formed on the crest of the hill. We advanced to within a few yards of the stone wall. Some of my right had gone over the fence, yelling furiously. My left, under Colonel Avery, was here very much exposed and a column of infantry was thrown forward by the enemy in that direction which infiladed my whole line. When I ordered Colonel Avery, in obedience to instructions

part:

¹⁸⁰ Foote, "Colonel C. M. Avery." 180 Official Records, Series I, XXV, Part I, 918, 922.

from General Longstreet, to face to the left for the purpose of meeting the flanking column of the enemy, he replied: "My God, General, do you intend rushing your troops into such a place unsupported, when the whole right has given way?" I looked to the right and saw that it was as he stated; no line of battle was anywhere visible on the right. Colonel Avery had already reached the fence and his men were firing and cheering. My brigade, I know, was the last to leave the field, and it did so by my order.¹³¹

Colonel Avery was again wounded at Gettysburg but did not leave his regiment during the long heartbreaking retreat back to Virginia. During the fall and winter of 1863-1864, the regiment was lightly engaged at Bristoe Station, Mine Run, and elsewhere but, in the main, they fought cold weather, scant rations, and boredom. Old grievances were aired and petty jealousies were exaggerated. Bickering was common with clique plotting against clique. Colonel Avery, for reasons entirely fortuitous, had not advanced in rank in almost two years. His friends thinking that he had earned a promotion long ago, asked the War Department to form a new North Carolina brigade for him by detaching regiments from Davis', Stuart's, and Lane's brigades. However, Lane squelched the scheme by writing to Lee's Headquarters specifically asking that the Thirty-Third Regiment not be removed from his command. During this period many leaves-of-absence and furloughs were granted and Colonel Avery himself was at home with his wife and family for the last time.

May 5 of that year, 1864, found the corps of A. P. Hill marching eastward on the Orange Plank Road again with Ewell's Corp marching in the same direction along the Orange Turnpike, about two miles to the north. Their march was intercepted by large elements of Grant's army marching generally south. A furious see-saw battle developed between Hills' Corp on the Plank Road and Union forces under General Winfield Scott Hancock on a road perpendicular to the Plank Road, called the Brock Road. Lane's Brigade, now in Wilcox's division, went into action about five o'clock in the afternoon and at first drove the Federals on their front but when darkness fell, they were on the edge of disaster because they were greatly outnumbered. A. P. Hill, the Confederate corps commander, was sick and no effort was made to disentangle these troops and establish a new line behind more adequate defenses. Consequently, the two opposing forces faced each

Clark, Histories of the North Carolina Regiments, II, 559-567.

122 Official Records, Series I, XXVII, Part II, 668. Avery commanded Lane's Brigade during the retreat from Gettysburg. Official Records, Series I, XXVII, Part II, 667.

123 Official Records, Series I, XXIX, Part II, 868. See also, Governor Z. B. Vance to Secretary of War James A. Seddon, September 21, 1863, requesting promotion of Avery to Brigadier General and the formation of a district in western North Carolina under his command. Official Records, Series I, XXIX, Part II, 740.

other in pell-mell disorganized fashion throughout a horrible night in this wilderness thicket where the woods smoked and burned and the wounded lay unattended. At five o'clock in the morning the outnumbered Confederate forces were vigorously attacked. Colonel Avery's regiment lay in an exposed position when the attack began. They formed a line of battle as quickly as possible behind hastily improvised breastworks of logs and dirt. In a few minutes the enemy was upon them in overwhelming numbers. Colonel Avery walked up and down in front of the breastworks encouraging his men by word and act. When urged to get down behind the breastworks, he shook his head. "No, No," he said, "it will make the men fight better." His forces stood their ground for a short time and then the Yankee flood was upon them. A bullet struck the weary Burke County Colonel in the right thigh and he went down. 134 When two of his officers, Lieutenant John G. Rencher and Lieutenant John D. Fain, attempted to remove him from the field on a litter, they both were shot down. Lying thus, trying desperately to fend for himself, he was hit again in the body and neck; his left arm was shattered by a Minie ball. In this condition, Colonel Avery finally reached the division field hospital where his friends gathered around him-and the surgeons worked over him. His shattered arm was amputated and amputation of his leg was thought to be desirable. 185 However, this was not done and he was moved to Orange Court House where he was nursed by the ladies of that community. 136 During these trying times, his wife gave birth to a daughter and a story persists that she named this child for one of the Virginia ladies who nursed her husband so faithfully. Wound sepsis developed in his leg wound, however, and gradually became so profound that he succumbed to it on June 18, 1864, about six weeks after he was wounded in the Wilderness on May 6, 1864, and fifteen days before the death of his brother Waightstill. He was in his forty-fifth year. He was initially buried in Orange County, Virginia, but afterwards, Elizabeth Avery moved his body to the Presbyterian Churchyard at Morganton.

Moulton Avery was primarily a soldier and his capabilities in this realm far outshown his competence as farmer, politician, or student. Rugged and fearless and with an unconquerable spirit, doubtless he would have performed even more brilliantly in war had he possessed a military education and a greater desire for self preservation.

¹⁸⁴ Clark, Histories of the North Carolina Regiments, II, 569-570.

¹⁸⁵ One source says his leg was not amputated because he was in shock; a second says he refused leg amputation, stating that he would rather die than be so maimed. The first story seems more likely.

¹⁸⁶ Foote, "Colonel C. M. Avery."

Says the regimental historian: "He was a brave and faithful officer, a true friend, and the knightliest of men." 187

THOMAS LENOIR AVERY

For Isaac Thomas Avery, March 16, 1821, was a day of violently conflicting emotions, commingling joy with sorrow and articulating the vivid past with the undeterminable future; for following the death of his father, a male child had blessed this grief-stricken family. 138 As an only son, Isaac Avery's relations with his father had been extremely close, their interests had been similar and their respect and affection for each other unbounded; his father's early affliction, his lingering illness, his gentle ruminative nature, his overweening pride, his sententious mode of speech, and his progressively increasing dependence had forged an irrefragable bond between the two. 139 Isaac's sorrow was profound yet the new baby was a lusty, healthy child whose advent assuaged the father's grief and blended it with paternal love. The infant was named for Thomas Lenoir of Fort Defiance, Happy Valley, who had married the child's aunt, Selina Louisa. Thomas Lenoir Avery grew up at "Swan Ponds" and with his brothers pored over his studies, worked in the fields, or prowled the hills and streams for fish and game. He was definitely the rugged outdoor type with a penchant for adventure and at the University of North Carolina, where he graduated in 1841,140 he was said to be "the most attractive and popular student" at the school.141 After leaving college he interested himself in gold mining-a pursuit which was purported to have a particularly bright future in western North Carolina at this time. During his boyhood he had observed his father's gold mining operations in Rutherford County and had shared his enthusiasm in these ventures. As early as 1830, Isaac Avery had realized that placer or "deposite" mining alone would not produce a stable, profitable industry and he had confined his efforts to "vein" or quartz mining which required more capital, labor

¹⁸⁷ Clark, Histories of the North Carolina Regiments, II, 570.

¹⁸⁸ The child was born about three o'clock in the afternoon of March 16, just as his grandfather's funeral service began. I. T. Avery to Thomas Lenoir, March 29, 1821,

grandfather's funeral service began. 1. T. Avery to Inomas Lenoir, March 29, 1021, Lenoir Family Papers.

¹²⁸ Avery, "The Place That Lured Waightstill," including a copy of a letter from Isaac Thomas Avery to Thomas Lenoir, March 29, 1821.

¹²⁶ Daniel Lindsay Grant (Executive Secretary), Alumni History of the University of North Carolina (Durham: General Alumni Association [Second edition], 1924), 25, hereinafter cited as Alumni History.

¹²⁶ George Phifer Erwin, a manuscript compiled in 1900 concerning the Avery family and now in possession of his daughter, Adelaide Erwin White, of Morganton, hereinafter cited as George Phifer Erwin Manuscript. His mother referred to him as "the handsomest of all her children," I. T. Avery to Thomas Lenoir, July 23, 1821, Lenoir Family Papers. Lenoir Family Papers.

and equipment but was certainly a wiser venture. 142 In "deposite" mining the sandbars and river beds were sifted for the precious metal; in "vein" mining the quartz was dug out of the hills and pulverized before

it could go through the sifting process.

Thomas Lenoir Avery worked various claims, particularly in Randolph County, and apparently with some degree of success. However, success or no success, when James W. Marshall discovered gold while building a sawmill on the American River in Northern California for Captain John Augustus Sutter in 1848, Avery turned his eyes to the West. Month after month, optimistic reports continued to drift east from Sutter's principality. Finally in 1851, in conjunction with his bachelor uncle, Alexander Hamilton Erwin, Avery organized a party and departed for California with slaves included in the group. Whether this company traveled across the continent by land or whether they went "around the Horn" or "across Panama" is not known. The evidence is in favor of the transcontinental land route with the combined boat to land to boat trip across Panama as the second most likely route. Large parties with equipment seldom went "around the Horn," particularly after 1849 or 1850.

> They swam the wide rivers and crossed the tall peaks, And camped on the prairie for weeks upon weeks. Starvation and cholera and hard work and slaughter, They reached California spite of hell and high water. 143

Avery's little band arrived in California when the Rush was at its zenith. Since he himself was an experienced gold miner and was accompained by others accustomed to doing this type of work and since his expedition was well organized and well equipped, one might presume that they would be more likely to succeed than the random adventurer who came to search for gold. Many unforeseen complications, however, harassed them ineluctably. Living conditions in the fields were abominable; the mountains were dank and bosky and the mountain streams were cold; food prices were exorbitant and fresh foods were unobtainable; crude shanties or tents provided the only shelter; rogues and vagrants abounded and choice claims had been worked over by argonauts who had come earlier. They were a determined crew, however, and they prospected through two summers on the western slopes of the Sierra Nevadas east of Marysville where the

¹⁴² I. T. Avery to S. P. Carson, April 3, 1830, Report No. 39, 23, Twenty-second Congress, First Session.
143 These lines, handed down in ballad form, commemorate those who made the difficult journey to California.

Yuba and the Feather and the American rivers surge down into the Sacramento. On an early fall day in 1852 Avery became ill with persistent vomiting and diarrhea and it was obvious within a few hours that he had been stricken by the most dread disease of the Gold Rush -Asiatic cholera or "cholery," as it was commonly called. Before the awestruck eyes of his companions his body fluids ebbed away leaving a parched shell that was lifeless long before death; his voice faded into a hoarse whisper and his strong capable hands withered to dried claws. On September 23, 1852, he died quietly and was buried at Marysville.

This tragedy instantly brought the expedition to a conjuncture. Grudgingly Erwin decided that he would return home. But what would the Negroes do? They were on free soil and had only to remain there to become forever free. A brief caucus ensued and they chose unanimously to return home with Hamilton Erwin whom they knew and trusted and who would lead them back to the old familiar places, "Swan Ponds" and "Belvidere," where they would again be united with their families and friends.144

ISAAC ERWIN AVERY

Isaac Erwin Avery, the fourth son of Isaac Thomas and Harriet Erwin Avery, was born at "Swan Ponds" on December 20, 1828. He grew up in the same surroundings as his brothers and entered the University of North Carolina in 1847 but attended for only one year. After this, he assisted his father in the operation of the plantation and was particularly interested in the breeding and raising of horses and cattle. He managed the farm in Yancey County and also dealt in cattle in association with Colonel Montfort S. Stokes. However, when the Western North Carolina Railroad was chartered in 1854, plans were soon completed to build a road from Salisbury to Morganton and eventually on to Asheville. A business relationship was established between Charles F. Fisher of Salisbury, Samuel McDowell Tate of Morganton, and Isaac E. Avery and they entered into contracts to participate in the building of the road.145 In 1861, with the eruption of war, work on the road ceased. 146 At this time it had been completed to within three miles of Morganton.

^{1&}lt;sup>14</sup> George Phifer Erwin Manuscript; Chambers, The Breed and the Pasture, 72.
1¹⁵ Wooten, "Avery Family."
1¹⁶ Proceedings of Western North Carolina Railroad: Stockholders Meeting, April 11, 1863, 21; President's Report, August 31, 1865, 7; and Construction Account, September, 1864 (Abstract A-Grading), all mention financial transaction with "I. E. Avery & Co."

With the outbreak of war, Fisher was authorized by Governor Ellis to form a regiment and he obtained a nucleus of his regiment from among the railroad construction employees. Tate and Avery both raised companies in Burke County and as a result, this regiment was more representative of Burke County than any other. The Sixth Regiment of North Carolina State Troops, for so it was designated, like the other regiments in the "First Ten North Carolina Regiments" as well as the Thirty-Third, was a "war regiment"-it was composed of "threeyear-or duration" volunteers and its regimental staff and company officers were selected by the Governor. Organization of the Sixth took place in May, 1861; Colonel Fisher was the commander and Avery was a captain commanding E Company, which was the company he and his brother, A. C. Avery, had raised. After a period of training at Company Shops, now the Town of Burlington, the regiment was sent to Virginia and placed in the brigade of General Barnard Bee. As a detached regiment, it participated in the Battle of First Manassas and gave a good account of itself in this first great battle of the war. Colonel Fisher was killed and Colonel William Dorsey Pender, a North Carolinian, later to become a major general, was appointed commander of the Sixth by Governor Henry Toole Clark. Pender commanded the regiment in only one major battle, Seven Pines, 147 where he showed himself to be so capable that he was again promoted and Isaac Erwin Avery was promoted to lieutenant colonel and placed in command of the Sixth Regiment. On June 18, 1862, he was promoted to colonel and held this command from that day until he became brigade commander after General Hoke was wounded during the Chancellorsville

His regiment participated in all of Lee's great campaigns of the summer and fall of 1862. At Gaines' Mill, along with Hood's Texans, they plunged down the slope to Boatswain's Swamp and up the thickly wooded hill into the Federal artillery positions on the crest—a charge that marked the turning of the tide in this great battle. In this engagement, Colonel Avery incurred a wound of the thigh which put him out of action until well into the fall. After he returned the regiment was inspected by Colonel R. H. Chilton who wrote in his report: "The Sixth North Carolina Regiment, Col. (Isaac E.) Avery: Arms mixed

¹⁴⁷ Isaac Erwin Avery was lightly wounded at First Manassas and, according to one account, also at Seven Pines. George Phifer Erwin Manuscript. Evidently he was not away from his command for any great length of time on either occasion. On March 20, 1862, near Fredricksburg, Virginia, he became a Master Mason. R. W. York, An Oration, delivered at Kinston, February 20, 1864, at a Masonic demonstration in honor of Col. I. E. Avery (Raleigh, 1864), 7, hereinafter cited as York, An Oration.

but in very fine order; although two-thirds of the regiment are badly shod and clad, and 20 barefoot, the regiment shows high character of

its officers in its superior neatness, discipline, and drill." 148

After the Battle of Fredericksburg in December, 1862, a reorganization of the army was effected. The policy at the time was to brigade troops under officers from their own State. Consequently, the Sixth Regiment was removed from Law's Brigade, Hood's Division, and placed in a brigade of North Carolina regiments under Brigadier General Robert F. Hoke, a brilliant young North Carolina officer who had risen rapidly during the war. Hoke's Brigade was placed in a division commanded by Major General Jubal Early in Jackson's Corp. During the Battle of Chancellorsville, this division was part of a force left on the Heights at Fredericksburg, in an attempt to immobilize a large Federal force in their front. On May 3, 1863, this Federal force moved across the Rappahannock against the Confederate position and on March 4 a partially successful offensive operation was launched against this force by the Confederates under Early and McLaws. In this fierce attack, General Hoke was put out of action with a wound of the arm and Isaac Erwin Avery, being the senior colonel, was placed in command of Hoke's Brigade¹⁴⁹ and remained its commander until his death. 150

Following this, there was little respite. A period of about five weeks was allowed for reorganization, regrouping, and training, and then the last great offensive operation of the Army of Northern Virginia began-a last great effort to invade the North-a campaign that ended abruptly at Gettysburg. The movement began on June 10 with Ewell's Corps leading the way. By long hurried marches, they crossed the Blue Ridge and moving by way of Front Royal, reached the vicinity of Winchester on June 13. Here Early's Division, with the co-operation of Edward Johnson's Division, performed a neat, brisk military operation which resulted in the capture of over 3,300 Federal troops under Major General Robert H. Milroy. As a result, it became necessary to detach one of Avery's Regiments to guard these prisoners and herd them back to Staunton. This left him with only three regiments-the Sixth, the Twenty-First and the Fifty-Seventh-a little noted reduction in strength at the time but a glaring weakness in the crisis that was soon to come. By leisurely marches, they moved through the lush countryside to York, Pennsylvania, collecting food, cattle, and horses

¹⁴⁸ Official Records, Series I, XI, Part II, 565; Series I, XIX, Part II, 719.
149 After Chancellorsville and Jackson's death, a corps reorganization occurred. Hoke's (Avery's) Brigade continued in Early's Division and this division was placed in Ewell's Second Corps.
150 Clark, Histories of the North Carolina Regiments, I, 293-310.

as they went. En route to York, they traveled by way of Chambersburg, eastward through the mountains at Cashtown and on through Gettysburg. While at York, they camped on the outskirts and rested, waiting for the remainder of the army to come up. However, they soon were ordered to retrace their steps and concentrate on Gettysburg, and they arrived northeast of the town in time to strike the crumbling right flank of the Federals in that wild first day's battle which no one had planned and few had anticipated. The Federal forces fell back in confusion through the town and took up positions on Cemetery Hill and Cemetery Ridge and feverishly began to fortify them. Ewell's Corps soon was disposed so that in a general way, Edward Johnson's Division faced Culp's Hill from the northeast, Early's faced Cemetery Hill from the north, and Rodes' faced Cemetery Hill and adjacent Cemetery Ridge from the Town of Gettysburg to the northwest. Darkness came before these positions were stormed and during the night they were heavily fortified by the hardpressed Union forces. ¹⁵¹

By the following day, Lee had decided to press his initial advantage. He ordered Longstreet to make an oblique attack against the southern extremity of the Federal lines and Ewell was to supplement him by attacking the key Federal positions on Culp's Hill and Cemetery Hill at the opposite end of the Federal line if success appeared likely. Longstreet's attack did not begin to roll until mid-afternoon; nevertheless Ewell decided to support him. He opened with his artillery from Benner's Hill on the Federal position but the return fire was so hot that the Confederate artillery was forced to cease firing and withdraw. Even this did not lessen Ewell's conviction that he should attack. He ordered Johnson against Culp's Hill and Early against Cemetery Hill with Rodes' Division co-operating on Early's right. Now Early had one brigade commander of doubtful military competence. This brigade he left in his rear to guard the York Road. The brigade of John B. Gordon he decided to hold in reserve. Therefore, it fell upon two brigades-Hays' Louisiana Brigade and Avery's North Carolina Brigade-to carry out the assault on Cemetery Hill, a Federal strong point and the key of their defensive position. Furthermore, Hays' Brigade was small and one of Avery's regiments had been detached at Winchester. Says the Sixth Regiment historian: "Never can that time be forgotten. Every man in the line knew what was before him. We had seen the enemy gathering on Cemetery Hill; we had laid under the fire of his numerous guns; we knew the preparations he had made for us." ¹⁵² No one could have been more cognizant of

Clark, Histories of the North Carolina Regiments, I, 311-312.
 Clark, Histories of the North Carolina Regiments, I, 313.

these facts than the commanders of this small assault force-Hays and Avery. Nevertheless, there is no record of any hesitancy on their part when they were directed to advance and carry the works on the heights in front. "Seldom, if ever, surpassed in its dash and desperation," says the Gettysburg National Military Park historian in describing this assault.

The attack commenced a little before dusk. From the vicinity of the William Culp house, they moved out over a gentle rise and down into a little valley under heavy artillery bombardment. Soon they were also under frantic fire from infantry posted behind a stone wall at the foot of the long sloping hill. Smoke was so thick in the oncoming darkness that their figures were somewhat obscured. The flying lead fragmented and ricocheted among the rocks.¹⁵⁴ Colonel Avery was out in front of the brigade on a white horse, the only mounted man of the command. A ball struck him at the base of his neck, on the right side and the impact knocked him from his saddle. The missile had found a vital spot. It had burrowed its way through the great blood vessels and nerves that supply the upper extremity. He was stunned by the fall; his right arm went limp. Slow exsanguination set in. 155 His brigade moved on to storm the heights, to cling there precariously for a time in a desperate hand-to-hand fight, but eventually was forced to withdraw because no support came from Rodes. 156 And there he died-Isaac Erwin Avery-a Citizen Soldier who bled to death on the field of battle and now rests in an unknown soldiers' grave. 157 But death came ever so slowly there in the darkness-on that hot July night-far away from those he loved and those who loved him-far away from the happy remembrances of his childhood-from "Swan Ponds" and the pasturelands of Mitchell and Yancey-from the aged father he so revered. And so it was with this young soldier as he lay there bleeding amidst the wounded and the dying on that hot July night in a little glade near Gettysburg. And with a faltering pulse came pride-pride mingled with nostalgia and weakness and a sense of great relief, and he brought out pencil and paper and wrote "in indistinct

¹⁵⁸ Frederick Tilberg, Gettysburg National Military Park, Pennsylvania (Washington, D. C.: National Park Service Historical Handbook Series, No. 9, 1952), 18, hereinafter cited as Tilberg, Gettysburg.

¹⁵⁸ Clark, Histories of the North Carolina Regiments, I, 354-359, 313-314; III, 412-

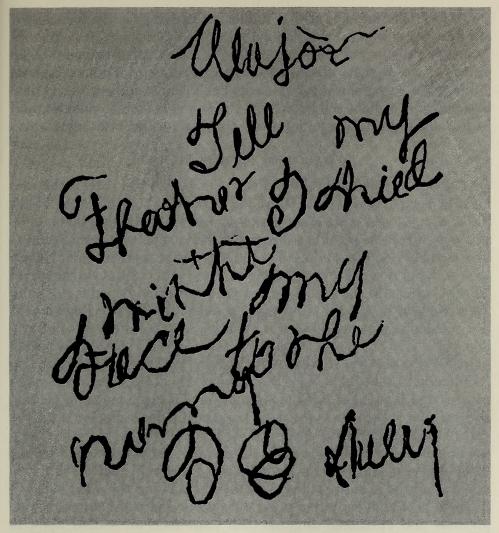
<sup>416.

155</sup> Clark, Histories of the North Carolina Regiments, III, 416; I, 354.

List Tilberg, Gettysburg, 18.

156 Tilberg, Gettysburg, 18.

157 I. E. Avery was first buried at Williamsport. York, An Oration, 8. The young soldier, John Murphy Walton, wrote in his diary August 5, 1864, that he "visited Col. Avery's grave. Felt very sad. . . ." A typed copy of this diary is in the possession of S. J. Erwin, Jr., of Morganton. Some time after this date Colonel Avery's remains were moved to an unknown location.



Isaac Erwin Avery's message to his father—"Major Tell my Father I died with my Face to the enemy"— is preserved in the Hall of History, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

characters" says his aide, Captain McPherson: "Major, 158 tell my father I died with my face to the enemy, I. E. Avery." 159 Years later Lord Bryce, 160 the British Ambassador to the United States, saw this message at the State Historical Museum (now the Hall of History)

The "Major" addressed in this message was undoubtedly Samuel McDowell Tate, who so valiantly led the Sixth Regiment at Gettysburg.

159 Clark, Histories of the North Carolina Regiments, I, 355; Fred A. Olds, "A Soldier's Dying Message," a clipping from the Charlotte Daily Observer, May 14, 1905; Wooten, "Avery Family"; John B. Gordon, Reminiscences of the Civil War (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), 161.

150 James Bryce, British Statesman, jurist, and author was Ambassador to the United States from 1907 to 1913.

and said, "The message of that soldier to his father is the message of our own race to the world." 161

Says the regimental historian of the Fifty-Seventh Regiment: "The writer supposes that others will write the story of Colonel Avery's military life, or perhaps have done so, but I cannot forbear to say here that he was a gallant solider, a very efficient brigade commander, and had he lived, would have doubtless risen rapidly in rank." 162

WILLOUGHBY FRANCIS AVERY

Willoughby Francis Avery was the youngest of the sixteen children born to Isaac Thomas and Harriet Erwin Avery. At the time of his birth, May 7, 1843, his mother was in her forty-eighth year and he was only fifteen years old at the time of her death. As a consequence, he missed her gentle guiding hand during his formative years. Nevertheless, he grew up a jolly, carefree boy and entered the University of North Carolina in the fall of 1860. War interrupted his education and after one year he joined Company F of the Third Cavalry Regiment ¹⁶³ as a second lieutenant and served with this unit in eastern North Carolina.

In 1862 he was transferred to the Thirty-Third Regiment which was commanded by his older brother, Colonel Moulton Avery. He served as a second lieutenant in Company C, was later promoted to captain and transferred to Company I and served in this capacity until the end of the war. He was first wounded at the Battle of Sharpsburg, later again at Gettysburg, and finally in May, 1864, in the Wilderness of Spotsylvania he was so "dangerously wounded" that his life was saved "only by a most skillful operation." 164 When the war ended in in 1865, he was twenty-two years old and had already endured more physical and emotional anguish than most men are called upon to tolerate in a lifetime. Plagued by crippling wounds of the flesh and of the spirit, he survived the war by only eleven years. On November 7, 1866, he married Miss Martha Caroline Jones but she died in less than two years as did their infant daughter. Willoughby Avery chose journalism as a vocation and edited newspapers in Asheville and Charlotte before returning to his native county and establishing a news-

¹⁶¹ Albert Coates, a printed extract from "The Cause for Which We Fight" (Chapel Hill: The Institute of Government, The University of North Carolina, n. d.).

162 Clark, Histories of the North Carolina Regiments, III, 416; Official Records, Series I, XXVII, Part II, 471-473, 487.

163 Company F, Third Cavalry (later designated the Forty-First North Carolina Regiment) was composed of Burke County men. The company commander was initially Thomas G. Walton, but in 1862 E. Alexander Perkins was elected captain and served in this capacity for the remainder of the war.

164 George Phifer Erwin Manuscript.

paper at Morganton, which he called The Blue Ridge Blade. In February, 1875, he married Miss Laura Atkinson. One child resulted from this marriage, born in May, 1876. On the twenty-fourth of November, 1876, when his infant son was not yet seven months old, Willoughby Avery died. He was buried in the churchyard of the First Presbyterian Church at Morganton where he had been a member since August 1, 1867. He was thirty-three years old at the time of his death.

ALPHONSO CALHOUN AVERY

Alphonso Calhoun Avery, the fifth son of Isaac Thomas and Harriet Erwin Avery was born at "Swan Ponds" on September 11, 1835. His childhood was healthy and happy; he was subjected to the same environmental influences as were his brothers. After the usual preliminary home schooling, he attended Bingham School in Orange County as preparation for entrance to the University of North Carolina. In 1857 he graduated from the University with the Bachelor of Arts degree, and at the head of his class. 167 After graduation, he worked for his father managing the stock farm in Yancey County, then studied law under Richmond M. Pearson, later Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court and an outstanding law teacher of the ante-bellum era. In 1860 Avery was licensed to practice law and a few months later, in February, 1861, he married Susan Washington Morrison, a daughter of Robert Hall Morrison who was a Presbyterian minister and the first President of Davidson College. Three months later, A. C. Avery was helping his brother Isaac E. Avery raise a company in the Sixth Regiment North Carolina State Troops, and was granted a commission as First Lieutenant in the same regiment. As Lieutenant in Company E, which was commanded by his brother, Captain Isaac E. Avery, he saw action in the Battles of First Manassas and Seven Pines. It will be recalled that after Seven Pines, Captain I. E. Avery was placed in command of the Sixth Regiment. Shortly thereafter, A. C. Avery was promoted to captain and became the commander of Company E, Sixth Regiment. With his keen mind and clerical education, however, he was considered to be of more value at headquarters than in the field and consequently was transferred to the staff of his brother-in-law, Major General Daniel

¹⁶⁵ George Phifer Erwin Manuscript.
¹⁶⁴ Avery, *History of the Presbyterian Churches*, 38.
¹⁶⁷ A memorial sketch contributed by the Reverend Carey E. Gregory after Judge A. C. Avery's death to the latter's *History of the Presbyterian Church*.
¹⁶⁸ Three of his other daughters married Confederate generals: Lieutenant General T. J. Jackson, Major General D. H. Hill, and Brigadier General Rufus Barringer.

Harvey Hill, in December, 1862, and served for some time as Assistant Inspector General of Hill's Division in the Army of Northern Virginia, being duly promoted to the rank of Major. In 1864 he went with the ill-fated Hill to the Army of the West where his brother-in-law served for a time as a Corps Commander. While there Major Avery served on the staffs of Major General John C. Breckinridge, Major General Thomas C. Hindman, and Lieutenant General John Bell Hood, 169 and was with the command of the latter during his retreat from Dalton, Georgia, to the Chattahoochee River. In consideration of the fact that his three older brothers had already been killed in action and his father was dying, Major Avery was granted a leave of absence by General Hood in the summer of 1864 and within a month or so was transferred to the Department of North Carolina. In the fall of that year, at the suggestion of the Adjutant General of Western North Carolina District, he was authorized to organize a battalion which was subsequently to be enlarged to a regiment and was to be used for the protection of the northwestern frontier of North Carolina. For a few months, Avery's Battalion served a useful purpose but it was unable to cope with the large Federal force that was moved to East Tennessee in the spring of 1865. At this time Major General George Stoneman with a division of Federal Cavalry moved into western North Carolina on a mammoth raid and Major Avery was captured at the Confederate Army Headquarters in Salisbury while he was there on military business. With other captured prisoners, he was marched back to Tennessee¹⁷⁰ and was confined at Camp Chase until August, 1865, at which time he was paroled and returned to "Swan Ponds" to begin the practice of law in Morganton.

However, he was in no wise returning to the life which he had left. Led since childhood to believe that he would assume a more favored position in the community, it was profoundly disillusioning for him to learn that in the ferment that followed the war years, his economic status had abruptly changed. There developed for him, and others like him, a ceaseless struggle against the blight of poverty and the crush of debt. Families were as large as ever, and as demanding as ever, but money was almost nonexistent and the people were in no position to pay for services. Even so, members of his class felt that social and

Wooten, "Avery Family"; Major A. C. Avery was attached to headquarters of Hill's Corps August 3, 1863, as Assistant Inspector General, Official Records, Series I, XXIII, Part II, 949; commended by Hill at Chickamauga. Official Records, Series I, XXX, Part II, 147; attached to headquarters of Hindman's Corps January 12, 1864, as Assistant Inspector General. Official Records, Series I, XXXII, Part II, 549; and listed as Assistant Adjutant General. Official Records, Series I, XXXIX, Part II, 854.

170 Clark, Histories of the North Carolina Regiments, IV, 371-377; Arthur, Western North Carolina, 405-406.

political position entitled them to certain prerogatives not shared by others to the same degree. That this attitude was prevalent in his

generation is evident.

As soon as he returned home he became actively engaged in politics and in 1866 was elected to the State Senate from a district composed of Burke, Caldwell, and McDowell counties. During his tenure of office, he originated and secured the passage of an act which implemented the extension of the Western North Carolina Railroad to Old Fort. 171 However, the axe soon fell and his political fortunes also crumbled. With the passage of the Reconstruction Act by the United States Congress in 1867, the Conservative Democrats were soon swept out of office and the Republican Party was formed and took over. Composed of die-hard Unionists, disaffected Confederates, carpetbaggers, scalawags, and Negroes, it ruled the State in a tempestuous fashion until 1877-a period of almost ten years.

With this turn of events, Avery joined an underground resistance movement instituted by the Conservative politicians of the State. A leader in the organization of the Ku Klux Klan in western North Carolina, he rode with the vigilantes. The Klan had been organized ostensibly for the protection of women, property, and civilization itself; in addition, it was a powerful resistance movement against the Republican Party, its principles and its policies. Confederate soldiers and respected citizens manned its ranks. It functioned actively and heroically during the late sixties and early seventies and promptly disbanded when it was no longer needed. There was no resemblance between it and

subsequent organizations of the same name. 172

Avery was elected as a Conservative delegate to the North Carolina Constitutional Convention of 1875. This body revised the State Constitution which had been rewritten by the Republicans in 1868. Most of the changes made in 1875 were in the form of amendments and were the results of lessons learned during Reconstruction. In 1876, he was a Democratic Presidential elector. In 1878, with the return of the Democrats to power, he was elected a judge of the Superior Court of North Carolina. In the same year, probably influenced by the prayers of a Christian wife and the memory of a saintly mother, he professed his faith and became a member of the Frst Presbyterian Church at Morganton. On November 2, 1879, he was ordained and installed as

¹⁷¹ Arthur, Western North Carolina, 405-406; Laws of North Carolina, 1866-1867, c. XCIV, s. I; c. XCVIII, ss. 1-4.

¹⁷² Josephus Daniels, an address made in presentation of a portrait of Judge A. C. Avery, April 11, 1933, recorded in a newspaper clipping from The News and Observer (Raleigh), April 12, 1933, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, hereinafter cited as Daniels, Address.

a ruling elder in this Church, an office that he fulfilled in an exemplary manner for more than twenty-five years. 173 In 1886 his wife died and three years later he married Sara Love Thomas, daughter of Colonel W. H. Thomas who was a prominent political figure in western North Carolina. In 1889 Trinity College in Durham, conferred on him the Master of Arts degree and in the same year the University of North

Carolina honored him with a Doctor of Laws degree.¹⁷⁴

Judge Avery rode the circuits as a Superior Court judge for ten years, and in 1888 was elected an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina. He served on the Supreme Court for eight years and during this time filed more than five hundred opinions which, to a large extent, embody his political philosophy and also tend to throw some light on the characteristics of the man himself. Throughout these opinions he championed the rights of the individual, for, it has been said that he "had an absorbing passion for the rights of man. This dominated all his thinking and all his acts." He served on The Court during a period when the railroads were represented by the most powerful corporate bodies within the State. The power and tobacco trusts had not come into their own and, as yet, did not seriously threaten to usurp the rights of the people. Justice Avery was a vigorous advocate of the creation of the State regulatory commission for the railroad companies and he stood firmly beside Justice Walter Clark in the decision which ruled that railroads were no longer exempt from taxation, either ad valorem or franchise. Justice Avery's opinions, published in the Supreme Court Reports covering the years 1889 through 1896, deal with all phases of the law but are of particular interest when dealing with the homestead, ejectment and boundaries, fraud and fraudulent conveyances, and insurance. "The value of his legal pronouncements is shown by the number of times that his opinions are cited in subsequent reports with approval of his successors on the Supreme Court bench." 175 In 1892, the year Trinity College was moved to Durham, he assumed the burden of its struggling Law School as Dean and teacher. For more than a year he served in this capacity, teaching a law class for two hours at a stretch twice a week, in addition to carrying on his other duties.176

After his retirement from the bench in 1897, Judge Avery conducted a private law practice in the courts of western North Carolina and also taught a law class in Morganton. He had ceased to live at "Swan Ponds"

¹⁷³ Avery, History of the Presbyterian Churches, 44. ¹⁷⁴ Alumni History, 24.

¹⁷⁵ Daniels, Address.

¹⁷⁶ Trinity College Catalogue, 1890-91, 28, 95; 1891-92, 45; 1893-94, 20. Trinity Archives, September 1892, 34; February, 1894, 29; October, 1894, 31.

in 1876 and had built a house in Morganton, a more convenient location for one engaged in the practice of law. The remnants of his father's estate, including "Swan Ponds," had been liquidated and the

proceeds divided equitably among the surviving heirs.

Throughout his life Judge Avery was a prolific writer, not only on legal matters, but often on historical and biographical subjects. His Life and Character of General D. H. Hill 177 is recognized as the best sketch of this famous Confederate General. At the time of his death he had just completed a *History of the Presbyterian Churches at Quaker Meadows and Morganton* but never had the opportunity to proofread it. At a meeting of the State Confederate Veterans Association in 1894, Judge Avery made the motion which led to the publication by the State of a history of the North Carolina regiments and battalions in the Civil War. Edited by Judge Walter Clark, this monumental work is the only available publication of its type on this subject. Several of the historical sketches in this study were contributed by Judge Avery and are notable for the clear concise way in which they are written. Like a great many people of large intellectual attainment, Judge Avery was inclined to be preoccupied and frequently he was oblivious of the ordinary matters that clutter the mind of the average person. Older members of the Morganton Presbyterian Church can remember readily his mannerisms each Sunday when he arrived for morning worship. After taking his seat and disposing of his hat, coat, walking stick, and umbrella in a methodical manner, he would then survey his surroundings and finding them strange, would abruptly realize that he was not in his usual pew; whereupon it would be necessary for him to collect all his accouterments, before moving to his proper seat and again composing himself. By nature a gregarious man, he seems to have been an inveterate joiner, belonging to the Beta Theta Pi social fraternity in college and to many of the fraternal orders in later life.

Late in life Judge Avery developed diabetes mellitus, a constitutional disease relatively common in the Avery family, and died at his home in Morganton, June 13, 1913, of the vascular complications that often accompany this malady.

Says the Reverend Carey É. Gregory in a memorial sketch: "Judge Avery was Morganton's most distinguished citizen—He was a born leader of men, possessing the qualities of character and intellect that

¹⁷⁷ A. C. Avery, Memorial Address on Life and Character of Lieutenant General D. H. Hill, May 10, 1893 (Raleigh: [Privately printed], 1893).

distinguish a natural leader—We rejoice in a career so distinguished, a life so complete, for we see in it, the fulfilment of a divine promise." 178

To attempt to analyze and evaluate the family group which has been delineated in this series of sketches is, perhaps, in the highest degree futile; however, too much energy has already been expended to leave the subject without an attempt at such a summary. Indeed, it must be done in order that the family and each member herein sketched be placed in proper perspective. Certain characteristics stand out as being common to the members of all three generations; other characteristics are possessed only by members of one generation but these same characteristics may be wholly typical of a certain class, a certain

locality, or a certain era.

For example, all of these men sought to advance themselves through the medium of politics. Some sought elective office and others were content with appointive offices which enabled them to exert influence in favor of kinfolk and friends. In time of war, they brought pressure to bear on the military leaders in an effort to gain promotions. Either by instinct or by design, they cultivated the acquaintances of influential people and made marriages which advanced their political, social, and economic fortunes. Commercial enterprises ordinarily drew their interest only when the State government lent its support thus giving the venture a political flavor. They apparently had no appetite for trade, manufacturing, the arts, or the professions except for law which they used as a convenient avenue of approach to a political career. They held sway in Burke County for almost a century but they left little lasting impression on the community in which they lived except for an occasional street sign or historical marker. Their red brick houses still stand in varying stages of usefulness and their names are perpetuated by a people who are hardly aware that they ever existed. Generous, and pleasure-loving, they were noted for their hospitality and easy manner. By and large, they were scholarly people, letter writers, inveterate readers, and willing speechmakers. Frugality was not one of their sterling virtues and, with the possible exception of Isaac, the father, they managed financial matters poorly and without serious consideration. A quick temper and lack of tact occasionally led them into embarrassing altercations.

Waightstill, the grandfather, possessed as he was of a large will and a spirit of adventure, knew the America of his day as did few

¹⁷⁸ Avery, History of the Presbyterian Churches, 87.

others. Born of a well-established but not overly-prosperous typical New England family and educated in the middle colonies, he had sensed the decadence of the Tidewater aristocracy and had chosen the frontier but was not a part of it. He should be remembered for his persistent stand for public education at all levels, for his diverse service to the State during its formative years, and for his continued support and encouragement of the settlements to the west of the mountains.

The father, Isaac, was less urbane and less venturesome; the characteristic parochialism of the period and locality focused his attention on his own community. In his repeated efforts to industrialize the county and otherwise bolster its economy, he demonstrated vigor and imagination but little discernment. From first to last, he fostered navigation on the Catawba River, scientific farming, gold mining, academies, public schools, railroads, State banking, the doctrine of State Rights, and other conventional projects and issues of the day. Insufficient capital and a lack of trained personnel wrecked most of his

schemes. It is to his credit that he never ceased to try.

His sons were not unlike other young men of the so-called planter class. They grew up in an atmosphere of unreality and romance; as youths they often read the novels of Sir Walter Scott and never quite got over the experience. They were victims of a stiff and unvielding provincialism which nourished an overweening pride and a steadfast sense of loyalty that transcended all other obligations. No matter what the price, their honor must be zealously protected-under no circumstances must they accept insult or injury without redress. This called for violence and they did not shun it; it called for courage and they had it in abundance. Steeped in the romanticism of the Old South, they sought the gold of El Dorado and died in the charge of the Light Brigade. But who would be so cynical as to deny that they were moved by what we shall have to call sincere idealism?

THE KU KLUX KLAN: A STUDY IN RECONSTRUCTION POLITICS AND PROPAGANDA

BY OTTO H. OLSEN*

The history of the Ku Klux Klan in the Reconstruction South has remained rather free of revisionist research, and standard portrayals continue to assert that the Klan was not only an understandable but a justifiable and even necessary response to that widespread evil and disorder which allegedly accompained Negro equality and Republican rule. The more atrocious excesses of this respectable organization of terrorists are frequently attributed to a lower class riffraff acting con-

trary to the desires of the original Klansmen.²

Several counties which were the center of Klan activity in North Carolina during 1869 and 1870 provide an unusually appropriate area for reviewing the origins and activities of the Reconstruction Klan. The first congressional investigation of the Klan dealt primarily with this area, and while it is true that this investigation was dominated by Republicans, a great deal of important information was accumulated about the activities of Klansmen. Both parties participated in cross questioning, and sworn testimony was taken freely from both partisan friends and opponents of the Ku Klux Klan.3 Two additional sources of sworn testimony provide additional verification of the Klan's activities in this region: (1) an impeachment trial of a Republican governor

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¹ One balanced study is in Francis B. Simkins and Robert H. Woody, South Carolina During Reconstruction (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1932). The best known revisionism in the entire field of Reconstruction in the South is often not a product of original research, and recent monographs necessarily, but lamentably, rely heavily upon old State accounts; for example, see Otis A. Singletary, Negro Militia and Reconstruction (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1957).

² E. Merton Coulter, The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947), 128, 148, 156-157; Hodding Carter, The Angry Scar: The Story of Reconstruction (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1959), 60-61, 197-198, 213; Stanley F. Horn, The Invisible Empire: The Story of the Ku Klux Klan, 1866-1871 (Boston, Massachusetts: The Riverside Press [Houghton Mifflin Company], 1939), passim. Critical of the Klan is the partisan, but unjustly neglected, account by an ex-Carpetbagger, Albion W. Tourgée's "The Invisible Empire," which appears as Part II of various editions of Tourgée's A Fool's Errand by One of the Fools.

³Senate Report No. 1, Forty-Second Congress, First Session, 1871, hereinafter cited as Senate Report No. 1.

conducted by an opposition Conservative party legislature, and (2) certain testimony taken before the moderate Supreme Court justices of North Carolina. These sources have been supplemented by newspapers, court records, manuscript collections, and other materials.

Hitherto the main accounts of Klan activity in North Carolina have endorsed an extenuating interpretation: "Crime and violence of every sort ran unchecked until a large part of the South became a veritable hell through misrule which approximated anarchy," and the Ku Klux Klan was "called into existence by this state of affairs" and succeeded in restoring political power "to the hands of the class best fitted to administer" and in establishing order and justice, safety for white womanhood, and white supremacy. Despite these results, supposedly "it is clear that the movement was primarily designed for protection and its influence upon politics was purely incidental." How valid is

such an interpretation?

Following the formation and remarkable success of the North Carolina Republican Party during 1867, Republicans were increasingly concerned with a variety of threats received from their powerful Conservative party opponents. The operations of the Ku Klux Klan were among a number of coercive incidents justifying Republican fears.6 Threatening Klan notices appeared during the elections of 1868, and terrorism was underway before the end of the year. Although the first assassination by the Klan occurred further east in the State, it was the Piedmont area surrounding Greensboro that soon became the center of Klan violence. By the summer of 1869 disguised bands had perpetrated a series of beatings, cuttings, shootings, and other outrages, usually against Negroes. An undeniable "reign of terror" continued in this area until at least fifteen murders and hundreds of lesser atrocities had been committed by the Ku Klux Klan. Republican leaders went armed in fear of their lives; they barricaded and fortified their homes;

Trial of William W. Holden, Governor of North Carolina . . . (Raleigh: "Sentinel" Printing Office [Published by order of the Senate (of North Carolina)], 3 volumes, 1871), hereinafter cited as Holden Trial; Third Annual Message of W. W. Holden . . ., Nov. 1870 (Raleigh, 1870), hereinafter cited as Holden's Message.

5 Joseph G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina (New York: Columbia University, 1914), 452-454 ff., hereinafter cited as Hamilton, Reconstruction. See also R. D. W. Connor, "The Ku Klux Klan and Its Operations in North Carolina," North Carolina University Magazine, Old Series, XXX (April, 1900), 224-234.

6 The Times (Greensboro), March 5, 1868; Daily North Carolina Standard (Raleigh), April 11, 17, 1868, hereinafter cited as Daily Standard. Thomas Settle to D. L. Elington, March 25, 1863, and Agent to Col. J. Chur, May 26, 1868, North Carolina Freedman's Bureau Records, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

7 Hamilton, Reconstruction, 466 ff.; Daily Standard, September-October, 1869; various letters to Governor William W. Holden, December, 1868-May, 1869, Governor Holden Papers, State Department of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as Governor Holden Papers.

they slept uneasily behind locked doors; and Negroes testified elo-

quently to the terror among their people.8

The law appeared impotent in the face of this terror. Effective disguises and the Klan's clever system of arranging local raids by distant dens hindered identification. When identification was made, Klansmen furnished false but sworn alibis for their comrades, and the Klan intimidated or killed witnesses as well as those who aided in prosecuting the Klan. Within the courts mysteriously altered words succeeded in nullifying an indictment, Klansmen sat on juries to obstruct indictment or conviction, and police officials belonged to the Klan.9 "All the law that could be, would be worth nothing, that is the civil law," concluded one Negro magistrate; and a number of Superior and Supreme Court judges were convinced that it was almost impossible to enforce the law against the Klan.10

The lasting apology for this state of affairs was initiated by predominant portions of a Conservative party which dominated the wealth, press, education, and previous leadership of the State. While indignantly concerned with a supposed Negro crime wave, this political group was remarkably unperturbed by the obvious atrocities of the Klan. The very existence of the Klan was long denied or treated as a huge joke. Atrocities were usually ignored, unless they were of such notoriety as to demand deprecation, whereupon the victim was depicted in a manner which condoned the crime. Supposedly to cope with a Negro crime wave that Republicans were too incapable or too lenient to control, Conservative newspapers promoted vigilante justice,11 one directly suggesting that: "Very often in the present condition of southern society, nothing but lynch law will do." 12 Criticisms of the abolition of whipping, "the one great incentive" to Negro moral-

83, 287.

Senate Report No. 1, xxii-xxvi, cxii, 186-187, 407-408; Holden Trial, II, 2,090-2,091;

^{**}Holden Trial, I, 100-108; II, 1,203, 1,355-1,357, 1,375-1,380, 1,394-1,395, 1,428-1,433, 1,800-1,805, 1,885-1,886, 2,078, 2,090-2,092; Holden's Message, Appendix, 198-199; Senate Report No. 1, passim; Katherine Hoskins "Lawyer Reid, Victim of the Ku Klux Klan," unpublished manuscript in Miss Hoskins' possession, Summerfield, North Carolina, hereinafter cited as Hoskins, "Lawyer Reid."

**Judge J. M. Cloud to Thomas Settle, July 19, 1869, Thomas Settle Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, hereinafter cited as Southern Historical Collection; Albion W. Tourgée to Governor Holden, July 3, 1869, Governor Holden Papers; Daily Standard, January 15, March 31, 1870; Holden Trial, I, 287-293; II, 1,226-1,227, 1,393-1,397, 1,582, 1,800-1,801, 1,878, 1,926 ff.; Holden's Message, Appendix, 188-189, 246, 254-256; Senate Report No. 1, xxv-xxvi, cii-cv, 35-36, 83, 287.

[&]quot;Greensboro Patriot, August 13, 1868, April 8, 15, June 10, 1869; Hillsborough Recorder, October 13, 1869, and quoted in Daily Standard, September 16, 1869; Roanoke News (Weldon), quoted in Daily Standard, October 14, 1869; Daily Sentinel (Raleigh), November 6, December 1, 1868, June 1, 1869, hereinafter cited as Daily Sentinel.

2 Daily Sentinel quoted in Daily Standard, March 11, 1869.

encouraged that frequent practice, while brutal lynchings were mly described and surprise was expressed that summary vengeance s not visited more often upon Negroes who outraged white women. 13 t Klansmen, but Republicans were responsible for such activities, ined many Conservatives, and Klan atrocities were but "the legitimate ults of the acts and teachings of the Radical party of the State." e Union Leagues were attacked in particular and blamed directly at least four-fifths of the crime supposedly sweeping the State and irectly for it all. Compounding this evil was the reported prejudice 'League Judges" who dealt lightly with "League rougues." "Crimes the most bloody and terrible character are perpetrated, and the perrators of these crimes go unwhipt of justice," and there is "no reasone safety for life or property," charged the Conservative press. "Who ald be surprised that this has given rise to, if it has not created, that er terrible organization, the Ku Klux? The wonder is, that there not more Ku Klux." 14

Thus the Klan was glorified as an organization upholding the law, nishing criminals, discouraging crime, and protecting property, ite women and racial purity,15 and such became the traditional inpretation of the Klan. This conception, however, appears to have ginated largely in the vivid imagination of Conservative propandists, who sought to encourage, excuse, and profit from the acities of the Ku Klux Klan. This is not to suggest that Republicans re innocent of expression or activity provoking Conservative ire, Republican responsibility does not appear to have been of the e or degree frequently claimed.

Consider, for example, the purported relationship between crime d the Ku Klux Klan. Due to poverty, want, turmoil, and war, crime l increase in the South during and following the Civil War, and doubtedly this crime, as well as the demagogic exaggerations of gro crime, contributed to Conservative desperation. However, this minal problem existed before the Republicans assumed political ntrol in 1868 and continued for years after the restoration of Convative rule and, thus, cannot be considered a peculiar characteristic the Republican regime.16 There is no substantial indication that me (other than that of the Klan itself plus some instances of re-

Greensboro Patriot, January 28, April 15, June 10, 24, 1869.
Greensboro Patriot, August 27, 1868, May 19, 1870; Daily Sentinel, April 29, y 14, 15, June 16, August 11, September 29, 30, October 5, 14, December 9, 1869.
Daily Sentinel, September 10, November 8, 1869; Hillsborough Recorder, September October 13, 20, 1869.
Kenneth Edson St. Clair, "The Administration of Justice in North Carolina Dur-Reconstruction, 1865-1876" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State Universe, 1939), 253, 379, 461.

taliation against the Klan) increased or that chaotic lawlessness existed in the area of Klan rampage during Republican Reconstruction.¹⁷ Adept and eager Conservative newspapers were unable to establish clearly any instances of rape by Negroes that were not adequately handled through the courts; charges of rampant thievery were suspiciously general rather than specific, while the few specific accusations were usually false but remained uncorrected;18 the one definite criminal charge against Republican leaders in the district was proved a hoax;19 and, contrary to the asserted character of the Klan, its victims were all too seldom criminals. There appears to have been but one major crime definitely known to have motivated a major, Klan atrocity, an instance wherein three Negroes, whose guilt is doubtful, were murdered for barn burning.20 Sufficient outcry was raised over this one case to suggest that any other similar instances would have been prominently publicized.

Despite the desires of watchful Conservatives, not even occasional instances of criminal activity by the Union Leagues were ever established in North Carolina. The only two specific accusations were based solely upon the accounts of a bitterly partisan press, and neither one occurred in an area of subsequent great Klan activity.21 The Conservative practice of attributing every instance of Negro crime to the Leagues was hardly a valid judgment, and even some Conservatives believed that the Leagues were engaged only in legitimate political activities. It was in the nature of the situation, that in the pursuit of Negro votes the Union Leagues sought to dispel the slave heritage and to cultivate responsible citizenship, including respect for property rights and for the democratic political process, although it is also true that the Leagues contributed to Negro confidence and consequent behavior which many whites considered impudent.²² Ironically, the Leagues were teaching respect for legality at the very moment the authorities were failing to protect Republicans against the illegal out-

Excluding the "criminal" aspects of Reconstruction railroad appropriations.
 Daily Sentinel, November 8, 1869, April 8, 1870; Daily Standard, January 18,

Daily Sentinet, November 8, 1869, April 8, 1870; Daily Standard, January 18, March 19, 1870.

¹⁹ Daily Standard, September 25, 27, October 5, 1869; Daily Sentinel, September 22-30, 1869.

²⁰ Superior Court Record Book and A. S. Murdock to A. W. Tourgée, August 7, 1869, Albion W. Tourgée Papers, Chautauqua County Historical Museum, Westfield, New York, hereinafter cited as Tourgée Papers; Senate Report No. 1, 190-191; Holden Trial, II, 1,793-1,805; Daily Sentinel, July 28, 1869; Greensboro Patriot, August 12, 1869.

¹⁷⁴tt, 11, 1,195-1,605, Betty Schultz, value 25, 1869.

21 Hamilton, Reconstruction, 329, 339-341, 399; Austin Marcus Drumm, "The Union League in the Carolinas" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1955), 59, 62, hereinafter cited as Drumm, "The Union League." Drumm presents no evidence of League crime in North Carolina, other than political coercion.

22 Greensboro Patriot, August 27, 1868; Daily Sentinel, May 9, 1870; Drumm, "The Union League," 18, 105-106; Senate Report No. 1, 68-69, 193.

rages of the Ku Klux Klan. In this district the only definitely known organized Negro criminal activity for political purposes occurred two years after and in retaliation against the appearance of the Ku Klux Klan. These Negroes were quickly arrested, tried, and convicted before a Republican Carpetbagger judge, who sentenced them to harsh

prison terms.23

Further suspicion of Conservative assertions is aroused when it is noted that in the three counties of greatest Klan activity, political and legal control was largely in Conservative hands. The Caswell County commissioners, sheriff, deputies, and other local officials were Conservatives. The county commissioners, court clerk, sheriff, and deputies of Orange County were Conservatives, and in Alamance County many of the county officials, including the sheriff, were Conservatives. While supposedly enforcing the law, the Alamance sheriff and his deputies were members of the Klan. In none of these counties were there unusual obstacles to the arrest, indictment, and prosecution of criminals, unless they were Klansmen.²⁴

One remaining excuse for vigilante justice in the area was that the Republican Superior Court judge, Albion W. Tourgée, did not deal out justice to criminals. Because of his judicial behavior, asserted a State senator, the Carpetbagger Tourgée was assailable "as the cause and origin of all the [Ku Klux] trouble in the county of Orange." ²⁵ A detailed study of the experiences of Judge Tourgée will further

clarify matters concerning the Klan.

Tourgée was a Union veteran who had emigrated from Pennsylvania to North Carolina in 1865. He held an Ohio law license and A.B. and M.A. degrees from Rochester University, and in 1868 he fathered the new and more efficient system of codified legal procedure incorporated into the North Carolina Constitution of that year. Trained in the code system in the North, Tourgée was unusually well versed in the new codified system of procedure, and he was certainly one of the most qualified judicial candidates the Republicans could offer from their limited reserve of educated men. Tourgée had not yet practiced in the North Carolina courts, however, he was only thirty-one (although

²³ Senate Report No. 1, Part 2 (minority report), 39-48.

²⁴ R. D. W. Connor (comp. and ed.), A Manual of North Carolina . . . , 1913 (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 1913), 1,001-1,002, hereinafter cited as Connor, Manual, 1913; Hillsboro Union League to Governor Holden, April 26, 1869, Governor Holden Papers; Senate Report No. 1, 36, 83, 190-192; Holden's Message, Appendix, 246; Holden Trial, I, 518-519; II, 1,226-1,227, 1,407, 1,944, 2,049; Daily Sentinel, March 11, 1868, June 14, 1870. There were complaints of unsatisfactory Republican magistrates, but instances of definite incapacity have not been established.

²⁵ Daily Standard, February 1, 1870.

youthful leadership was not rare in the State), and he was a Carpetbagger. His career soon illustrated how easily the Carpetbagger stereo-

type became a useful but irresponsible political weapon.

Aware of his youth and limited experience, Tourgée's first court addresses revealed an appropriate humility, a desire to conciliate his political opponents, and a determination to stamp out postwar crime. With any significant co-operation from Conservatives, the obvious desire of Tourgée and other Republicans for political harmony and stability might well have been attained.26 Instead vocal segments of the Conservative party resisted the establishment of normal political or social relationships and launched a campaign bitterly maligning every-

thing Republican.27

The denunciation of the Republican judiciary began before their courts were even held.28 These judges, asserted the Raleigh Sentinel, "in the main, are a disgrace to the bench, a mockery of dignity and decency, a laughing stock for the legal profession and a curse and blight to the people . . . they have no legal learning, or any other sort of learning, and what is worse, they have no capacity to learn." Disrespect for the "shallow-brained, revengeful yankee judge" was encouraged, even before Tourgée assumed the bench, by implying that he was a penitentiary convict, by depicting his efforts to secure heat in local jails as an encouragement to crime, and by innumerable instances of petty ridicule and malignment. One criticism of unusual substance involved Tourgée's efforts to obtain Negro jurors, and the nastiest attack occurred when a young Negro girl was adopted into the Tourgée home: "This is generous in the Judge-very generous! Is Tourgée a married man?" commented the Sentinel. Tourgée's initial court addresses were so distorted by the press that public apologies were made by Tourgée's more moderate political opponents, who were beginning to appreciate his ability and objectiveness.²⁹ Such testimonials complimentary to Tourgée were usually ignored by the Conservative press. This corresponded to the usual method of creating the Republican stereotype: A slanderous inference or accusation was freely made, but after being revealed as false, no effort was made to

²⁶ Manuscript addresses, Tourgée Papers; Daily Standard, late 1868 through 1870; addresses of Governor Holden in Public Documents of North Carolina, 1868-1870, hereinafter cited as Public Documents. The author feels this statement is warranted despite such instances of Republican extremism as that mentioned in Hamilton,

despite such instances of Republican extremism as that mentioned in Hamilton, Reconstruction, 368-370.

Tonservative press, 1868-1870. The Daily Sentinel led in this campaign, and the newspapers in the district being studied frequently followed its lead.

The following based upon: Daily Sentinel, August 8, 21, September 14, 26, October 21, 1868, February 8, March 5, April 6, 20, 1869; Greensboro Patriot, August 13, September 10, October 8, 1868.

Daily Standard, December 29, 1868.

correct a well-circulated misrepresentation. The constant repetition of this procedure contributed greatly to the picture of Republican de-

basement and villainy.

The first pertinent criticism of a judicial decision by Tourgée was an editorial entitled "Judge Tourgee's Revenge." Written by the irascible editor of the Sentinel, Josiah Turner, Jr., this editorial accused Tourgée of partisan and revengeful behavior in a legal case wherein Turner was an attorney. Two respected Conservative attorneys emphatically repudiated Turner's accusations stating that the Judge's decision was the only equitable one possible.30 The Sentinel also complained of Republican leniency when Tourgée twice set aside the conviction of a Negro for larceny. This particular case was reportedly used by Klansmen in Orange County as the major justification for their existence, a most doubtful claim since the Klan appeared before the first trial and had committed most of its atrocities, including three murders, before the second trial of this Negro. The root of the difficulty in this case was racial prejudice. Judge Tourgée agreed with the Conservative defense attorney who "did not believe a white man would have been convicted upon the evidence in the case." 31 Even less substantial was the Greensboro Patriot's only explicit charge of Tourgée's partisanship in a criminal case: "A white boy is sentenced to the penitentiary for ten years for defending himself against a man; a colored boy for wantonly killing another, is neither fined nor imprisoned." This false accusation was promoted by a political dispute, and Tourgée pointed out that the "white boy" of sixteen had been so clearly guilty of murder that the defense requested and received permission to plead guilty to manslaughter. The "colored boy" of nine was tried for murder, but no evidence was presented, and the jury "more than two-thirds of which were conservatives, rendered a verdict of 'Not Guilty.'" The Patriot neither retracted nor repeated the tale.32

Judge Tourgée was also accused of collaborating with the Republican governor to pardon hundreds of dangerous criminals, although the only specific instance encountered involved a pardon recommended by two noted Conservatives, one later governor of the State.³³ If this accusation were true, one would expect a significant number of pardons in Tourgée's district. However, in the State's twelve judicial districts

³⁰ Daily Sentinel, May 4, 1869; Daily Standard, May 11, 1869. ³¹ Daily Sentinel, May 4, 14, 16, October 11, November 19, 1869; Daily Standard, February 1, 1870; Henry K. Nash to Tourgée, January 25, 1870, Tourgée Papers. ³² Superior Court Record Book and Tourgée to Register (Greensboro), September 6, 1869, Tourgée Papers, hereinafter cited as Register; Greensboro Patriot, September 2,

Hamilton, Reconstruction, 419; Daily Sentinel, January 20, 22, February 5, 1870; Daily Standard, April 28, 1870.

only five of one hundred and twenty-seven pardons and commutations granted by the governor before 1870 were from Tourgée's district. All apparently had good reasons for being pardoned, with the possible exception of a Conservative whose pardon Tourgée had opposed. During 1870 there was only one pardon and one commutation (of a death sentence) in Tourgée's entire district. Not one of the pardons suggested any need for Klan revenge, nor was there ever any connection established between a Klan raid and a pardon. In the two counties of greatest Klan activity prior to 1870, there had been no pardons in one and

those in the other had been urged by Conservatives.³⁴

In the final analysis much of the foregoing may appear to be trivia, but it was the exaggeration and distortion of these precise trivia that the indignant denunication of Republicanism and justification of the Klan was largely based upon. Actually when prejudice was affecting justice during Reconstruction, it may often have been prejudice against rather than for the Negro. The general cultural climate of the South lends support to complaints that when Negroes were on trial "the most trivial offenses secured conviction upon the most doubtful evidence," whereas whites were easily acquitted of proven outrages against Negroes.35 Although white Republicans were not immune from racial prejudice, the intensity of the political rivalry was in large part a reflection of Republican challenges to these traditional race mores. Sometimes conditions in the courts were more satisfactory, as when members of both parties co-operated to find a Negro defendant innocent in a celebrated arson case which had driven a white planter to suicide. No outcry was made over this verdict, perhaps because public feelings were sufficiently assuaged by the three retaliatory murders already committed by the Klan.36

Other cases indicated that Republican citizens and officials were not remiss in their responsibilities. In one criminal case before Tourgée a racially mixed jury found two Negro defendants guilty and a third innocent in a murder case. The convicted Negroes were sentenced to death and shortly executed, and a Negro woman had also been convicted and sentenced to death during this term. Contrary to the Conservative press, criminals were being punished in Republican courts, but even this was used to political advantage, Tourgée reportedly hav-

 ³⁴ Public Documents, 1869-1870, No. 24; Public Documents, 1870-1871, No. 20. See also, Roma Sawyer Cheek, The Pardoning Power of the Governor of North Carolina... (Durham: Privately printed, 1932), 80, 86, 92-93.
 ²⁵ Tod R. Caldwell to Governor Holden, August 6, 1869; Judge S. W. Watts to Holden, August 14, 1869; W. P. Grimsley to Holden, August 31, 1869, all in Governor Holden Papers. Tourgée to his wife, June 9, 1869, Tourgée Papers.
 ³⁶ See above, note 20; J. R. Strayhorn to Tourgée, June 22, 1887, and Superior Court Record Book, Tourgée Papers.

ing "sentenced two colored members of the League . . . to be hung." 37 Judge Tourgée was not inclined to be overly merciful to Negro criminals. In his enthusiasm to stamp out crime among the freed slaves the opposite was sometimes true, and Tourgée proved anxious to inflict harsh punishment as a deterrent to any Klanlike criminal activity among the Negroes.³⁸ When Tourgée sentenced three Negroes to six years at hard labor for whipping another Negro while in disguise, Conservatives concluded not that Republicans were administering impartial justice but that "Judge Tourgee had ascertained . . . that all the murders, whippings, and barn-burnings had been done by Loyal Leaguers under the garb of Ku Klux!" As punishment for a politically motivated arson, which occurred in retaliation against and seven months after the height of Klan activity, Tourgée sentenced five Negroes to as many as twenty years in jail. In a final milder case, he sentenced two Negroes to five years in prison for merely going masked and disguised.39 It was ironic that while Republicans secured these convictions, not one Klansman was successfully prosecuted during this period.

This survey of criminal cases publicly associated with the rise of the Klan in Piedmont North Carolina suggests that neither crime nor the collapse of legal enforcement retain substantial justification as an explanation of the Klan. Subsequent denunciations of the Klan by a number of Conservatives and their readiness temporarily to accept Republican rule also suggests as much. When seeking to block measures to crush the Klan, a number of Conservatives, including Klansmen, were even prepared to testify as to the continual existence of

law and order in the State.40

This is not to say that Republicans did not stimulate resentment. They did, in fact, frequently do so. For example, Judge Tourgée's challenges to racial prejudice, his involvement in various political disputes, and his persistently outspoken and aggressive behavior were often provocative. Such behavior contributed to angry denunciations of the Judge in the fall of 1869, which were accompanied by new false charges of rampant crime and judicial leniency as well as a Conserva-

⁸⁷ Daily Sentinel, October 14, 1869; Daily Journal (Wilmington), February 9, 1870, hereinafter cited as Daily Journal; Daily Standard, April 5, 1870; Senate Report No. 1, 192; J. R. Strayhorn to Tourgée, June 22, 1870, Tourgée Papers.

⁸⁸ Tourgée to Lucy J. Rider, March 2, 1869, and manuscript addresses, Tourgée

Papers.

⁵⁰ Daily Sentinel, March 16, June 22, 25, 1870; Greensboro Patriot, August 1, 10, September 14, 1870; Senate Report No. 1, Part 2, 39-48.

⁶⁰ Watchman and Old North State (Salisbury), March 11, June 10, 1870, hereinafter cited as Watchman and Old North State; Senate Report No. 1, 165-166, 272, 278-279,

tive press campaign deliberately to publicize "all the diabolical outrages being committed all over the South by Negroes. . . . "41 But this furor was primarily provoked by Tourgée's court decision favorable to the Republicans in a disputed election case, and calm ensued when conciliatory Republicans ignored the court decision and compromised the issue with the Conservatives. Tourgée's legal decision was not effectively challenged, however, and he had indicated his objectivity

in ruling against his own party in two earlier cases.42

Extremist threats or activities by various Republicans may also have helped encourage or perpetuate Klan atrocities. Some Republicans merely advised forceful resistance to Klan attacks, 43 surely the essence of self-preservation, but others suggested possible violent retaliation, and one anonymous letter in the Greensboro Republican press openly advised that "Assassination must be met by Lynching, and midnight murder by midnight execution." 44 Some Republicans were obviously prepared to share the sins of their Klan opponents. The activities of the Klan in this county actually declined following these threats, but moderate Conservatives helped effect this result, and the relative result of threats and of appeals for moderation is impossible to determine.⁴⁵ In any event, appeals for private retaliation against the Klan failed to gain significant support among Republicans, who instead long relied upon pleas for law and order, the influence of Conservative moderates, anti-Klan legislation, ineffective State police action, and requests for federal assistance.46 Judge Tourgée also reluctantly endorsed these careful and conciliatory tactics because he was convinced of his party's weakness, 47 and it has been noted earlier how he harshly punished those Republicans who did attempt retaliatory action. Neither force, moderation, nor the law proved very successful in hindering the Klan, and Republican vacillation and weakness, along with the determination of the Klansmen, appeared more responsible for this than did any Republican counter extremism.48

⁴¹ See Greensboro Patriot and Register, July-October, 1869; Daily Sentinel, Septem-

to See Greensboro Patriot and Register, July-October, 1809; Daily Sentinei, September 11, 1869.

Daily Sentinel, April 5, 1869.

Register, July 7, 1869.

Tourgée to Daily Standard, n.d., Tourgée Papers; Register, October 20, 1869.

Retaliation may have discouraged the Klan in heavily Negro-populated Greene County. See Senate Report No. 1, 95.

For a review of the Republican approach see Holden's Message, passim, and the Daily Standard during 1869 and 1870. Some Conservatives responded favorably, see Watchman and Old North State, March 11, 23, 26, 1870.

Tourgée to A. M. Tuttle, May 26, 1870, Tourgée Papers; Daily Standard, October 9, 1869.

⁴⁸ Demoralized and split, especially by the railroad fiasco, Republican behavior was astonishingly weak. See Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 400.

It seems just to conclude that because of their personal and public behavior, from equalitarianism to railroad scandal, the Republicans had inspired angry opposition. The judge of the district being studied, who was the symbol of the law, had certainly helped himself become one of the most objectionable personalities of Reconstruction.49 But neither Judge Tourgée's behavior nor conditions in his judicial district appear to have warranted the extent and nature of the criticisms

made nor such a drastic response as the Ku Klux Klan.

Conservative accusations do not provide as convincing an explanation of the Klan as does their own determined opposition to Republican rule. The leading portion of the Conservative coalition was obsessed with a sincere but exaggerated fear of the racial, class, and economic intentions and results of Republicanism. This was reflected in endless, erroneous accusations of Republican extremism and in bitter opposition to the Republican constitution of 1868 before that constitution was even prepared.⁵⁰ Unwarranted visions of confiscation and "agrarianism and anarchy" prompted outspoken Conservative objections to the rule "of mere numbers" and to "this silly thing called Suffrace" whereby the people "as a mass (who are always silly things when taken collectively) vote for the very worst men over the best." A monarchy was preferred by some,⁵¹ and Conservatives denounced equality, "that infidel and unfounded assumption in the Declaration of Independence" and considered not human rights but "the possession and protection of property" to be "the chief concomitant of civilization. ..." The Republican Party was the main threat to this "civilization," and the Negro was the mainstay of that party as well as an "enemy" in his own right. Bolstered by widespread ante-bellum racism, Conservative fears inclined to merge into a fierce political, economic, and racial opposition to major alterations in the servile position of Negro agricultural labor. After a reluctant and shallow Conservative appeal to the Negro voter had failed, that party decided, early in 1868, that "the great and all absorbing issue" was Negro equality. "All other issues [were] secondary and should be kept so." ⁵³ Thereafter, very little room

⁴⁹ For example, North Carolinian (Tarboro), February 1, 1870.

⁵⁰ Daily Sentinel, February 4, 6, 10, 11, 18, 1868.

⁶¹ J. Worth to W. Clarke, February 18, 1868, and Worth to A. M. Tomlinson and Sons, April 11, 1868, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (ed.), The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 2 volumes, 1909), II, 1,155-1,156, 1,185, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, Jonathan Worth; Morning Star (Wilmington) and Milton Chronicle quoted in Daily Standard, April 27, May 3, 1869; Hillsborough Recorder, April 28, 1869

^{1869.}Worth to Tomlinson and Sons, April 11, 1868, Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, II, 1,185; Greensboro Patriot, February 5, 1869.

Daily Sentinel, March 1, July 15, 1867, February 6, 7, March 10, 1868; Greensboro

existed for any political accommodation with the egalitarian principles of Reconstruction.

It should be noted that this study is not attempting a complete evaluation of origins and justifications of the Conservative resistance to Reconstruction but is concerned with the intensity, the methods, and the impact of that resistance. Aided by their domination of the State press and their strong reliance upon the race issue, Conservatives cultivated a widespread contempt and hatred for the Republican regime, and the continual emotional denunciation of Republicanism undoubtedly encouraged many whites to accept violence as a political weapon. Sincerely convinced of the correctness of their own beliefs and of the oppressive and vindictive nature of Reconstruction, many Conservatives were apparently prepared to accept almost any means for overthrowing Republican rule. As staid and substantial a citizen as Jonathan Worth was sufficiently frightened by "red Republicanism" and the rule "of mere numbers" to think that perhaps the only salvation lay "in Revolution"; while another citizen openly encouraged "lynch law." 54 Ante-bellum methods of slave control may have made private "justice" particularly acceptable to ex-slaveowners.

The Klan is easily connected with political considerations. The Klan oath expressed racial and political concerns. While many Klansmen sincerely believed that their atrocities were necessary to stop Negro crime and impudence, their more perceptive fellows united the necessity "to keep down the style of the niggers" with the need to "increase the Conservative party." 55 The Klan was formed, noted one of its leaders in western North Carolina, not to achieve "a white man's government only, but-mark the phrase-an intelligent white man's government. . . . " 56 Hearsay evidence from a Klansman that the majority of the State's legislators were Klansmen was perhaps an exaggeration, but this approximated the situation in the district covered by this study. There, a veritable galaxy of Conservative luminaries, ranging from State legislators to local policemen, and in some counties half the Conservative voting strength, were Klansmen, and such conditions were not peculiar to this area. ⁵⁷ It is also significant that, when they so

June 15, 1868, Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, II, 1,201, 1,218, 1,222; Daily Sentinel quoted in Daily Standard, March 11, 1869.

The Holden's Message, Appendix, 257; Senate Report No. 1, 263, 285, 292.

J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (ed.), with the collaboration of Rebecca Cameron, The Papers of Randolph Abbott Shotwell (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 3 volumes, 1929-1939), II, 276

^{376.}Thamilton, Reconstruction, 461-464, 507, 517, 525, 537; Holden's Message, Appendix, 139-180, 194, 231, 246; Holden Trial, II, 1,226-1,227, 1,609, 1,944; Senate Report No. 1, vii-ix, 36, 83, 287.

desired, Conservatives of character and "responsible position" quickly and easily secured the dissolution of the Klan. But outright opposition to the Klan was lamentably rare, and contrary to a prevalent view, prominent citizens did play a leading part in major Klan crimes.58 Klan literature and the precision of troops of Klansmen mounted on valuable horses adds further weight to the opinion that the Klan "originated with the best classes of the South, was managed and controlled by them, and was at all times under their direction. It was their creature and their agent to work out their purposes and ends." 59

Conservatives publicly justified the Klan to the extent of supporting it, and they sought to profit from its existence. Demands for the dissolution of effective Republican organization conveniently became a condition for securing an end to the Klan. Until the Leagues were disbanded, said the citizens of Chapel Hill, they would not "condemn good citizens and true men, who, in self-defense, resort to other means because they fail to obtain from the law that protection and security which they have a right to demand." This public resolution immediately followed one murder and preceded four additional murders by the Klan in that county. In effect, what was demanded was the end of Republican rule: "Dark Savages and white ignoramusses wearing the oath of office" must be removed. If this were not done peaceably by the Republicans, threatened the Conservative press, it would be done forcefully by the Klan.60

The purposes of the Klan were also illustrated by its victims. Instances of punishing crime or immorality (the latter invariably involving violations of racial mores) were few, and the many assertions to the contrary were an effort to conceal the real purpose of the Klan. Historians have uncritically accepted a number of such assertions, 61 whereas when, during the impeachment trial of Governor Holden, Conservatives had an opportunity to show that crime did inspire the Klan they failed to do so.

Klan atrocities motivated by other considerations are abundant. Ambition, independence, impudence, sauciness, eating with whites, the possession of firearms, or other departures from submissive behavior

^{**}S Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 485-486; see below, note 74.

**Delta Albion Winegar Tourgée, *A Fool's Errand by One of the Fools (New York: Fords, Howard and Hulbert [1879, 1880], 1902 edition), 515.

**Daily Sentinel, September 29, 1869; *Hillsborough *Recorder*, September 8, 1869.

**Tor example, Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 467-469, concludes that Caswell Holt was whipped for "exposing his person" before a white girl. Holt's independent character suggests a different type of resentment. *Daily Standard*, February 27, April 7, 1869; *Holden Trial*, II, 1,311-1,328, 2,002; *Senate Report No. 1, 341-346. Hamilton's view is also contradicted by the only direct testimony, that by a Conservative, in another case. See Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 468-469; *Holden Trial*, II, 1,785-1,787.

frequently provoked attacks. Whites, too, were beaten for challenging racial mores or for assisting Negroes to better their position. 62 A Klan supposedly directed against the baser elements in society persisted in numbering many of the most successful, able, and independent Negroes among its victims. "Uppity" Negro victims in the district included three schoolteachers, three shoemakers, two blacksmiths, a mechanic, and a miller. Republican and Negro magistrates, speakers, postmasters, and League leaders were also common victims of the Klan, and one white man was whipped merely for not voting in his efforts to avoid the bitter political struggle. 63 Usually these attacks were made upon individuals of only local prominence, thus provoking a minimum of attention outside the immediate area, while attacks against more prominent Republicans failed or were blocked by more cautious Conservative leaders.64

The political characteristics of the area in which the Klan was most active are also significant. The North Carolina Klan apparently originated in Orange County (the only safely Conservative county in the district and the home of the chief architect of white supremacy, William A. Graham) 65 and then radiated outward, first into counties with a sizable Negro minority. The counties of heaviest Negro population or of greatest Republican strength remained longest free of the Klan. In two counties in this Piedmont area, Alamance and Caswell, able and moderate Republican leadership, marked by Negro-white cooperation, was making an unusual contribution to Republican strength. 66 Between the spring and fall elections of 1868, the strength of the Republican party in North Carolina declined as it lost thirteen counties in the State. During this same period, the only two counties that were gained by the Republicans were Alamance and Caswell. As the State elections of 1870 approached, it was precisely in these two counties that Klan terrorism reached its greatest extreme, as illustrated by the following incidents.

About midnight of February 26, 1870, a large group of robed horsemen, moving with order and precision, rode into Graham, the county seat of Alamance. Posting sentries at all points of egress from the town, the main body of Klansmen proceeded to the home of the

^{***} Polden Trial, II, 1,214-1,215, 1,311-1,328, 1,365, 1,406, 1,484-1,489, 1,495-1,498, 1,786-1,787; Senate Report No. 1, 145, 148, 341-349, 410-418; Holden's Message, 155-156, 199, 203.

*** Senate Report No. 1, lxvi, 35-36, 415-418; Holden Trial, II, 1,328-1,334; 1,348, 1,487-1,489, 1,696-1,697 1,923-1,931, 2,075, 2,085-2,112, 2,129; Hoskins, "Lawyer Reid"; Daily Standard, May 6, 1870; Greensboro Patriot, May 19, 1870.

** Hamilton, Reconstruction, 470.

** Hamilton, Reconstruction, 250; Daily Sentinel, October 16, 1867, February 6, 1868.

** Senate Report No. 1, 78, 84; see below, notes 71, 73.

Negro Republican leader Wyatt Outlaw. Outlaw was taken to the town square and hanged from the branch of a huge oak tree, the branch pointing in silent mockery to the courthouse less than a hundred feet away. 67 Two days earlier the neighboring Greensboro Patriot had com-

plained that "this Ku Klux cry [was] all a humbug." 68

This atrocious murder was soon covered with a veil of obscurity and distortion by the Conservative press. A lurid tale was told of Outlaw having exchanged wives with another Negro, whom the Klan had really been after. The deed was also attributed to Republicans, Outlaw reportedly having stolen money from the Union Leagues. Except for such rumors the event was thereafter largely ignored, and three weeks later the entire tale was denounced as a fabrication in a distant area of the State. 69

The lasting Conservative explanation of this atrocity was Outlaw's bad character and a tale that Outlaw had previously exchanged gunfire with the Klan. The latter was not believed in Alamance, even by the leader of the Klan in the very town where Outlaw was hanged, and Outlaw's character and reputation were exceptionally good. 70 His real sin was undoubtedly his ability and leadership. Outlaw had been publicly active in behalf of his people as early as 1866, and in 1867 he helped found the State Republican Party. The most prominent Negro in Alamance, he was undoubtedly instrumental in swinging that county to the Republicans during 1868. Outlaw had also served as a town commissioner, and no criticisms of his capabilities in that position have been discovered. As president of the Union League, he had promoted the establishment of a Negro school and church. Ironically, Outlaw was also described by one Republican as "the most active man in opposition" to proposals for violent retaliation against the Klan, although he may have been active in seeking legal redress against that organization.71

This demoralizing blow to the Republicans was soon compounded by the murder of another Negro who allegedly had information against Outlaw's murderers. Such conditions induced the Republican governor to declare Alamance in a state of insurrection, but this was not followed

⁶⁷ Holden Trial, II, 1,363-1,369; Senate Report No. 1, 18, 259-260, 265-267; Stephen A. Douglas, Political and Social Conditions of the South (Tuscola, Illinois: [pamphlet],

^{**} Greensboro Patriot, February 24, 1870.

*** Greensboro Patriot, March 3, 24, 1870; Daily Sentinel, June 22, 1870; Daily Standard, March 15, 1870; Daily Journal, March 19, 1870.

** Senate Report No. 1, vi-vii, cxii, 18, 32, 270.

** Senate Report No. 1, 32; Holden Trial, II, 1,133, 1,190-1,191, 1,199, 1,900-1,901, 1,916-1,918; Holden's Message, Appendix, 224-225; Daily Standard, October 11, 1866, March 28, September 7, 1867, January 28, August 30, 1869, March 3, 1870.

by any immediate police action. Instead Republicans continued to beg for Conservative co-operation in restoring law and order and even offered to disband the Union Leagues toward this end. A favorable Conservative response to this appeal did quickly secure an end to Klan activity in Orange and Chatham. 72 Elsewhere the situation remained critical, and the situation in Caswell, a county with a slight

Negro majority, was for the first time becoming intolerable.

The white Republican leader of Caswell, John W. Stephens, depicted by Conservatives as the most unsavory of scalawags, has remained one of the most controversial figures of that era. 73 Stephens was born of poor but respected parents in Guilford County in 1834. Before the war he became an excellent harness maker and also engaged in the tobacco trade. His war record is unclear, but he supposedly avoided conscription-to his friends because of hostility to the Confederacy and to his enemies because of cowardice. Out of a wartime dispute, which was anything but a case of theft and may have involved the question of his loyalty to the Confederacy, arose the subsequent malignment of "Chicken" Stephens as a chicken thief.

After the war Stephens worked for the Freedman's Bureau and was soon in Republican ranks, displaying a particular hostility toward the ex-slaveholding gentry, whom he blamed for many of the ills of the poorer population. Successful in politics and business, Stephens also secured a law license before Judge Tourgée (for which the Judge was roundly denounced). Stephens was a minor official in the Methodist Church, until expelled because of his politics, and his two brothers, Confederate veterans and later locally prominent, recalled him as a good and honest man. He was reputedly "a stalwart in every sense and could not be overcome physically, mentally or legally, by any one of his jealous political enemies," and friend and foe alike agreed on his

unusual courage and ability.74

Hamilton, Reconstruction, 485-486; Holden's Message, passim.

The earliest sketch was A. J. Stedman, Murder and Mystery! History of the Life and Death of J. W. Stephens of Caswell County (Greensboro, 1870), hereinafter cited as Stedman, Murder and Mystery. More favorable are the sketches by Luther H. Carleton in Trinity College Historical Studies, II (1898), 1-12, and by Frank Nash in Samuel A. Ashe, Biographical History of North Carolina, From Colonial Times to the Present (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 8 volumes, 1905-1917), IV, 411-421. See also, Tom Henderson, "Murder of 'Chicken' Stephens," The State, VI (March 25, 1939), 9, 19, 24, and various correspondence in the possession of Miss Katherine Hoskins of Summerfield, North Carolina. For a recent hostile account see Manly Wade Wellman, Dead and Gone: Classic Crimes of North Carolina (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954).

Tourgée to A. M. Tuttle, May 6, 1870, Tourgée Papers; Greensboro Patriot, August 11, 1870; N. C. Carleton to Katherine Hoskins, June 6, 1946, and W. L. Brinkley to Katherine Hoskins, May 30, 1946. Letters in Miss Hoskins' possession.

Stephens' political policies were effective but not reckless. In 1868 he helped quell threatened violence between the races and pledged his life for the good behavior of the Negroes. Under his leadership, Caswell Republicans followed a policy of moderation, promoting co-operation with and the support of some Conservative candidates.75 There was little talk of rampant crime or injustice in Caswell before 1870, and there was certainly no Republican barrier to the execution of the law since the county commissioners, the sheriff and his deputies, and other local officials were Conservatives. The Republicans held a voting majority, as well as various local and State offices; and as the election of 1870 approached, the Klan intensified its nefarious operations in Caswell.76

Following a flare-up of Klan atrocities in Caswell, some cases of arson occurred which were suspected of being in retaliation against the Klan, and hearsay later asserted that Stephens was considered in some way responsible for these fires.77 There were other more definite reasons for an apparent danger to Stephens. He was the party stalwart; he was very close to the Negro population; he had incurred Conservative displeasure as a Freedman's Bureau agent and as a magistrate handling controversies between Negro laborers and the tobacco planters of the county; and he had been active in ferreting out information against the Klan.78

Stephens received warnings of plots against his life, but he would not back down. The "poor, ignorant, colored Republican voters in that county had stood by him at the risk of persecution and starvation," he reportedly stated, "and he had no idea of abandoning them to the Ku Klux." Instead he armed himself with three pistols and fortified his home against attack. In February he insured his life to provide for his wife and two daughters and in April Judge Tourgée helped him prepare his last will and testament.79

Meanwhile, proceeding with his political organization, Stephens approached the respected and seemingly moderate ex-sheriff Frank Wiley and urged him to run for sheriff with Republican support. Wiley asked

⁷⁵ Stephens to Governor Holden, August 29, 1868, Governor Holden Papers; Holden Trial, II, 2,096; Tourgée to Progress (Raleigh), January 16, 1869, Tourgée Papers. This newspaper will hereinafter be cited as Progress.

76 See above, note 24; Holden Trial, II, 2,130, 2,146-2,151.

77 Holden Trial, I, 814; II, 1,144; Senate Report No. 1, 400-401. Stephens may have been held responsible because he had pledged his life for the good behavior of the

⁷⁸ North Carolina Freedmen's Bureau Records, Volume 98; Holden Trial, I, 758, 777-778, 784, 811, 814; Holden's Message, Appendix, 102; Stephens' petition, May, 1869, Governor Holden Papers; Daily Sentinel, May 12, 1870; Hamilton, Reconstruc-

⁵⁰ Senate Report No. 1, 48-51; Holden's Message, Appendix, 95; Daily Standard, July 19, 1870; Greensboro Patriot, August 11, 1870; Stedman, Murder and Mystery, 18.

time for consideration, but, unknown to Stephens, Wiley was a member of the Klan and prepared to use these negotiations to entice Stephens to his death. In the audacious words of the planter chief of the Caswell Ku Klux Klan, Stephens had been "tried by the Ku Klux Klan and sentenced to death." 80

On May 21, 1870, a Conservative party convention was held in the Caswell County Courthouse. As Stephens sat busily taking notes on the proceedings, Wiley approached and suggested that they step out to discuss the proposed candidacy for sheriff. The unsuspecting Stephens was surprised, overpowered, and disarmed by a group of awaiting assassins. He was then strangled and stabbed to death and his body thrown upon a woodpile. Locking the door behind them the assassins

Some of the leading citizens of the county had participated in this cowardly killing. Wiley, the ex-sheriff, "a large and successful farmer, a gentleman of the very highest moral character, a peaceable and law abiding citizen . . ." had betrayed Stephens to his death. 82 One of the most prominent landowners in the county had engineered the plot and helped carry it through. Another planter, who was the son of the chairman of the board of county commissioners, a State university graduate, and one of the most cultured men in the community, had played a prominent part. So also had a Conservative candidate for office, a respected coachmaker and merchant, an ex-Confederate captain, and one gentleman with the name of a prominent planter family. 83 Four, perhaps five, of the men participating in the murder were Conservative political leaders, and the two men most prominent in the assassination had helped write the Conservative party's county platform, which, of all things, denounced all secret organizations and illegality and urged the maintenance of law and order. The final irony was that one, if not two, of the assassins appeared in the Republicans' compromise ticket of 1870. Wiley would have been the third.84

⁸⁰ Confession of John G. Lea, State Department of Archives and History, herein-

after cited as John G. Lea Confession. Released posthumously in 1935, a copy of this confession is available in the *Greensboro Daily News*, October 2, 1935.

Standard John G. Lea Confession; hearings on the case in *Holden's Message*, Appendix. See also, History and Biography of North Carolina Scrapbook, IX, 25, 32-33, University of North Carolina Library; sworn statement of Patsie Barton, December 12, 1872, a Negro servant who overheard an account of the murder by Frank Wiley, Tourgée

Papers.

*** Greensboro Patriot, August 4, 1870.

*** Greensboro Patriot, August 4, 1870; C. A. Reynolds' letter in Greensboro Daily News, October 27, 1935; Holden's Message, Appendix, 128-129, 133-135; Tourgée to Progress, January 16, 1869, Tourgée Papers; Daily Sentinel, June 8, 1870.

** Daily Sentinel, June 8, 1870; Greensboro Patriot, July 21, 1870; Hillsborough Recorder, June 1, 1870; Caswell County Republican ticket of 1870 in William Lafayette Scott Papers, Duke University Library, Durham, hereinafter cited as Scott Papers. Barton's statement included a Thomas Johnson, who may have been a T. D. Johnson.

After the deed, Conservatives, in their usual fashion, denounced murder but endeavored to deny, palliate, or distort the deed. They could adduce many reasons why Stephens deserved death, but they were certain that "the good and honest conservative citizens of our state" could not be connected with the crime. When circumstantial evidence did link three of the assassins to the murder, the Sentinel was indignant:

We say positively, after having known Messrs. Wiley, Mitchell and Roan for years, that they are as innocent of the charge of murdering Stephens as their children three years old. . . . It is high time that such men, should be free from the censures of those whose judgments are biased by political prejudice. . . . 85

To remove thoroughly the taint of guilt from themselves, Conservatives found numerous reasons for attributing the deed to Republicans. The assassins readily lied under oath, not only to save themselves but to cast suspicion upon Negro Republicans, and others lied to substantiate these false accounts.86

The murder of Stephens inspired a drastic response. Unsatisfied either by new Conservative condemnations of the Klan or a decline in Klan activity and risking expected adverse political repercussions, the aroused Republicans resorted to military force. 87 State troops moved into Alamance and Caswell and arrested suspected Klansmen. Conservatives responded with objections to militarism, and many were the tales of outrage, atrocity, and indignity committed during this notorious "Kirk-Holden war." There was indeed misbehavior, but not one drop of blood was shed and the military movement as a whole was quite moderate. The most substantial outrage was the temporary denial of the writ of habeas corpus to some imprisoned Klansmen, while the individual who suffered most was a Republican imprisoned by his own party for ninety-four days because he was accused by Klansmen of suspending men by the neck in an effort to extort confessions.88

Governor Holden's suspension of the writ of habeas corpus proved unwise. Such suspension was in apparent conflict with the State constitution and inspired widespread public disapproval, even from Republicans. In addition the federal judiciary, with doubtful propriety,

So October 21, 1870. See Conservative press of the period.

Solvent Holden's Message, Appendix, 101-105.

Solvent William L. Scott to his wife, July 17, 18, 24, August 15, 1870, Scott Papers; Holden to W. G. Turrentine, August 2, 1870, William W. Holden Papers, Duke University

^{**} Holden Trial, I, 646, 755; Senate Report No. 1, 150-154, 367. Compare with Hamilton, Reconstruction, 496-533.

undermined the Governor by granting writs to the imprisoned Klansmen. President Grant advised Holden to bow before the federal courts. Paradoxically, this federal interference, so highly lauded by and beneficial to Conservatives was based upon the Fourteenth Amendment.89

Republicans lost more than the dispute over the writ, as in the midst of the furor, the Conservatives carried the election and achieved firm control of the State legislature. By then turning out a number of elected Republicans, Conservatives secured a two-thirds senatorial majority with which they impeached Governor Holden for his anti-Klan activities. But, for the moment at least, the Klan had disappeared, something which can be attributed to the success of the military movement, the amount of federal attention directed toward North Carolina, and the fact that Conservatives had secured their desired political control.

The significance of the Klan in establishing Conservative political control is somewhat uncertain. That organization was known to have been active in ten of the fifteen counties which swung Conservative in 1870 and in Judge Tourgée's judicial district only the two counties where troops were present remained Republican, and these troops apparently allowed, if they did not guarantee, a peaceful and fair election. It was also suggestive of Klan influence that the Conservative victory was due less to an increase in their vote than to a decrease in the Republican vote.90 The most significant contribution of the Klan may well have been an indirect one however—the indignant public

response to the Republican military movement.

The Klan illustrated how far the opponents of Reconstruction could and would go, but was such extremism necessarily decisive? Political power had already been swinging toward the powerful and able Conservatives, and the Republicans were not promoting measures that seriously threatened the economic sources of Conservative power. One suspects that the Klan was not so much a necessity as an indication of the inability of the ante-bellum ruling gentry of North Carolina to accommodate itself to either Negro equality or the modern democratic political process. This group lacked the understanding and flexibility to accept certain advice from within its own ranks which, if followed, might have lessened the subsequent unpleasantries without greatly changing the ultimate results. Patience and moderation, urged Richmond M. Pearson in 1868, because:

^{**} Daily Standard, July 23, 1870; Cortez A. M. Ewing, "Two Reconstruction Impeachments," The North Carolina Historical Review, XV (July, 1938), 210, 219; Senate Report No. 1, 280.

** Connor, Manual, 1913, 1,001-1,002; Greensboro Patriot, August 7, 1872; Holden Trial, I, 843, 848.

When the storm is over, the Conservative party representing as it does, the property and intelligence of the State, will take the guidance of affairs, and all will be well.91

When, in 1876, the final defeat of Republicanism did occur, it was,

in truth, dependent upon less terroristic procedures.

There is a significant postscript to this history of the Klan, largely furnished by the persistent determination of Judge Tourgée to root out the perpetrators of Klan crimes in his district. To the great consternation of prominent Conservatives in that area, Tourgée's exploitation of a dispute between two ex-Klansmen led to a series of arrests, revelations, and flights during December, 1872.92 A number of cases involving the Klan were quickly taken into court, where Judge Tourgée freed numerous confessed Klansmen involved in minor crimes after levying the minor fine of court costs. However, with great determination, Tourgée urged criminal indictments in a number of more serious crimes. His efforts succeeded when the Grand Jury of Alamance "presented bills of indictment [against] sixty-three members of the Klan for felony and eighteen for the murder of Outlaw." Many of those indicted, said Tourgée, were of the "most respected families of the county."93

Conservatives were understandably disturbed. They sympathized with Klan activities, had often been directly involved themselves, and feared the legal and political effects of exposures. Conservatives also correctly feared that Tourgée was making revealing discoveries concerning the murder of John W. Stephens. 94 Consequently, a few days after the Alamance indictments, Conservative legislators presented a bill in the State legislature to repeal the law under which most of these indictments had been secured. In less than three weeks this bill became law and negated sixty-three felony indictments in Alamance.95

Copy in Daily Standard, August 11, 1868. See also, Pearson to W. L. Scott, August 8, 1868, Scott Papers.

Tourgée to his wife, December 13, 16, 18, 1871, Tourgée Papers; George F. Bason to William A. Graham, December 18, 19, 1871, William Alexander Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Graham Papers.

Minutes of Alamance Superior Court, 1871-1872, 94-121, Alamance County Courthouse, Graham; Bason to Graham, December 19, 1871, Graham Papers; Tourgée to President U. S. Grant, December 28, 1871; Tourgée Papers; New North State (Greensboro), January 29, February 12, 19, 1873, hereinafter cited as New North State. The exact number of murder indictments is not clear.

New North State, January 29, 1873; clipping from Carolina Era, February, 1873. Tourgée secured the account of Stephens' murder from Patsie Barton in December, 1872.

^{**}North Carolina Senate Journal, 1871-1872, 150, 338, hereinafter cited as Senate Journal; North Carolina House Journal, 1871-1872, 393, hereinafter cited as House Journal; Public Laws of North Carolina, 1871-1872, c. 143, hereinafter cited as Public Laws; Tourgée to his wife, February 20, 1872, Tourgée Papers.

Conservatives next prepared to utilize a nationally popular "amnesty and pardon" program in behalf of the Ku Klux Klan, following a precedent already established by federal authorities. A bill was soon introduced into the North Carolina legislature granting pardon and amnesty for all crimes committed in behalf of any secret organizations. Only after a delay insuring that the case against Outlaw's suspected assassins would not come to trial in the spring of 1873, did Conservatives agree to join Republicans in exempting wilful murder, arson, and burglary from this amnesty. But this was only a temporary tactical concession, and the following year these exemptions were removed, extending full protection to Klansmen involved in the most serious crimes.96

Republicans strongly opposed the entire amnesty program, and the inclusion of Republican organizations in the amnesty bill was an obvious blind, which Republicans repeatedly but unsuccessfully sought to remove.97 This gesture of amnesty to Republicans was, indeed, remarkably hollow since no mercy at all was extended to those Negroes who had already been tried and convicted of Klan-like crimes. Some of the Negroes jailed by Tourgée lacked the necessary connection to any secret organization; and although Jayhawkers were ostensibly granted amnesty, this term applied only to six uneducated Negroes who had retaliated against the Klan with arson and had been sentenced to prison by Tourgée, but who were excluded by certain provisions of the amnesty bill. All matters connected with Republican railroad projects were also specifically excluded, and Conservatives mocked the idea of any amnesty for the impeached Holden.98 Well might one Republican admonish his opponents that the Bible advised forgiving your enemies, but nowhere did it say to forgive your friends.98

**Senate Journal, 1872-1873, 190, 220, 225-228, 234; House Journal, 1872-1873, 473, 517-518, 532; Public Laws, 1874-1875, c. 20.

**Manuscript, n.d., Tourgée Papers; Senate Journal, 1872-1873, 228; House Journal, 1872-1873, 533-534.

**Daily Sentinel, January 29, 1873.

**Manuscriptel, January 29, 1873.

⁹⁹ Manuscript, n.d., Tourgée Papers.

LITTLETON FEMALE COLLEGE

By Ralph Hardee Rives *

On a rainy day in January, 1882, eleven students from the village of Littleton enrolled in a newly-organized private school known as Central Institute. This was the beginning of Littleton Female College.

On March 7 of the following year, the North Carolina General Assembly ratified an act establishing a charter for Central Institute in which eleven gentlemen from the Littleton community were joined into a corporate body and stock company "for the purpose of maintaining a school of high grade near the town of Littleton, in the county of Warren, for the intellectual, moral and religious development and training of young ladies." 1 By this time, classes, which were originally conducted in an old five-room building, were meeting in an imposing new frame building and a number of boarding students from nearby towns and communities were being accepted. Five years later, in 1888, at the request of the stockholders, the charter was amended in order to change the name of the institution to Littleton Female College. Though it always remained exclusively a college for women, the "Female" was dropped from the name in 1912.2

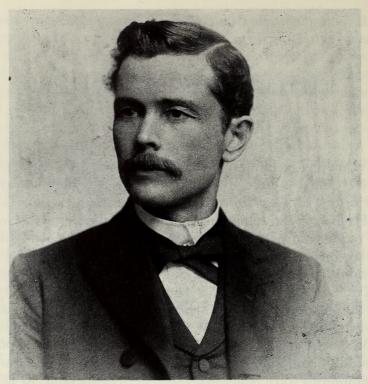
Closely identified and inevitably associated with the history of Littleton Female College is the name of James Manly Rhodes. A native of

² Vara L. Herring, Raleigh, to Ralph Hardee Rives, January 25, 1960. In the Announcement of Central Institute for Young Ladies for 1885 and '86 (n.p., 1885), 11, appear the names of a few local boys who were allowed to attend the school as "Day Scholars." This practice evidently was soon discontinued.

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*Second Annual Announcement of Central Institute for Young Ladies, Littleton in Warren County, North Carolina (Weldon, 1883), 5-6. Copies of the annual catalogues of Central Institute and Littleton Female College dating from 1882 until 1913 were presented to the author in August, 1961, by Vara L. Herring and Pauline Herring Sloo (Mrs. James R.) of Raleigh. These catalogues have been placed in the Littleton College Memorial Collection at North Carolina Wesleyan College, Rocky Mount, and in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Unless otherwise specified all subsequent publications are included in Littleton College Memorial Collection. See also, historical sketch of Littleton Female College in the College annual, The Pansy (Littleton, 1907), 6-7, hereinafter cited as The Pansy, 1907. A copy of this edition is in the private collection of Nora Blanche Hardee Rives (Mrs. Ralph C.), Enfield. See further, Emma Thornton Nowell, "A Memorial to Rev. James Manly Rhodes, Founder and President of Littleton College" (n.p., 1960), 3, hereinafter cited as Nowell, "Memorial to Rhodes." Copies of this booklet were distributed to members of the Littleton College Memorial Association at the annual reunion, July, 1960, and also to the author of this article, who addressed the Association at the reunion.

*Vara L. Herring, Raleigh, to Ralph Hardee Rives, January 25, 1960. In the Announcement of Control Littleton College.



This photograph of the Reverend James Manly Rhodes, President of Littleton College from 1889 until 1919, was copied from an original belonging to Dr. Ralph Hardee Rives.

Four Oaks, in Johnston County, the Reverend Rhodes received both the Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts degrees from Trinity College (Duke University) prior to becoming an ordained Methodist minister and a member of the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in December, 1875. Upon conclusion of a short period of time in which he served as minister of the Fifth Street Methodist Church in Wilmington, Rhodes began to turn his interest toward the field of Christian education and, as a result, his attention was directed to Central Institute.

He was invited to serve as the first Principal of Central Institute, a position he held until the spring of 1887 when he resigned and accepted the principalship of the nearby Henderson Female College.⁴ During

⁸ Nowell, "Memorial to Rhodes," 2.

^{*}The Henderson Female College, located in the Town of Henderson in Vance County, had a campus of approximately ten acres with facilities for boarding students. There were Preparatory and Literary departments with special instruction in instrumental and vocal music and art. Copies of the Annual Announcement of Henderson Female College, Henderson, N. C. (Henderson, n.d.), for the academic years 1887-1888, and 1888-1889, were presented by Miss Herring and Mrs. Sloo for the Littleton College Memorial Collection. The author could find no reason for Rhodes' resignation from the Littleton institution. The College catalogue for the fall of 1887 stated: "The De-

the two years that immediately followed, S. D. Bagley served as Prin-

cipal of Littleton Female College.

In the spring of 1889, however, Rhodes purchased from the stockholders the Littleton Female College property and publicly announced plans to make several thousand dollars worth of improvements in the school plant, including the addition of a chapel, gymnasium, society hall, and several new classrooms.5 With his purchase of the College, Rhodes renewed a relationship which was destined to span a period of thirty years.

Described as "a man of convictions, who felt that he had a work to do," 6 President Rhodes forthwith dedicated his life to the training and development of young ladies "of real refinement and culture, with those principles that enter into the formation of noble character." Though small in physical stature, he has been portrayed as a man "huge

in determination, perseverance, consecration."8

About 1890, sometime after the death of his first wife, the former Florence Simmons, a native of Virginia who was noted for her refinement and culture and who devoted seven years to the development of Littleton Female College, President Rhodes remarried. His second wife, Lula Hester, a native of Granville County and a teacher of voice in his College, was a graduate of Greensboro Female College and had also studied in New York City. In the years that followed their marriage she gave her wholehearted support to the continued development of the College program, serving both as supervisor of the boarding department and of music practice. According to Mrs. Emma Thornton Nowell, for many years private secretary to Rhodes, Mrs. Rhodes "was ever a broadcaster of cheer . . . [a] wise and sympathetic counselor ... [and] consecrated worker ... [who] measured up to every test and proved a stimulus alike to husband, faculty, students. . . . "9

In their administration of Littleton College, President and Mrs. Rhodes were assisted by a faculty and staff noteworthy for their character, ability, and scholarship. Fannie S. Myrick, a graduate of Wesleyan Female College who taught music and modern languages, was the

parture of the late Chief of the school, taking with him nearly all the Boarding Scholars, reduced the number, at the beginning of the Spring Session, to twenty." Littleton Female College, Littleton, N. C., Session 1887-1888 (Franklinton, 1887), 4.

6 Raleigh Christian Advocate, March 13, 1889.

⁶ The Pansy, 1907, 6.

The Pansy, 1907, 6.

Totalogue of Littleton Female College (Raleigh, 1909), 48, hereinafter cited as Catalogue, 1909. A copy is in the private collection of Mrs. Ralph C. Rives, Enfield.
Dora Hornaday Stephenson (Mrs. George D.), Richmond, Virginia, to Rives, January 23, 1960. Mrs. Stephenson was a student at Littleton Female College, 1900-1901, and served as an instructor in mathematics, 1908-1909.
Nowell, "Memorial to Rhodes," 5.

first member of the faculty at Central Institute.¹⁰ Among the other early faculty members were: Mrs. Mary E. Fuller, Lucy M. Reeks, Emma F. Hood, Sallie G. Bain, Sallie L. Blount, Mollie Sledge, (Miss) S. L. Beaman, Viola Boddie, Mary E. Wyche, (Miss) M. E. Young, and (Miss) L. Whitfield.¹¹ Sallie Potter Betts, a member of the English faculty during the early years of this century, is frequently cited by alumnae as one of the professors who exerted an important influence in the affairs of the College. An outstanding teacher in her field, she also served as Associate Lady Principal for a number of years.

Emma Thornton and Vara L. Herring, who served for many years as College Secretary and College Treasurer, respectively, were both women of marked administrative ability; they contributed in no small way to the smoothness which characterized the operation of Littleton

Female College.

The faculty of the College in 1905 was composed of 22 officers and teachers, and there were 237 students.¹² The peak in enrollment, 285, was attained in 1908. Students at Littleton Female College came from both North and South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Maryland, Florida,

Mississippi, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Cuba.

The wide variety of courses offered to Littleton College students evidences a desire on behalf of the faculty and administration to present a well-rounded curriculum. While maintaining certain aspects of a young ladies' finishing school, the institution was dedicated to the serious pursuit by students of the intellectual aspects of a college career.

A survey of course descriptions and offerings reveals that Littleton College was in many respects advanced beyond the general educational philosophy of the period in which it existed and was imbued with many progressive ideas in the field of higher education. In an era when the physical and natural sciences received little or no emphasis in the educational program of many women's colleges, Littleton College offered classwork in chemistry, physics, physiology, and psychology, as well as general science and biology. Instruction was offered in the different branches of higher mathematics, including algebra, geometry, and trigonometry. In addition to the basic courses in English, history, geography, and government, there were classes in both Latin and

¹¹ A list of faculty members and administrative officials appears in the various Col-

¹⁰ First Annual Announcement of Central Institute for Young Ladies at Littleton in Warren County, N. C. (Weldon, 1882), 3, hereinafter cited First Announcement of Central Institute, 1882.

lege catalogues.

12 Ruth M. H. Mincher, "Littleton College Once Had an Enrollment of 244," Roanoke Rapids Herald, May 11, 1958. The student enrollment in 1903 was 192; in 1907 there were 274 students.

Greek as well as French and German, astronomy, mental and moral

philosophy, pedagogy, Bible, and gymnastics.

Courses in Spencerian penmanship, freehand drawing, art, and elocution were given special stress, and nearly every student was enrolled in some music course, either harmony, voice, pianoforte, or violin. Long before most institutions were offering business courses, Littleton College provided for instruction in stenography, shorthand, and typing. A special training program was offered in telegraphy.

The College was composed of a number of divisions including a Preparatory Department, consisting of a grammar school and sub-freshman instruction; a Practice and Observation School for prospective teachers; a Training School for nurses; and a Business School. Many of the young women who went out to serve in the classrooms of the public schools of North Carolina following the impetus given to education by the administration of Governor Charles B. Aycock received their training at Littleton Female College, where an effort was made to give to student-teachers a thorough knowledge of the latest methods of imparting instruction and of training, disciplining, and developing the talents and abilities of children. Former students of the College recall that local school boards at the turn of the century frequently requested Littleton Female College graduates to fill vacant teaching positions because of the high rating of the institution's teacher-training program.13 From time to time, President Rhodes invited alumnae of the College to serve on the faculty, and a number of his graduates later accepted faculty or administrative positions at other well-known colleges and institutions.

A natural result of Rhodes' affiliation with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was a strong religious influence on the campus.14 Special emphasis was placed on religious training and on the formation and growth of character. Bible was a required course for every student. As a result of the religious atmosphere which characterized the program and due to the moderate tuition fees charged by President Rhodes, many daughters of itinerant Methodist ministers were able

to attend Littleton College.

¹⁸ During the years just prior to the turn of the century, there was a marked growth in the size and prestige of Littleton Female College. Jennie Lloyd Watson (Mrs. George M.) of Bethel, an alumna of the school, states that at this time her mother, then a resident of Littleton, "became so impressed with the training and discipline afforded the students at L. F. C. that she vowed if she ever had a daughter she would attend this institution." Jennie Lloyd Watson to Rives, January 28, 1960.

14 The institution was heartily endorsed by resolutions passed at the annual conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and news of College activities frequently appeared in the Raleigh Christian Advocate and the North Carolina Christian Advocate, church-related periodicals. The Charter of Central Institute provided that all bequests and donations were to become the property of the Methodist Episcopal Church. South.

Church, South.

Former students, faculty members, and administrative officials are in general agreement concerning the effectiveness of the religious training supplied by Littleton College. Rhodes was "a man of vision and great faith . . . very sensitive to the needs of the church for Christian leadership," recalls Vara L. Herring of Raleigh, who further adds: "The L. C. girls are 'tops' in church and mission work and in building Christian homes for the boys and girls of tomorrow." 15 Its scholastic requirements and its character training were and are unexcelled," declares Dora Hornaday Stephenson (Mrs. George D.) of Richmond, Virginia, President of the Littleton College Memorial Association, concerning her alma mater.16 "Preparation for the abundant life of loving service was the shining goal of Littleton College," concludes Mrs. Stephenson. Alumnae point with pride to the large number of graduates who went out from the College to serve as missionaries in foreign countries especially in the Far East.17

The late Annie Laurie Crews Crews (Mrs. James Y.) of Oxford praised the mental, moral, and intellectual training which she received as a student at Littleton College during the first decade of the present century. "We were taught the truth about life-that as we sowed so we would reap. The institution looked over and tenderly guided the lives of the girls. . . . It was the cause of many a successful career." 18 "Littleton College reminds me of my own schooling place," wrote Elizabeth Gordon, graduate of the famous Mount Holyoke College in South Hadley, Massachusetts, over fifty years ago. "It gives the students thorough mental training and furnishes the same high ideals

with which Mary Lyon and her successors inspired girls." 19

The editor of the Raleigh Christian Advocate once observed that from Littleton College were "going forth positive moral, mental and social influences which must play an important part in developing the Christian womanhood of this Southland." ²⁰ "All concede the fact

¹⁵ Vara L. Herring to Rives, January 25, 1960. The vara L. Herring to Rives, January 25, 1960. Dr. Llewllyn J. Coppedge, retired medical missionary of Montreat, who practiced medicine in Halifax County near Littleton about 1900, in a letter to the author, March 4, 1960, stated: "One wonders how these small, church-affiliated colleges could furnish such teaching, training and character building for the small sum charged for tuition. But it was only made possible by a corps of devoted and consecrated women, whose high ideals and nobility of soul inspired them to look for the reward in results achieved rather than in salary."

possible by a corps of devoted and consecrated women, whose high ideals and nobility of soul, inspired them to look for the reward in results achieved rather than in salary."

Yora L. Herring, January 25, 1960, and Dora Hornaday Stephenson, January 23, 1960, to Rives. Miss Herring recalls that Mrs. F. F. Stevens, President of the Woman's Missionary Council of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in an address given at Edenton Street Methodist Church (Raleigh) in 1926, noted that Littleton College furnished more girls for foreign and home missions than any other college in the South.

The late Annie Laurie Crews (Mrs. James Y.), Oxford, to Rives, January 14, 1960. Mrs. Crews was a member of the Class of 1908.

Elizabeth Gordon, as quoted under "Testimonials," Catalogue, 1909, 64.

Catalogue, 1909, 64.

that it does work of a high order," commented the North Carolina Christian Advocate concerning the College, "and its graduates take rank with those from other leading schools." 21

The Reverend Roland C. Stubbins, retired Methodist minister of Efland, upon a recent visit to the site of Littleton College, recalled his impressions of the institution while he served as Methodist Protestant minister in Littleton over half a century ago. Mr. Stubbins, who was often invited to speak at religious services at the College, and at whose church many of the students came to worship on Sunday mornings, praised the high standards of the educational program of the College and cited President Rhodes as a man of great vitality and character.22

President and Mrs. Rhodes were especially interested in locating ambitious girls of limited financial means who were interested in attending their College. Rhodes spent considerable time traveling about eastern Carolina in an effort to interest prospective students in Littleton College. He encouraged deserving students to enroll, often arranging for them to assist in the dining hall, laundry, or in some other selfhelp position. An Aid and Loan Association was established to direct the administration of various financial sources including a general fund of several thousand dollars available to needy students. Among the scholarships available were the Florence Simmons Memorial Fund of \$5,000, which provided approximately \$300 annually; the Melissa Frances Hester Scholarship, established at the commencement of 1902 by General Julian S. Carr in honor of Mrs. Rhodes' mother, which paid the annual expenses of one student and was later endowed by George D. Seldon, President of the Erie City Iron Works in Pennsylvania; the Reverend J. A. Cuninggim, D.D., Memorial Fund, which began as a \$100 gift from Cuninggim and later became a memorial fund to which various people contributed, and of which only the interest was used by the College.

When Central Institute opened, board, lights, and fuel were furnished students for \$50.00 per term of twenty weeks.23 Tuition ranged from \$10.00 in the Primary Department to \$12.50 in the Intermediate Department and \$15.00 in the Literary Department. Additional fees were charged for foreign languages and music. In 1890 \$75.00 covered the entire expenses including tuition and board of a student enrolled in the English Course;²⁴ a day student could enroll for \$18.00 per term.

²² Catalogue, 1909, 64.
²³ Ruth M. H. Mincher, "Rev. Stubbins Returns to Littleton for Visit," Littleton Observer, June 2, 1960.
²³ First Announcement of Central Institute, 1882, 8.
²⁴ Catalogue, 1800, 1801, (Raleigh, 1890), 14

²⁴ Catalogue of Littleton Female College, 1890-1891 (Raleigh, 1890), 14.

During the first decade of this century, students who enrolled in the Literary Department of the College could receive board, room, and laundry for between \$70.00 and \$100, the price varying according to the room which the student occupied.25 Full literary tuition including English, languages, penmanship, and free hand drawing, was \$50.00. A fee of \$5.00 was charged for the use of the books in the Literary Department in addition to a \$2.00 library fee; there was a \$5.00 medical fee. Instruction in piano or voice with one hour's practice each day cost \$40.00 per term, and in violin, \$30.00. Special lessons in elocution could be had for \$40.00 per annual session. Laboratory fees were charged by the Department of Science and various studio and material fees were charged by the Department of Art.

In reminiscing about her college days at Littleton, Nora Blanche Rives (Mrs. Ralph C.) of Enfield noted the emphasis directed toward the cultivation of manners and conduct considered correct for a wellbred young lady of this post-Victorian era. Due to the sternness and near-Puritanism which were often characteristic of President Rhodes in his dealings with students, however, many of them were in actual fear of him. On one occasion, Mrs. Rives recalled, a student was expelled from the College, after having previously been reprimanded for similar "unlady-like" behavior, when she was caught waving, during a rest period, to a young gentleman passing along the street under her window.26 Dancing, of course, was strictly forbidden.

Frequent visits by students to their homes were discouraged and as a part of the strict observance of the Sabbath, visitors were not received at the College on that day. Among the "General Instructions" of the College was the following interesting restriction which is in marked contrast with modern-day practice: "When pupils are expect-

²⁵ Catalogue, 1909, 42-43.

^{**}Catalogue, 1909, 42-43.

**Catalogue, 1909, 42-43.

**Trom conversations with the author's aunt and stepmother, Nora Blanche Hardee Rives (Mrs. Ralph C.), who attended Littleton Female College, 1906-1908. The author's mother, Lossie Day Hardee Rives, also attended the College at the same time. The following alumnae, in addition to those previously noted, have also assisted the author by giving information concerning their alma mater: Alma Fleming Hunt (Mrs. David Alexander), Ruth Hardy Garnette (Mrs. Walter R.), Sarah Myrick Parker (Mrs. Romulus Bragg), all of Enfield; Carrie Myrick and Mrs. Alice Myrick Browning of Littleton; Mattie Davis Hunter (Mrs. J. P.), student from 1894-1895, Lula Hunter Skillman (Mrs. C. E.), student from 1915-1919, of Warrenton; Frances Renfrow Doak (Mrs. Charles R.), Raleigh; Josephine Perry Highsmith (Mrs. Charles), Dunn; Lucile Aiken Breedlove (Mrs. J. S.), Chevy Chase, Maryland; Minnie Taylor, Class of 1902, who later taught history and French at Littleton College, Mollie S. Taylor Gay (Mrs. J. S.), Class of 1901, who later taught mathematics at Littleton College, Margarettsville; Mrs. Lula McCall Usher, Alexandria, Virginia; and Lula Carr Payne (Mrs. Bruce Ryburn), Nashville, Tennessee. A student at the College from 1891 to 1893, Mrs. Payne recalls vividly the Victorian strictness with which President Rhodes operated his school. Due to the severity with which he handled any relationship between the girls of his college and the local boys, day students from the town often smuggled letters to the students from their male admirers. town often smuggled letters to the students from their male admirers.



This photograph, showing a part of the buildings of the Littleton College, was copied by Madlin Futrell, Photographer for the State Department of Archives and History, from an original belonging to Dr. Ralph Hardee Rives.

ing to have gentleman friends call, as they may be passing through town, it will be necessary for us to have written instructions from parents or guardian as to this, so that there may be no embarrassment

concerning it." 27

As would be expected, much emphasis was placed on deportment. An established maxim of the institution was: "The scholarship of a pupil is always at a discount if her deportment is not good. She must have real character and be a lady as well as a scholar." ²⁸ Deportment grades were given along with recitation grades and were included in determining the final grade or average of the student.

In order to ascertain their proper classification, students, except in certain specified cases, were required to take satisfactory entrance examinations in the lower branches of study before entering college classes. There were quarterly reports of grades. Numerical grades ranging from "1" to "10" were used in grading and those students averaging nine or above were considered "distinguished" scholars. The College

 ²⁷ Catalogue, 1909, 61.
 ²⁸ Catalogue, 1909, 59.

catalogue of 1909 stated: "The honor of being thorough in all work done, of being in reality a good scholar, and of being so acknowledged

by the school and the Faculty is the greatest we offer." 29

Special stress was placed on a knowledge of the correct style of speaking and writing the English language and on an understanding of literature. Written examinations were given with special stress placed upon the manuscript work. As foundations for what was considered a "liberal culture," students were urged to cultivate habits of observation and to relate in logical order what they read. They became familiar with essay writing, poetic diction, figures and qualities of style, the epic, and both American and English literature, with special emphasis on the dramas of Shakespeare. Sara E. H. Lockwood's famous Lessons in English Composition was one of the textbooks in frequent use at the College.

"English Diplomas" were granted to students who satisfactorily completed the required courses in English, mathematics, natural science, pedagogy, and Bible. A "Full Diploma" was awarded to those students who completed the requisites for the "English Diploma" plus a four-

year course in Latin and a three-year course in French.

All students were required to wear specified uniforms to church and concerts, to shop and visit, and on all public occasions. 30 This uniform consisted of navy blue skirts with white or plain waists and white collars. Ties and belts could be of either blue or white material. Students in mourning were allowed to wear untrimmed black skirts with a plain blouse of white lawn or linen. For commencement, students were expected to wear plain white dresses or shirtwaist suits with a white ribbon belt. Lace was allowed only on the neck or sleeves and hand-embroidery and fancy sashes or ties were not permitted. Low-necked waists were strictly forbidden. Only black shoes could be worn except on special occasions when students participating in public exercises were allowed to wear white ones. A navy blue coat was prescribed for outer wear, and mortarboards of navy broadcloth, the standard headgear, could be purchased at the College for \$1.35. Special Littleton pins bearing the initials of the school were frequently worn by the girls.

Students were required to take daily walks with teachers or participate in indoor calisthenics and exercises in "physical culture" in the College gymnasium on inclement days. Each afternoon, when the weather was clear, the girls would assemble in the front hall of the

 ²⁹ Catalogue, 1909, 58.
 ³⁰ Catalogue, 1909, 59-60.

Residence Building, then, accompanied by either a faculty member or a senior, they would walk to some designated spot either in town or the nearby countryside. Once each month, students, accompanied by an approved chaperone, were allowed to shop in downtown Littleton. With the passage of years, the familiar sight of Littleton Female College girls walking in miltary-like style became a nostalgic scene to the local citizenry of Littleton.

A copy of the schedule for a typical day in the life of a Littleton

College student was as follows:

6	Rising Bell
	Notice Bell
	Breakfast
8-9:00 Caring	for Rooms, Preparation for School, etc.
9-9:30	Chapel Service
9:30-1	Class Recitations
	Dinner
2-3:30	Class Recitations
3:30-3:45	Section Meetings, Distribution of Mail
	and Preparation for Walk
3:45-4:30	Recreation and Walking Hour
	Evening Prayer
	Supper
	Current Events and Social Hour
	Study Hour
	Retiring Hour ³¹
	The state of the s

A variety of extra-curricular activities was provided for the students at President Rhodes' College. The Young Women's Christian Association was especially active in the orientation program at the beginning of each new school term and the annual Y.W.C.A. reception was one of the important social events of the academic year. One of the most popular and most active of the school organizations was the Glee Club which gave frequent recitals in which many of the students participated. Those students who demonstrated a special interest in the field of science were encouraged to participate in the activities of the Science Club. As was typical of all institutions of higher learning in the South at this period, Littleton College had literary societies in which a large percentage of the students held membership. Students belonging to the Eunonian and Hyperion societies met weekly to discuss significant authors and their works and to "engage in such other work and exercises as greatly enhance their literary accomplish-

²¹ Catalogue, 1909, 63.

ments." 32 These societies frequently contributed money to the College library to be used for the purchase of new resource books. In 1910 the library contained in excess of 2,000 reference books, and most of the better-known scholarly magazines and periodicals were also available to student readers. Beginning in 1905 the senior class published a College annual known as The Pansy, on the staff of which served a number of students interested in journalism. The Chatterbox, a monthly literary magazine containing literary criticism, original compositions and poems, campus gossip, and news about campus activities and organizations, first appeared in April, 1907.

The College had two basketball teams, the "Rippers" and the "Snorters," and a tennis club. School spirit was stimulated by the frequently held interclass tennis tournaments and basketball games. The

official College colors were blue and black.

Among the unique College social organizations were the "Hungry Mary's," composed of those students whose first name was "Mary," the "Procrastination Club," and the "Gigglers." A College museum was maintained and each student was asked to leave a memento in it-a photograph along with some article of her original work, either a literary composition, musical composition, piece of handiwork or work of art.

In an effort to provide for the cultural development and growth of his students, President Rhodes often invited guest lecturers and musicians to appear at the College. Student recitals, which were frequently held, were enthusiastically attended. Outstanding speakers, usually with some religious affiliation, were always invited to participate in the annual commencement exercises. One of the traditional aspects of the commencement program was the presentation of a "Literary Address" to the students and their guests.³³

 ⁸² Catalogue, 1909, 56. A literary society was organized soon after Central Institute was established. The "Eunonian Literary Society" is first mentioned in the Catalogue of 1885-1886, the "Hyperion Literary Society" is first mentioned in the Catalogue of 1899-1890, and both are mentioned in the Catalogue of 1890-1891.
 ³⁸ Some of the speakers at the various exercises were:

 1895 (May), Commencement Sermon, President John C. Kilgo, Trinity College, Durham; Literary Address, Reverend Sam W. Small, Norfolk, Virginia. This information was taken from an invitation to the exercises presented to the Littleton College Memorial Collection by Mattie Davis Hunter and Lula Hunter Skillman of Warrenton.

 man of Warrenton

^{1896,} Literary Address, Dr. John S. Bassett. The North Carolina Christian Advocate (Raleigh), June 24, 1896.

^{1901,} Commencement Sermon, Reverend James Atkins, D.D.; Literary Address, Reverend E. H. Rawlings.

^{1902,} Commencement Sermon, Reverend R. C. Beamon; Literary Address, General Julian S. Carr (Durham).

^{1903,} Commencement Sermon, Bishop A. Coke Smith; Literary Address, Governor Charles B. Aycock.

A College bank was operated in which students deposited and withdrew their money following regular banking procedures. Each student was furnished with a passbook, checkbook, and deposit slips, and was

allowed to keep her own private bank account.

With the passage of time, many additions were made to the old main building of the College. At the beginning of the twentieth century, this building, known as the Residence Building, picturesque in its ornate Victorian architecture, could accommodate approximately 250 boarding students and the College administration could boast of modern equipment in every classroom.34 A brick Science Building was erected about 1905. Adorned with stone trimmings, a slate roof, and an iron cornice, this building had a frontage of 114 feet, a depth of 70 feet, and contained laboratories, halls for the two literary societies, and space for a large and comfortable library. Along the covered passageway between the Residence Building and the Science Building were located approximately 15 to 20 music rooms. A two-story hospital or infirmary with a 100-foot frontage, including some 20 rooms, and the college laundry were other buildings located on the 32-acre campus. All the buildings were heated with hot water and lighted with electricity. At the rear of the Residence Building, Mrs. Rhodes maintained a number of beautiful flower beds, outlined with violets, which were enjoyed by students and faculty alike.

Evidence of administrative interest and concern for student health may be seen in the fact that a resident trained nurse was always available to students and that each girl was required to report periodically concerning the condition of her health. Dr. Willis Alston of Littleton

served as College physician for a number of years.

Governor Charles B. Aycock served on the Board of Trustees of Littleton Female College from 1906 until 1910 and for a while was President of the Board.³⁵ Governor Robert B. Glenn was also a member of the Board of Trustees, the total membership of which, originally nine, was eventually increased to 25.

For a list of college activities for the years 1901-1903, including addresses, lectures, receptions, concerts, special religious services, excursions, and other social features, see Catalogue, 1901, 53-54; Catalogue, 1902, 52-53; Catalogue, 1902-1903, 56-57. Governor Aycock also made a short address on education at the College, October 15, 1908. The Chatterbox, III (November, 1908), 48. A number of copies of this publication were presented for the Collection by Vara L. Herring and Mrs. Pauline Herring Sloo.

²² Catalogue, 1909, 47; The Pansy, 1907, 6.

²³ According to Mrs. Charles R. Doak, Littleton College alumna who served as secretary in the law firm of Aycock and Winston, the University of North Carolina and Littleton Female College were the only two educational institutions of which Governor Aycock accepted the position of trustee. See, Oliver H. Orr, Jr., Charles Brantley Aycock (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1961), 356-357.

The town of Littleton, during the period when President Rhode College was in existence, was a small but thriving community bustlin with activity. Several noted mineral springs were located nearby, the most famous being the Panacea Springs, to which many people were attracted not only because of the health-restoring water but the excellent social life afforded guests. Littleton, located on the line between Warren and Halifax counties, could be reached by trains on the Seaboard Air Line Railway which operated between Raleigh and Weldo and older residents of the town still recall the general interest an excitement when the College re-opened each autumn and the population of the town would turn out "en masse," some in buggies an surries, others on foot, to await the arrival of each trainload of Littleto College girls.

On the night of January 22, 1919, Littleton College was destroyed by a fire with damages estimated at more than \$50,000.36 The institution had never been endowed and for this reason it was not rebuil. The advanced age and poor health of President Rhodes were other significant factors contributing to his decision to discontinue the College. Following the fire President and Mrs. Rhodes moved to Floridate the died in Bartow on July 3, 1941. His body was returned to Littleton where funeral services were conducted in the local Methodist Church

followed by interment in the Sunset Hill Cemetery.

Around 1902 an Alumnae Association was created to promote the interests of Littleton College and to foster among the graduates sentiment of regard for each other and attachment to their alma mate. This Association devoted itself largely to adding new books to the

College library and to the establishment of scholarships.

In the spring of 1927, at the annual session of the Woman's Mi sionary Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which met in Sanford, a Littleton College Memorial Association was organized to keep the spirit and work of the College alive. The moving spirit in the organization of this Association and a prominent figure all its worthy endeavors was Vara L. Herring. The Association assisted financially in caring for President and Mrs. Rhodes during the late years of their lives and presented a gift of \$3,000 to Scarritt College in Nashville, Tennessee, to be used for the training of Christian worker. It has also established at this Methodist institution the Vara L. Herring Scholarship in honor of the former College Treasurer.

Since the establishment of the Littleton College Memorial Association the annual meeting and reunion of the organization has been hel

Enfield Progress, January 24, 1919.

each July either at Panacea Springs or Pullen Park in Raleigh. In 1960 the members of the organization voted to establish a Littleton College Memorial Collection of books to be presented to the library of the new North Carolina Wesleyan College near Rocky Mount. A committee was also appointed to assemble a collection of memorabilia of Littleton College to be preserved for posterity and to be placed in the North Carolina Wesleyan College and the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina. At the annual reunion which met in July, 1961, President Thomas Collins of North Carolina Wesleyan College extended an invitation to the members of the Littleton College Memorial Association to meet in the following July on the campus of the new Methodist college which serves the same general area as that of Littleton College. "North Carolina Wesleyan College is in a very real sense a spiritual outgrowth of Littleton College," stated President Collins, and noted that the flame lighted by the earlier institution was still alive. He invited the alumnae of Littleton College to consider themselves the first "alumni organization" of the new college.³⁷

³⁷ The News and Observer (Raleigh), August 2, 1961.

BOOK REVIEWS

Echoes of Happy Valley. By Thomas Felix Hickerson. (Durham: [Privately printed]. 1962. Preface, illustrations, genealogical tables, and index names. Pp. x, 245. \$6.50.)

This volume is primarily a reference work for those interested in the history of the upper Yadkin Valley and will be of particular assistance to local historians of Caldwell, Wilkes, and Burke counties. It is of even greater interest to the members of the Lenoir Family and their myriad relations and descendants—collateral, unilateral, and bilateral.

Family letters are reproduced dealing with a period which covers more than the entire span of United States history. Of greatest interest are those in Sections I and II which portray family life during the Post-Revolutionary and Ante-bellum periods. Some of this source material is available in The Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, but quite a bit of it is still in private collections and is not available to scholars who do not have the entree of Professor Hickerson. Incidentally, it is worth noting that some of these letters are written by persons who are at the time residing elsewhere in the South and, as a result, do not pertain to Happy Valley.

Following the letters are sixteen pages of family photographs and immediately following is a great mass of family genealogical information. It is only fair to say, however, that if one is avidly interested in the genealogy of these valley families and has a passion for accuracy he can best be served by consulting the voluminous records of Mr.

Allan L. Poe of Lenoir, North Carolina.

Reproductions of the signatures of prominent members of the family connection appear on the two last pages in the book.

Edward W. Phifer.

Morganton.

Hornet's Nest: The Story of Charlotte and Mecklenburg County, by Le-Gette Blythe and Charles R. Brockmann. (Charlotte: McNally of Charlotte. 1961. Illustrations, appendix, and index. Pp. xv, 511. \$7.50.)

An increasing number of county histories in North Carolina is gratifying, and particularly so when one attains the quality of the subject of this review. There are really two complementary books within a single cover. Both bear the marks of skilled craftsmen—Blythe, a brilliant journalist whose family roots go back almost to the beginning of the county, and Brockmann, a trained archivist long associated with the Charlotte and Mecklenburg Public Library. More fortunate than most local historians, the authors had the benefit of much organized

material, including two earlier histories of the county.

In Book I Blythe, in a lively narrative of 155 pages, reviews the struggles of the early settlers, their intense love of liberty encouraged by Presbyterian evangels like Alexander Craighead, the chartering of Charlottetown in 1768, and the political sleight of hand by which Thomas Polk got it designated as the county seat, the convention which declared independence from England more than a year before the Philadelphia declaration, the "hornet's nest" which surprised Cornwallis in 1780, the Battle of Cowan's Ford in which General Davidson was killed, President Washington's stop in 1791 at what he ungraciously termed "a trifling place," the rise of a cotton aristocracy, the gold mining era which brought the U. S. Mint, the tragic years of War and Reconstruction, and then in the twentieth century the emergence of Charlotte as a great center of trade and culture.

Book II, by Brockmann, is essentially a social and economic history of the county and more particularly of Charlotte. His approach is topical with chapters on government, churches, education, communication and transportation, business and finance, health and welfare, cultural interests, and other subjects. Since Charlotte in 1885 had only 8,400 people, and in 1910 only 34,000, most of this history is that of the last 75 years. Each chapter is rich with names and incidents associated with the establishment and growth of existing institutions and enterprises along with others that have yielded to changing modes. Though perhaps less interesting to outsiders than Book 1, Brockmann's chapters should have great local appeal for they concern the forerunners and forebears of many contemporary Charlotteans. Here too, social scientists can view on a moving screen the metamorphosis of a country town into a bustling metropolis, with a separate focus on each aspect of the change.

The usefulness of the volume is enhanced by the addition of the Appendix that includes lists of those who have held public office, a chronology of important events, historic documents, and reprints of a number of articles that bear on the history of the county. Altogether it is a monumental work—comprehensive, scholarly and objective. Oncoming generations can be grateful that the customs, attitudes, and aspirations of their forebears have been so expertly distilled and recorded.

Paul W. Wager.

University of North Carolina.

The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore, Volume VI: Popular Beliefs and Superstitions. Edited by Wayland D. Hand. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1961. Introduction and illustrations. Pp. lxxi, 664. \$10.00.)

This is one of the first, if not the first, publications of American folk-lore in the field of popular beliefs and superstitions. Webster defines superstitions as a reverence for, and a belief in that which is unknown or mysterious. This belief and feeling is reflected in the content of this volume. The laconic expressions have been gleaned from all sections of North Carolina, both rural and urban and from all classes of people, educated, professional, rich, poor, and unlettered.

The content of the book is arranged under the following heads:

I. Birth, Infancy, Childhood

1. Where children come from

2. Birthdays—Twins—Deformities

3. Ailments—Remedies—Colic—Croup

4. Whooping cough, Teething, Rash

II. Human Body, Folk Medicine

1. Hair-Eyes-Nose-Feet-Figure

2. Appetite—Thirst—Beauty—Ugliness

III. Diseases and Remedies

Asthma—Backache—Cancer—Blisters Gall Stones—Hives—Palsy—Fever Smallpox—Poisons—Stuttering

There is a cause and a sure cure for each one of these ailments.

IV. Social Relationships—Economic

1. Poverty—Hardships—Money

2. Business-Trades-Women in Industry

3. Religion-Bible-Church

4. Friends-Enemies-Houses-Gates, Fences-Trees-Animals

5. Lying—Thievery—Legal—Guilt

V. Travel, Communication

Time of departure—meeting and passing: People—Animals
 —Dogs—Cats—Rabbits—Returning Home

2. Visiting—Days of the Week

VI. Love, Courtship-Marriage

1. Body-Clothing, etc.

- 2. Hands-Fingers-Rings-Kissing
- 3. Love Charms-Love Powders
- 4. Home and Domestic Scenes Table—Food—Meat—Salt Bedrooms—Mirror—Candles
- 5. Animal Partners: Horses—Mules Chickens—Roosters—Eggs—Birds
- 6. Order and Time of Marriage
 Delayed Marriage—Clothing
 Sleeping—Falling—Walking—Dreams
- 7. Marital Status
 Age of Spouse—Bachelor—Widower
 Habits—Financial Status
- 8. Wedding, Married Life
 Time of Wedding—Weather—Clothes
 Wedding Cake—Ring—Ceremony
 Honeymoon

Time and space precludes giving examples of these beliefs and customs. However, the material in this volume is so well arranged the reader will find it easy to locate any subject in which he is interested.

Those who read this book will be impressed with these observations: the extent to which the collectors and editors have gone to achieve this unique production; the way in which these beliefs and superstitions influenced the people of past generations; and the extent to which these traditional beliefs and customs have been carried over into our present day life.

All who are interested in the field of folklore owe a debt of gratitude to those who have made this most interesting production possible.

I. G. Greer.

Chapel Hill.

North Carolina in 1861. By James K. Boykin. (New York: Bookman Associates—Twayne Publishers. 1961. Notes and index. Pp. 237. \$5.00.)

This book is an accumulation of information from newspapers, legislative journals, public laws and resolutions, legislative and executive papers, church minutes, personal records, and numerous other sources concerning North Carolina during the period 1860-1861. The book is divided into two parts: The first section is a survey of the social history of North Carolina during this period, and the concluding section deals with the question of why North Carolina seceded from the Union. It appears that the author has made good use of the primary sources available for such research.

The first section of this book reads like a file of note cards with one quotation after another. In his introduction Mr. Boykin explains his reasons for compiling his information in this fashion by saying that he has "tried to be clear without using words that would persuade the reader, and to avoid colorful adjectives, vague and suggestive phrases, and words with strong emotional tones." In other words, the object of the book is to present facts without interpretation, and this method makes uninteresting reading. In the rare instances when the author is bold enough to give an interpretation, it is too superficial. The footnotes would be more useful if they did not appear at the back of the book but in easy reach of the reader at the bottom of the page.

The second section dealing with the secession movement in North Carolina is the better of the two sections; however, the errors in fact and in typography are too numerous to be excused. An example of an error in fact appears on page 169 where it is stated that "President Lincoln requested that North Carolina provide seventy-five thousand troops. . . ." North Carolina, in fact, was requested to furnish only two regiments, whereas all of the States in the Union were called upon for a total of seventy-five thousand troops. Numerous typographical

errors occur throughout the book.

Mr. Boykin might well have given us a thorough study of this most important transition period in North Carolina history with a fresh interpretation based on the facts which he presented in the book.

Noble J. Tolbert.

University of North Carolina Library.

Democratic Party Dissension in North Carolina, 1928-1936. By Elmer L. Puryear. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Vol. XL. 1962. Pp. xiii, 251. \$2.50.)

Beginning with the election of 1928, this account carries the Democratic party in North Carolina through the election of 1936. It was in the first of these years that, following the nomination of Alfred E. Smith by the Democrats for President, United States Senator Furnifold M. Simmons, whose political machine had dominated North Carolina since the turn of the century, led a movement to defeat Smith with the result that the State went Republican (in the national but not the State election) for the first time since the nineteenth century. Many of the loyal Democrats were antagonized by Simmons' action and were out to "get" him. Their opportunity came when he was up for re-election in 1930. In the primaries Josiah W. Bailey defeated Simmons and was later elected.

Unopposed in the Democratic primaries, O. Max Gardner had been elected Governor in 1928. When his term began in January, 1929, the situation looked favorable and most of his program was passed by the General Assembly without too much difficulty. Soon began the economic depression, however, and before long the State government was very much in the red. To the General Assembly of 1931 Governor Gardner proposed a program of drastic retrenchment, and that body, after a marathon session of 141 days, that included some of the most bitter legislative fights on record, cut expenditures and changed the tax structure.

In the meantime Gardner had built up a powerful political machine, which, in the Democratic primaries of 1932, supported J. C. B. Ehringhaus. Opposing him were an insurgent, Richard T. Fountain, and middle-of-the-roader A. J. Maxwell. In the first primary Maxwell was eliminated, and in the second primary Ehringhaus won easily.

Ehringhaus' first legislative session, in January, 1933, met when the State was in the depths of the depression. After another long and bitter session, the General Assembly sought to balance the budget by levying a "temporary" three per cent sales tax. Even at such a time the State made a forward step by assuming responsibility for the operation of a uniform eight-months term for all the public elementary and secondary schools in North Carolina. Also the State assumed the maintenance of all public roads.

When the 1935 General Assembly met, business conditions were slightly better. But there was another heated fight that resulted in

doing away with most exemptions from the sales tax. It was at this session that Prohibition was ended in North Carolina by a law pro-

viding for local option.

The election of 1936 saw colorful insurgent Ralph McDonald run against machine candidate Clyde R. Hoey, with A. J. Maxwell again in the middle. In the first primary Maxwell was eliminated for the

second time, and in the runoff primary Hoey was the victor.

The study proved intensely interesting to the present reviewer, perhaps because he lived through this stirring period. The work is based on long and detailed research, is well-balanced, and reads easily. For his sources on the General Assembly the author has relied almost exclusively on newspapers rather than on official journals, statutes, and other public documents. An index adds usefulness.

Christopher Crittenden.

State Department of Archives and History.

Toward The Dawn: History of The First Quarter-Century of The North Carolina State Association For The Blind. By Herbert C. Bradshaw. (Raleigh: The North Carolina State Association for the Blind. 1961. Appendixes and index. Pp. 214. \$3.00.)

A painstaking research job by a Durham newspaperman, Herbert C. Bradshaw, has resulted in a book that for historical purposes is a real contribution to State records in the field of social service. Aside from its documentary value, the book is an absorbing story of how the blind have been helped to adjust to their handicap, how many have been taught skills that have resulted in monetary income, and methods for the prevention of blindness.

The North Carolina State Association for the Blind, the Lions Clubs of the State, and the North Carolina State Commission for the Blind have through the years co-operated in developing an outstanding

program.

In every respect the author has dealt with the material adequately. The sifting and culling of what obviously was a wealth of records comprised a major task. The resulting clarity and readable style are a tribute to Herbert C. Bradshaw's skill as a newspaperman; he is associate editor of the *Durham Morning Herald*. He has been a member of the North Carolina State Association for the Blind since 1952 and is past president of the Durham Lions Club.

The valuable appendixes, including officers, directors, trustees, and executive committees for twenty-five years, and an excellent index, make this volume a ready reference.

This reviewer was especially pleased with the appropriate title of the

book.

Bernadette W. Hoyle.

North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare.

Ante-Bellum: Writings of George Fitzhugh and Hinton Rowan Helper on Slavery. Edited with an introduction by Harvey Wish. (New York: Capricorn Books. 1960. Pp. 256. \$1.35.)

There is seemingly no end to the bargains that the paperback revolution will produce. Now, in one inexpensive volume, you can get a reprint of three books that only the best libraries are sure to have: George Fitzhugh's Sociology for the South (1854) and Cannibals All! (1857) and Hinton Rowan Helper's The Impending Crisis of the South (1857). You get also a long, knowledgeable Introduction by Professor Harvey Wish that is objective about these opposed polemicists with-

out being severe or superior.

Fitzhugh, a Virginia lawyer, chose to state the South's case in the 1850's by violently attacking industrial capitalism (even echoing Karl Marx to do so) and by pleading instead for an ordered, static society built frankly on paternalism and class. Helper, who was from western North Carolina, just as violently attacked slavery as a social and economic disaster for the six million whites in the South who owned no slaves. Both men were brilliant propagandists, widely read in their time and still surprisingly full of sap today. Helper had the advantage of being more or less right while Fitzhugh's books now tend to sound as forlornly hollow as an argument, say, that the Tories deserved to prevail in our Revolutionary War; however, Helper had a frothing, repellent vehemence that lets Fitzhugh seem like the more reasonable one at times. In any event, reading Fitzhugh and Helper will give a better feel of their times than any number of costumed re-enactments of life in the Old South.

Louis J. Budd.

Duke University.

The Papers of Henry Clay, Volume II. The Rising Statesman, 1815-1820. Edited by James F. Hopkins. Mary W. M. Hargreaves, Associate Editor. (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 1961. Pp. viii, 939. Index. \$15.00.)

This is the second book in a projected ten-volume publication of the complete papers of Henry Clay. It covers Clay's career from January 1, 1815, as he prepared to return from the scene of negotiations at Ghent, until December 31, 1820, after he had resigned his position as Speaker and remained at home to untangle his financial affairs. Although this period precedes the more lustrous years when Clay emerged as party chief and perennial presidential candidate, the papers present the maturing of Clay's ideas and record the beginnings of his struggle to translate them into realities. Here can be found speeches and actions dealing with internal improvements, domestic manufactures, protective tariffs, and the Bank of the United Stateshis American System. One can see his ideas on other issues of the day: his feeling that the Maine-Missouri controversy was a "sinister design" to effect the "arraying of one portion of the United States against another"; his leadership in organizing the American Colonization Society in order to "drain . . . off" the free Negroes, but not to "agitate, in the slightest degree," the "delicate question" of slavery. An important item is Clay's speech on the Seminole War in which he criticized Andrew Jackson's actions in Florida, a speech which polarized a personal antagonism that keynoted American politics for two decades.

The book must be primarily considered as a research tool, however, and as such it serves its purpose. It is uncluttered, and its arrangement easy on the eye. In keeping with the attempt at completeness, considerable space is taken up by an imposing array of incidental material, e.g., a notice for an escaped mulatto servant, an agreement on fencing with a neighboring woman landowner, an anonymous printed attack by a political opponent, an itemized bookseller's bill. It is as complete, apparently, as years of searching and collecting can make it; everything has gone into print-and quite properly so. The explanatory footnotes are placed at the end of each item rather than at the bottom of the appropriate page, in the generally accepted editorial practice; this method has its drawbacks, but there is probably no completely satisfying answer to this perennial problem. The index is of proper names only, but the editor promises that a comprehensive subject index will appear on completion of the series. Two items are omitted: a biographical chronology and a table of contents that lists the letters and documents chronologically. Both features would have

been helpful to a researcher in a number of ways; and flexibility of use, as well as completeness, the reviewer presumes, should be the raison d'etre of such a book. These are unfortunate but not overriding considerations; the publication of complete papers of notable men is the order of the day, and the standards maintained in the Clay papers serve the historian and his public well.

Richard D. Goff.

Meredith College.

Antislavery: The Crusade for Freedom in America. By Dwight Lowell Dumond. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1961. Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. x, 422. \$20.00.)

A Bibliography of Antislavery in America. By Dwight Lowell Dumond. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1961. Pp. 119. \$10.00.)

Professor Dumond, who gained wide recognition for his editorial work on the letters of [Theodore Dwight] Weld, the Grimké sisters (Angelina and Sarah), and James G. Birney, and by his interpretative Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States, has enhanced his reputation as the foremost American scholar in the field of antislavery by the publication of these two books. Antislavery: The Crusade for Freedom in America is without doubt the most thorough and comprehensive study ever published on this subject. The author discusses the origins of slavery in Europe and Africa and its establishment in America, its place in national policy, gradual emancipation in the northern States and fixation of slavery in the southern States of the Union, and the long struggle for total abolition which was successful during the Civil War.

The central theme of the book is that slavery was morally wrong, that it subordinated Negro slaves "to the status of beasts of the field," that the proslavery forces, controlled by immoral and selfish interests, denied the Negro all human rights and "challenged divine right of free inquiry and discussion," while the antislavery leaders, motivated by the teachings of Jesus and Christianity, were dedicated to the freedom and equality of all men. Professor Dumond is no passive narrator of the story. He writes with strong feelings and partisanship. His moral fervor leads Dumond into conflicting statements and some factual errors. (Almost without exception he describes the antislavery men as "able," "brilliant," "natural leaders" of "uncommon attainments," while the proslavery men were "intolerant," "cruel," and

"ferocious." He says "There was no opportunity for him [the Negro] to develop his intellectual and moral powers" but later, in discussing the abilities of the Negro, he points out that a Negro janitor at the University of North Carolina wrote love letters for the students and published three volumes of poetry. Dumond describes the slaves as "ill clothed, even naked" but uses pictorial illustrations showing them beautifully clothed, well groomed, and wearing jewelry. His moral fervor leads Dumond to condemn the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, which the United States Supreme Court upheld in Prigg v. Pennsylvania (1842), as "the most flagrantly unconstitutional act of Congress ever enforced by the courts." Dumond misquotes Thomas W. Cobb making him say "We [southerners]" instead of "You [northerners] have kindled a fire which all the waters of the ocean cannot put out; which seas of blood can only extinguish." Dumond is in error in saying the South produced only ten percent of the manufactured products of the United States in 1860; the federal census shows the percentage was fifteen.) These weaknesses and errors may be explained by the author's sense of moral values. And it should be noted that he condemns northern "Bankers, lawyers, merchants, newspaper editors, preachers, and public officials," who engaged in mob violence against antislavery activities, just as bitterly as he condemned southerners.

The strength of the book is to be found in the broad grasp and understanding with which the author develops his interpretations. He denies that the Constitution in the three-fifths ratio clause as a basis for representation and taxation in any way recognized property in man. He vigorously maintains that the Weld-Birney group was much more effective in their attack upon slavery than Garrison who, says Dumond, although the "soul of honor . . . was notoriously intolerant even toward his friends, eager for notoriety and adulation." He gives much credit to the role of women in the abolition crusade. He believes that the organization of the Liberty Party was the most important step in the abolition movement next to the formation of the American Antislavery Society. He maintains that the development of cotton culture and the invention of the cotton gin made slavery profitable and fixed it on the South and that the rise of radical abolition did not cause the South to abandon emancipation. In fact he holds that there never was any such movement. He argues that the Constitutional three-fifths ratio for representation was the major factor in the rise of the slave power, and points out instance after instance where representation under this clause enabled the proslavery South to defeat efforts of the

northern majority to ameliorate and restrict the institution of slavery. Through this provision, says Dumond, "Southerners . . . completely abolished free inquiry and discussion of slavery. They controlled the party which controlled the government." These interpretations, most

of which this reviewer accepts, give value to Dumond's book.

The Bibliography, compiled by Professor Dumond to accompany his Antislavery: The Crusade for Freedom in America, is a monumental one. In addition to the writings of the American crusaders, it includes items, written by English antislavery leaders, which were circulated in America, and antislavery speeches delivered in Congress which were circulated through organized antislavery channels. The Bibliography contains nearly twenty-two hundred entries, some of which contain a large number of items. (For instance the entry "Antislavery Wafers" contains fifty-seven items, "Tracts" seventy-seven, and "Strokes for Freedom" eighty-two items. Furthermore the various editions of books and pamphlets fall under the same entry.) Consequently there are probably more than three thousand individual items listed in the bibliography.

Few major works have escaped the compiler but the reviewer did note the absence of H. M. Wagstaff, ed., Minutes of the N. C. Manumission Society, 1816-1834 (Chapel Hill, 1934). The Bibliography, like Antislavery, is unbalanced. It contains nothing which explains the proslavery view. For instance, several antislavery items of the Methodist Episcopal Church are listed but none are given of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South on the break in 1844. The Reverend Orange Scott's antislavery statement is listed but nothing by or about Bishop James O. Andrew over whom the split came. Nor is Charles C. Jones, Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States (Savannah, 1842), or any similar item, listed. Since Professor Dumond is the established authority in this field the reviewer can only express regret that the author did not see fit to evaluate these sources.

Fletcher M. Green.

The University of North Carolina.

Politics and the Crisis of 1860. Edited by Norman A. Graebner. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1961. Index. Pp. xii, 156. \$3.00.)

Why did the United States resort to a civil war to settle sectional differences? In this volume of essays five American historians have addressed themselves to this question. Each writer has examined a

separate aspect of the problem but common to each is acceptance of

the fact that by 1860 a violent solution was inevitable.

In his essay, "The Politicians and Slavery," Norman A. Graebner believes that the conflict became irrepressible when southern political leaders demanded more guarantees for the institution of slavery than a united Democratic Party could give them. At the same time the Republicans could not abandon the slavery issue without destroying their party. Each group expected "the triumph of abstract principles which were totally unachievable within the limits of the American democratic structure."

Don E. Fehrenbacher in his study of "The Republican Decision at Chicago" found that opposition to slavery plus the promise of a new economic order made the Republican Party appear a distinct threat

to the southern way of life.

The essay, "Douglas at Charleston," by Robert W. Johannsen presents an analysis of the impasse at the 1860 Convention that led to a split in the Democratic Party. Johannsen traces this to the determination of southern leaders to make of the party an instrument of their own in securing guarantees for the expansion of slavery. When Northwestern Democrats rebelled, party unity came to an end and disunion became inevitable.

William E. Baringer in "The Republican Triumph" finds "retreat to moderation" equally impossible for northern and southern extremists after the incompatible and unrealistic positions each had taken during the presidential campaign of 1860. In both sections words had so stirred emotions and sounded alarms that they threatened the Union.

The concluding essay, "The Fatal Predicament," by Avery Craven treats the crisis of 1860 as an emotional one in which self-righteousness, injured pride and anger played a large part on both sides. With a real or imagined threat to their way of life, "a rabid few" took advantage of an atmosphere charged with emotion and took the South down the path toward disunion and disaster.

The principal theme running through these essays is not only the inevitability of the conflict but the great importance of words that represented the extreme stands taken by politicians of both sections; words that aroused hopes and fears to such an extent that compromise

became impossible.

These essays written for the centennial of Lincoln's election provide an excellent interpretative analysis of the forces that led to the Civil War.

Richard D. Younger.

University of Houston.

The Secession Conventions of the South. By Ralph A. Wooster. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1962. Maps, charts, and index. Pp. x, 294. \$6.50.)

This is a book filled with figures, facts, and relationships. Some time ago Professor Wooster noted, with some concern, that no attempt had been made to give the story of the members of the secession conventions and legislatures. He found a very good source for such a study in the manuscript of the Eighth Census of the United States, which had been completed in 1860. With this as his main source he added

numerous other references to complete his study.

In a manner similar to Charles Beard's study of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, he set up a pattern of investigation in which he sought answers for numerous questions. These included such things as: the number of delegates or representatives and their average age; their religion; their occupations; the natal state of each, and the relationship of this fact to the way each voted in the convention or legislature; the average and median wealth of each group; and the political affiliation of each individual. Wooster also found certain facts of great influence on the States such as when news of the election of Lincoln or the firing on Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call for troops caused a State which was hesitant to topple over to the secessionists or to the neutrals. One factor of great importance in the secession movement is noted in numerous cases, but is not included in the pattern: namely, the part of the State governors who were extremely active in the movement in the several States.

Professor Wooster has included a discussion of the conventions of those States which formed the Southern Confederacy (and the Legislature of Tennessee, also a member of the Confederacy), which used this method to settle the issue. He has surveyed the border States (Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, and Delaware), all of which acted through their legislatures to decide their course of action.

Numerous references appear in the footnotes. The book contains ample maps and charts and has a full index. All of these give promise

of a useful reference work.

Alice B. Keith.

Meredith College.

Chickamauga: Bloody Battle in the West. By Glenn Tucker. (Indianapolis, Indiana: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc. 1961. Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. 448. \$6.00.)

The Civil War Centennial moves into its second year, and from the American presses there continues to pour forth in what appears to be unceasing quantity published diaries, letters, battle accounts, surveys, and monographs. Now comes forward for appraisal Glenn Tucker's account of the two-day battle of Chickamauga, fought just south of the Georgia-Tennessee line on September 19 and 20, 1863.

The bloody affray, which followed weeks of maneuvering and skirmishing between Murfreesboro and Chattanooga, actually was a struggle for control of the Western Theater. The Confederate defeat opened the gateway to the deep South and made possible Sherman's

famous march a few months later.

For more than one hundred pages the author traces the paths of General William S. Rosecrans and General Braxton Bragg as the former pushed the latter from Murfreesboro to Chickamauga. He then describes in detail how Bragg surprised Rosecrans, how the Federals probably would have been annihilated had it not been for the heroic General George Thomas, and how the vacillating Bragg ignored the advice of the able General James Longstreet and refused to pursue the

advantage he gained on the first day of battle.

The author's use of anecdote and his careful characterization of leading figures relieves the reader from the tedium of a strict presentation of military events. Students may be surprised to see a re-evaluation of Bragg. Traditionally we have thought of the Confederate general somewhat as Samuel R. Watkins, a soldier who fought under Bragg, describes him in Co. Aytch, Side Show of the Big Show (Jackson, Tennessee, 1942), p. 71, as follows: "None of General Bragg's soliders ever loved him. . . . He loved to crush the spirit of his men. The more of a hangdog look they had about them the better was General Bragg pleased." Tucker presents Bragg, however, as a warm, personable general who wept when he contemplated the sufferings of his men.

The book is documented and well indexed. It appears to be based upon research and the material is presented in an interesting style.

Robert E. Corlew.

Middle Tennessee State College.

Edith Bolling Wilson: First Lady Extraordinary. By Alden Hatch. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1961. Index. Pp. 285. \$5.00.)

As a scientific, scholarly biography this book has many shortcomings. There are no footnotes, no bibliography and some of the numerous quotations are inaccurate. The author does not try to be objective but expresses his sympathy for his subject in glowing terms. Apparently Mr. Hatch consulted neither the Edith Wilson Papers nor the Woodrow Wilson Papers in the Library of Congress. Both collections would have proved valuable in the writing of the biography.

The author made frequent use of Mrs. Wilson's diary and this source, never before consulted, adds appreciably to the book. The diary of Mrs. Benham, a Wilson secretary, also proved valuable as a source. Mr. Hatch has written an interesting book, with a swiftly moving narrative, full of significant anecdotes. He paints a vivid portrait

of a remarkable woman.

Edith Bolling was born into an old Virginia family. Made poor by the Civil War, the Bollings gradually recouped their losses. Edith was educated according to the usual custom for aristocratic southern ladies, namely, at a finishing school. She married Norman Galt, a successful businessman in Washington, and, at his death, inherited a valuable jewelry business. Mrs. Galt was enjoying life as a wealthy widow when she met the grief-stricken President. Although his wife had been dead for only a few months, Mr. Wilson proposed to Mrs. Galt within about six weeks after he met her. Their courtship was short but their love was mutual and enduring. They were married in December, 1915, and thereafter Mrs. Wilson devoted her time and her talents to his service.

She accompanied the President to the Paris Peace Conference and on speaking tours in the United States. She was frequently present at important conferences at home and abroad. In September, 1919, Wilson suffered a breakdown and subsequently a paralytic stroke. Mrs. Wilson was at his side almost constantly thereafter. Indeed, for months she played a significant role in governing the United States.

Like her husband, Edith Wilson was outspoken. Apparently she envied Colonel House and Joe Tumulty their influence over her husband. She certainly contributed to the Wilson-House break and to the cooling of the friendship between Wilson and his secretary, Tumulty.

The final word has not been written about Mrs. Edith B. Wilson. Until a scholarly, definitive study of her life is published, this present biography makes good reading.

George Osborn.

University of Florida.

Four Years in the Confederate Artillery: The Diary of Private Henry Robinson Berkeley. Edited by William H. Runge. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Virginia Historical Society. 1961. Pp. xxv, 156. Illustrations, maps, appendixes, and index. \$4.00.)

Henry Robinson Berkeley, the author of this diary, which is here published for the first time and edited by William H. Runge of the University of Virginia, was a student at Hanover Academy when the Civil War began. On May 17, 1861, he enlisted along with most of his classmates as a private in the Hanover artillery. Berkeley saw action with the Army of Northern Virginia from the Peninsula campaign until March 2, 1865, when he was captured and imprisoned at Fort Delaware until the end of the war.

During the first half of the war he was present and kept notes on such important battles as Fredericksburg and Gettysburg. Although now a veteran of battle, Berkeley was sickened by what he saw at Gettysburg. He records on July 2: "This morning on getting up, I saw a sight which was perfectly sickening and heart-rending in the extreme. It would have satiated the most blood-thirsty and cruel man on God's earth. There were, [with] in a few feet of us, by actual count, seventynine (79) North Carolinians laying dead in a straight line. I stood on their right and looked down their line. It was perfectly dressed. Three had fallen to the front, the rest had fallen backward; yet the feet of all these dead men were in a perfectly straight line. Great God! When will this horrid war stop?" He then added: "I turned from this sight with a sickened heart and tried to eat my breakfast, but had to return it to my haversack untouched" (p. 50). The diary abounds with similar realistic accounts of the war. During the second day at Gettysburg, Berkeley was stationed on top of a Pennsylvania College building as a lookout, and from here viewed the "grand, fierce, and awful conflict."

Berkeley was an intensely serious and religious-minded soldier, but had a modest sense of humor. At the battle of Winchester (September 19, 1864), when a shell exploded near a horse in Berkeley's limber and took off its head, cutting off "the hind legs of the saddle horse in front of him and the front legs of the horse just behind him," the driver of the horse that had its head taken off was "left unhurt holding the reins and bit in his right hand, but covered from his face to his knees with the brains and blood of the horse." Berkeley adds with some apology: "I could not help being amused at his appearance, yet it was an awful gruesome place to be amused."

Beginning with the campaign in the spring of 1864 in the Wilderness, Berkeley was in action almost continuously until the end of the war. Although he reported the action on May 12 at Spotsylvania Court House "the most terrible day I have ever lived," June 3, at Cold Harbor was even more ghastly. The latter part of the diary contains an account of most of the last great battles of the Army of Northern Virginia and depicts the disintegration of that army. There are glimpses of Robert E. Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson in the diary.

The life of the plain soldier is also recorded.

Mr. Runge is to be congratulated for an excellent job of editing and bringing this diary into print. It is an unusual contribution to Confederate literature in that it is an account of a private in the artillery (there are few of these) and because of its time span (more than four years, beginning in spring of 1861 to June of 1865). It contains a full account of Early's Valley Campaign of 1864, which enhances its value, as documentation of this campaign is rare. The diary was written after 1890 from notes made during the war, but from the phraseology of the text it seems clear that many entries are taken almost verbatim from the notes.

The editor has corrected Berkeley's spelling and in a few cases rearranged awkward sentences, which this reviewer thinks of doubtful value. He has footnoted extensively, giving the reader the full background on battles, place names, and people. The diary is certainly a contribution to the present evergrowing Civil War literature.

Malcolm C. McMillan.

Auburn University.

Richard Keith Call: Southern Unionist. By Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1961. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. Pp. vii, 195. \$5.50.)

This concisely written, scholarly and well-documented biography is a highly useful account of the life of a man prominent in the economic, social, and political life of ante-bellum Florida whose family continued to play important roles. It is also an excellent case study of the problems of a typical southern Whig and Unionist. Virginia-born Richard Keith Call (1792-1862) became a protégé of Andrew Jackson when he joined the Tennessee militia to fight Indians in 1813. A strong military tradition in the family reached back to pre-Revolution days and he accepted an army commission and accompanied Jackson on

his three missions to Florida, two in the Spanish period in 1814 and 1818 and finally as military governor in 1821 to take over for the United States. Thereafter Call was a Floridian. He resigned his regular army commission but became a Brigadier General of Florida militia. He served two terms in the Territorial Council, went to Congress as Territorial Delegate and held two appointive offices in the Territory until he became Territorial Governor in 1836. His administration was not a happy one. He had just participated in the controversial battle on the Withlacoochee River in which the Florida militia had earned no laurels, and the Seminole War continued to plague him. He doubled as commander of the United States forces in the summer of 1836 until the regular army appointee arrived in November. His activities won him the condemnation of the administration which he deeply resented. His biographer correctly concludes that Call did about as well as the half dozen other commanders who wrestled with the problem of removing the Seminoles. The Panic of 1837 added to his woes and he lost popular support when he approved the "faith bonds" backed by the credit of the Territory to raise capital for three large banks and opposed the repudiation of the bonds by a later Territorial Council.

In 1840 he turned Whig and campaigned for Harrison. His reward was a brief term as Governor of the Territory, but Tyler found him too much a Whig and removed him. After his defeat for Governor of the new State in 1845 he retired from public life and devoted his remaining years to his large planting interests near Tallahassee. Though he supported the American Party for a time he could never find a satisfactory resting place for his conservative social and political views. When the clouds of secession and Civil War gathered he found himself on the horns of an impossible dilemma. He could neither give up the institution of slavery nor favor disruption of the Union. Fortunately, perhaps, he died in 1862 before war had determined the issues.

Charlton W. Tebeau.

University of Miami.

Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet. By Rembert W. Patrick. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1961. Pp. 368. Bibliography and index. \$6.00.)

Louisiana State University Press is to be congratulated for keeping this good book in print. An introductory chapter summarizes southern hopes and fears for the effort to establish a new government. The next eight chapters deal with President Davis and each of the departments and their secretaries. Another chapter deals with "court life" in Montgomery and Richmond, while a brief account of the "fugitives" concluded the dissertation directed by Fletcher Green.

Perhaps in unorthodox fashion, the reviewer decided to take another look at three reviews appearing soon after the first printing in 1944. Kenneth Stampp (*The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, March, 1945) recognized the study as "more an evaluation of the problems and policies" of the Confederate departments "than an integrated study of the workings of the Davis cabinet." He charged that a "minimum of correlation" resulted from studying each department separately and that the "result of this organization" was "unfortunate." Mr. Stampp seldom seems to be comfortable when dealing with planter or slave-owner of the Old South and one detects a barb in referring to the prize awarded by the United Daughters of the Confederacy. This reviewer finds the book's organization well suited to carry out the purpose of the study.

Richard Morton (The American Historical Review, April, 1945) declared that books like A. J. Hanna's Flight Into Oblivion (1938) and B. J. Kendrick's Statesman of the Lost Cause: Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet (1939) "must have narrowed the author's chosen field." He wanted the book to follow a "chronological form describing the chief character as each became prominent on the stage," because he maintained this would have eliminated some "confusion and duplication." Whereas Stampp wanted responsibility for the collapse to rest squarely on the shoulders of the President and Cabinet, who were "wealthy," "conservative," "narrow in vision," and "victims of their own reactionary social philosophy," Morton recognized that Patrick had made this point: Even an able administration could not overcome man power and material shortages, the lack of a strong navy, the unwillingness of states to co-operate fully with Richmond, or the failure to obtain wider recognition and foreign aid.

Harrison Trexler (Journal of Southern History, February, 1945) admitted that he was suspicious, but only for a little while, of a book winning a prize from a patriotic society. Contradicting Stampp, he pointed out that Toombs, Walker, Hunter and Randolph, "the few planter class representatives in the cabinet," were in office only a short time and this was an explanation of "why Davis was charged with preferring more humble colleagues whom he could dominate." Actually, Patrick makes his point that Davis did not treat the cabinet members as mere "clerks." Nor were Mallory, Reagan, and Benjamin

subservient but rather outspoken cabinet members, staying with Davis to the end. Because no additional references were used in the second printing, it is recommended that Edward Younger's edition of the diary of Robert Garlick Hill Kean and Ben Proctor's new study of John H. Reagan be used to supplement and verify the conclusions.

Robert Cotner.

University of Texas.

Negro Leadership in a Southern City. By M. Elaine Burgess. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1962. Appendixes, bibliography, and index. Pp. viii, 231. \$6.00.)

In an intensive study of "Crescent City" in the middle South Professor Burgess of Woman's College identified the power structure and the dynamics of decision-making in the Negro sub-community. Significant additions are made to theories of human behavior relating to social structure and social processes, and there is much of potential usefulness for those concerned for social action. Communication between Negro leaders and their white counterparts at more than a superficial level is reported as significant in effecting calm change.

At several points the data support conclusions contrary to those established in earlier studies, underscoring the individuality of each community which makes it impossible to apply uniformly a single blueprint for action. The varied research techniques were carefully

reported.

Leslie W. Syron.

Meredith College.

They Shall Take Up Serpents. By Weston La Barre. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1962. Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. 208. \$3.75.)

Is snake handling a test of religious faith?—It is, to members of a cult in the southeastern United States. The reader sees this in illustrated action in the practices of this cult. The author takes the reader back to the regions of some possible origins of this practice—Africa, the Near East, and elsewhere. Through the eyes of the author, a professor of anthropology of Duke University, he sketches its symbolism. Its religious and psychiatric implications are set forth. He

presents a case study of the life and beliefs of one of its principal leaders. The adherents of this cult are inset in the southern culture.

The reader will be interested in the story of the cult's history and current activities.

Some of the symbolism and implications drawn from a variety of Biblical, ethnological, and geographical sources may strain the reader's credulity, despite the careful documentation. The reader will lay down this book with a respect for its author—and with a more tolerant understanding of the religious cult which practices snake handling.

Edwin S. Preston.

State Board of Health.

The Southern Appalachians: A Bibliography and Guide to Studies. By Robert F. Munn. (Morgantown: West Virginia University Library. 1961. Pp. ii, 106. \$5.00.)

The compiler of this unique and useful bibliography points out in his introduction the tremendous increase in publication of writings on the Southern Appalachians since 1900, but adds that a sustained interest in the region at this period was found only in the work of religious and philanthropic groups. A renewed interest was expressed in 1930 when federal aid to this section of the country brought forth many accounts of its social and economic poverty. Once again interest declined, succeeded by another revival centered in the universities and expressed by students trained in research. Scholars in many fields—economics, medicine, sociology, psychiatry, etc. began studies in their respective disciplines and published their findings in professional journals. This widespread interest necessitated compilation of a comprehensive bibliography to supplement Everett Edward's References on the Mountaineers of the Southern Appalachians, published in 1935 and out of print.

The emphasis of Munn's bibliography is on the social studies and economics. He has endeavored to include in his compilation pertinent theses and dissertations not ordinarily found in conventional bibliograhies. Annotations are used, he states, only where the title fails to convey the scope of the subject. The division of subjects is: General References, Social and Economic Studies in Cities, Counties and Areas, Local Government, Family Life and Children, Intelligence and Aptitude, Mountaineer in the City, Population Changes and Migration, Coal Mines and Miners, Religion, Education, Agriculture, Folk-

lore and Custom, and Miscellaneous. His sources include professional journals, such magazines as *Harper's* and the *Atlantic Monthly*, theses from universities in the area, publications of university presses, monographs, reports, and books. The wide and exhaustive selection of titles indicate that the compiler has accomplished his purpose in preparing a definitive bibliography on the subject of the Southern Appalachians.

Beth G. Crabtree.

State Department of Archives and History.

Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C., 1957-1959. Edited by Francis Coleman Rosenberger. (Washington: Published by the Society. c. 1961. Illustrations. Pp. xi, 306. \$5.00.)

Since its inception in 1894, the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C., has been publishing its records. They consist of addresses delivered before the Society, other articles, items of iconography, memorabilia, annual reports, and lists of officers and members.

Three addresses in this latest volume deal mainly with the physical development of Washington. Major General U. S. Grant III, President of the Society, tells of the planning and engineering projects in which he has had a major part. The accomplishments of Brigadier General Richard L. Hoxie as Chief Engineer for the District of Columbia, and the construction of federal buildings are reviewed in two other papers.

Spiritual matters are not overlooked. There are histories of St.

Patrick's Catholic Church and the First Baptist Church.

The most intriguing account is that of the eight German saboteurs who landed on our shores from submarines in 1942. The other addresses tell of the coming of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to the Capital, the financial soundness of the National Bank of Washington during its long history, the origins of the flag of the District of Columbia, and the inauguration of President James Buchanan.

The papers vary considerably in length and quality of scholarship and style. The only one which is documented by footnotes describes the negotiations between the "Original Proprietors" and George Wash-

ington for the site of the "Federal City."

More than a third of the volume is taken up by the Chronicler's reports for 1957-1959. The daily entries of these reports are devoted

almost exclusively to local happenings and local residents, including denizens of the Zoo. With few exceptions one must look elsewhere for information about Official Washington.

The volume has an attractive format. It contains no index, but one is to appear later in the third cumulative index for the series.

Mattie Russell.

Duke University Library.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission

Plans are being perfected which will enable North Carolina citizens to take part in the State's 300th anniversary celebration. During April each of five districts of the Committee on Commemorative Events has had a meeting of its county representatives. Enthusiasm and progress have been evident in several counties while others have either just had representatives appointed or are working toward obtaining representation. The county representatives are organizing committees at local levels

for planning and executing commemorative observances.

Executive Secretary General John D. F. Phillips, U.S.A. (Ret.), visited the North Carolina congressional delegation in Washington, for the purpose of informing each representative and senator of the objectives and programs of the Charter Commission. The delegation has given strong support to two specific projects: (1) a request for the issuance of a commemorative stamp on the granting of the Carolina Charter, and (2) a resolution before Congress which would establish a North Carolina Tercentenary Celebration Commission. (The proposed resolution was signed by President John F. Kennedy on April 28.) The Honorable Basil L. Whitener, Representative from the Eleventh District, placed in the Congressional Record a syndicated newspaper article on the Tercentenary by the Charter Commission's Public Information Officer.

At the April 13 meeting of the Executive Committee action was approved for the commissioning of a symphonic work by Hunter Johnson. The Committee outlined action that would add impetus to the finance program for special projects and to the procuring of a trailer for the mobile museum project. Details concerning design and production of the volumes of the Colonial Records Project were discussed.

Numerous talks and programs are being presented by Charter Commission members and the administrative staff. Extensive planning has progressed in the State Folklore Society and Federation of Music Clubs.

An organizational meeting of the Public Information Activities Committee was held on March 28. With the guidance of its members, the Charter Commission's information program was outlined.

A desire to be protected from correction or ridicule appeared to be as great in the time of the writing of the Fundamental Constitutions of 1669 as it is today. This was discovered by Mrs. Mattie Erma Parker, Executive Editor of the Colonial Records Project, when the following excerpt caught her attention: "Since multiplicity of Comments, as well as of Laws, have great inconveniences, and serve only to obscure and perplex, All Manner of Comments and Expositions on and part of these

Fundamental Constitutions, or any part of the Common or Statute Law of Carolina, are absolutely Prohibited."

The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission

A special U. S. Army Civil War Centennial Exhibit, sponsored by The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission and previewed in Raleigh on February 5, was shown in Winston-Salem February 12-16. The following week the exhibit was in Charlotte's Mint Museum where it attracted record crowds.

Activities of Executive Secretary Norman C. Larson in February included an illustrated lecture to two twelfth-grade history classes at Needham Broughton High School in Raleigh on February 23. On February 25 Mr. Larson was in New Bern to assist members of the Craven County Centennial Committee with plans for the anniversary of the Battle of New Bern and he returned on March 12 to complete plans for the commemoration. At that time he set up, in the lobby of the Hotel Governor Tryon, the Confederate Medical Exhibit, presented to the State by the Allstate Insurance Company.

The Executive Secretary addressed the Raleigh Civitan Club on March 1 and on the following day met with the Confederate Centennial Commission at a luncheon at Balentine's Confederate House in Cameron Village. On March 3, in conjunction with the State Department of Archives and History, the Executive secretary presented a program to the

wives of Atlantic Coast Conference coaches.

Colonel Hugh Dortch, Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Larson, members of the staff, and Commission members were in New Bern on March 14 for ceremonies commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Battle of New Bern. They, along with thousands of New Bernians, witnessed the re-enactment of the burning of the resin works at Union Point and a two-mile long parade which featured units from Camp Lejeune, Cherry Point, and Fort Bragg, as well as the re-activated Sixth North Carolina Regiment. Other events of the day included memorial services at two cemeteries, a display of Civil War artifacts, and a banquet. The commemoration was sponsored by the Craven County Civil War Centennial Committee and the City of New Bern.

Members of the Commission attended a preview of the Raleigh Little Theatre production of *Andersonville Trial* on March 15. The lead role in the play, that of Lieutenant Colonel N. P. Chipman, was taken by Mr. Larson. Members of the staff of the Commission also participated in the

roduction

At a meeting in Raleigh on March 22, Mr. Louis H. Manarin, Editor for the new roster of North Carolina troops, told members of the Roster Advisory Committee that he had finished research on five North Carolina regiments engaged in the Civil War. Following completion of his work in the National Archives in Washington, he will be stationed in Raleigh and will research the principal archives in the State. Members of the Roster Advisory Committee are Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director, Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, and Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Editor, all of the State Department of Archives and History; Dr. Robert

H. Woody of the History Department, Duke University; and Mr. Larson. An Audio-Visual Committee meeting was held in High Point on April 16. Possible distribution of Commission-produced Civil War television films was discussed.

One of the more interesting and exciting aspects of the Commission's work has been the assistance in recent recovery operations on the Civil War blockade-runner "Modern Greece." Salvage operations are under the direction of the State Department of Archives and History in co-operation with the Commission and the U. S. Naval Reserve Training Center in Wilmington.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, Rear Admiral A. M. Patterson (Ret.), Assistant State Archivist for Local Records, and Mr. James H. Hawley, Archivist II, accompanied a delegation of North Carolina county officials to Charleston, South Carolina, March 26-28, to study current recording methods in the office of Register of Mesne Conveyance. On May 10 Mr. Jones and Mr. Thornton W. Mitchell, Assistant State Archivist for State Records, attended a meeting of the Council of the Society of American Archivists in Washington, D. C.

Dr. Ernst Posner, Director of the Study of State Archival Programs, sponsored by the Society of American Archivists with funds from the Council on Library Resources, spent March 12-15 in the Division observing the archival-records management program. He addressed a staff

meeting of the Department on March 15.

In the Archives Section, recent accessions include the papers of the North Carolina Mental Health Association, 1913-1957; a number of account books from Chowan and Iredell counties; eleven private collections or additions; and additional records from several State agencies. Arrangement of the Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers was completed, and the David L. Swain Papers were re-worked. The Division is cooperating with the Library of Congress by submitting data for inclusion in the National Union Catalog of Manuscripts.

Mail inquiries totaling 858 were answered during the quarter ending March 31, and 451 persons were served in the Search Room. In all, 768 photostatic copies were furnished, along with 27 paper prints from micro-

film and 62 typed certified copies.

Mr. John R. Woodard, Archivist I, left for a six month's military leave on March 22.

Mr. Cyrus B. King, Assistant State Archivist for Archives, attended the meeting of the Western North Carolina Historical Association in

Montreat on April 28.

In the Microfilm Services Center, 89,830 feet of microfilm were processed, and the delivery of positive copies of early North Carolina newspapers was accelerated. Mr. William H. Langley joined the staff on March 21 as camera operator, succeeding Mr. A. Winfred Hall, who was promoted to Reproduction Equipment Operator II.

The Conservation of Newspaper Resources Committee of the North Carolina Library Association met in the Division on April 13 and voted to authorize the publication of a new Union List of North Carolina Newspapers to 1900. The list is now being compiled by Mr. Jones and Mr. Julius H. Avant from questionnaires and lists submitted by the Committee, participating libraries, and interested individuals. It is hoped that publication can be made in 1962.

Mr. Alastair McArthur, Assistant Director of the National Association of County Commissioners, spent May 2 and 3 observing the Department's county records program. On May 9 Mr. Robert Riethmiller, Prothonotary of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, and an assistant visited the Department for the same purpose. An article, "A County Official Looks at a State-Supervised County Records Program," by Mr. J. Alexander Mc-Mahon, Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Association of County Commissioners, was published in *The American Archivist* for April. Mrs. Mary G. Bryan, State Archivist of Georgia and former President of the Society of American Archivists, and Dr. Robert M. Brown, State Archivist of Minnesota, visited the Department on May 22-23.

Mr. Jones spoke on North Carolina and the coming of the Civil War at a meeting of the Raleigh Lions Club on February 26. On May 14 he spoke at the annual banquet of Pi Gamma Mu at Appalachian State Teachers College in Boone. He was 1962 recipient of the chapter's Certificate of Excellence. On May 18 he spoke on the life of Archibald D.

Murphey at the Archibald D. Murphey School in Milton.

In the Local Records Section the microfilming of permanently valuable county records has been completed in Duplin, is nearing completion in Johnston, and has started in Anson, the twenty-third county to be undertaken in the program of microfilming for security purposes. Staff personnel completed an inventory of Mecklenburg County records preparatory to beginning a jointly sponsored program of security microfilming in which the county will provide an operator and the State and county will share the cost of film.

During the first four months of 1962, a total of 22,437 pages of badly deteriorated county records was restored by lamination. Of these, 109 volumes were rebound.

volumes were rebound.

A small group of 1868 marriage licenses was received from Duplin County. A fairly large collection of records was also received from Johnston County, including 60 volumes of court and estates records and tax books and thirteen cubic feet of court papers, wills, and deeds.

The revision of *The County Records Manual* was completed and the manuscript was sent to the printer. The new manual will be distributed

to county officials during the summer.

Mr. H. Lloyd Burkley joined the staff temporarily as a microfilm camera

operator.

Activities of the State Records Management Section centered on completing the scheduling of all agencies as requested by the Governor in January. A revision of the schedule of the Teachers' and State Employees' Retirement System has been completed, and the Board of Nurse Registration and Nursing Education, North Carolina Curriculum Study, and Milk Commission have brought their records under disposition control for the first time. Disposition schedules for the Museum of Art, Department

of Water Resources, Veterans Commission, and Recreation Commission are pending. Revisions of existing schedules for the Highway Commission, Budget Division of the Department of Administration, State Board of Health, Department of Agriculture, Probation Commission, Prison Department, and Adjutant General have been adopted.

Review of existing disposition schedules was accelerated when the Purchase and Contract Division, Department of Administration, on March 19 issued a letter requiring that all requisitions for new filing equipment certify that the ordering agency was co-operating fully with the Department of Archives and History in the records management program.

The Microfilm Project filmed 243 reels of microfilm during the quarter ending March 31, with a total of 1,216,111 images. Filming of budget reports through June 30, 1957, was completed, and work continued on

filming of the original Supreme Court case records.

In the Records Center, 1,946 cubic feet of records were accessioned and 1,426 cubic feet were disposed of, resulting in a net gain of 520 cubic feet. Representatives of thirteen State agencies and of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare, U. S. Civil Service Commission, and North Carolina State College visited the Center 228 times to use records. The Records Center staff handled 1,463 reference services for nineteen agencies. The Records Center is now servicing virtually all records in custody except those of the Department of Revenue and the Employment Security Commission.

Mr. Charles I. Bryan joined the staff of the State Records Management Section as Archivist III (Records Management Analyst) on May 1. Assistant State Archivist (State Records Management) T. W. Mitchell attended a seminar conducted by the Association of Records Executives

and Administrators (AREA) in New York on May 7-8.

Division of Historic Sites

On March 2 Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Superintendent of the Division of Historic Sites, met with a committee of the congregation of the Old Brick Church, Guilford County, to discuss plans for restoring and preserving the old church building, which dates from the early nineteenth century. At New Bern on March 11 he assisted in dedicating a large map-marker on the Battle of New Bern in the city park at the end of the Neuse River Bridge. The marker, which carries a sizable map of the battle and a text, was erected co-operatively by the Department of Archives and History, the State Highway Department, and the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission and its Craven County Committee, On March 12 Mr. Tarlton visited Fort Macon and inspected the Fort with Mr. John Kibler, State Parks Division, Department of Conservation and Development, preparatory to recommending improvements in the historical program at this State Park. He later aided the Parks Division in preparing budgetary requests to implement the proposed improvements. He spoke to the Apex Woman's Club on March 20 and to the Raleigh Book Exchange Book Club on May 1 on the preservation of historic buildings and sites in North Carolina. On March 30 he spoke to Professor Edward Waugh's class in urban design at North Carolina State College School of Design, on the historical aspects of present-day downtown Raleigh, and on April 25 he spoke to the Durham Lions Club on the significance of the Bennett Place in North Carolina history. He met with the following groups for planning conferences on restoration projects: April 2, a committee in Salisbury on the Setzer School restoration; April 4, a group in Bath on the Palmer-Marsh House; and on April 5, a landscaping committee for Richmond Temperance and Literary Society Hall, Wagram. Mr. Tarlton spoke on April 12 to the Raleigh branch, American Association of University Women, on the historic sites program in North Carolina, and on April 29 he attended the dedicatory program of the Bennett Place. He was present in Bath on May 5 for the opening of the Palmer-Marsh and Bonner houses and represented the Department at the dedication of a series of historical markers, including two large map-markers, at Averasboro Battleground near Dunn. The program was sponsored by the Chicora Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Mr. Tarlton spoke briefly on the restoration at the dedication of the restored Setzer School in Salisbury on May 9 and on May 12 he was present at the dedication of New Echota, the restored Cherokee Indian capital near Calhoun, Georgia, where, as Southeastern Regional Chairman of the American Association for State and Local History's Merit Awards Program, he presented an award to Mr. Benjamin W. Fortson, the Secretary of State of Georgia, for outstanding service in the field of State and local history in his State. The dedication was sponsored jointly by the Georgia Historical Commission and the citizens of Calhoun and Gordon County.

On February 21 Mr. Nicholas B. Bragg, Historic Site Specialist at Bentonville Battleground and the Bennett Place State Historic Sites, made an appeal to the Johnston Pettigrew Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, for funds to be used for the Museum-Visitor Center at Bentonville. He spoke on March 1 to the Stonewall Jackson Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, on "The Civil War in North Carolina, 1865." He has worked with the North Carolina Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy, in securing artifacts and accessories for the room they are to furnish at the Harper House. On March 7 he spoke to the Raleigh Bar Association on "Bentonville and the Conclusion of the Civil War" and talked briefly about the proposed Museum-Visitor Center. On March 16 Mr. Bragg gave a slide-lecture to the Benson American Legion on the Battle of Bentonville and plans for the site. He gave a slide-lecture, "North Carolina and the Civil War, 1865" to the Raleigh Kiwanis Club on April 13. Shutters have been hung on the Harper House since the painting was done, completing the exterior restoration. A new tour route was cut to the Michigan Engineer's Trenches. Work is still in progress on the restoration of the cabin at Averasboro and further renovations are being made in the cemetery arrangements. On May 6 the Bentonville-Harper House Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, sponsored a Confederate Memorial Day Program. Those on the program were Mrs. Millard Langston, the Reverend A. B. Falls. Mr. Bragg, Mr. Roy C. Coates, Mr. William R. Britt, and the Honorable Edwin Gill.

At the Bennett Place State Historic Site electricity and telephone service have been installed. In co-operation with Mr. Frank Walsh, Historic Site Specialist in charge of designing and installing interpretive exhibits in the several historic site museums, Mr. Bragg installed new museum displays at the Bennett Place. The surrender of Johnston to Sherman, April 17, 18, 26, 1865, is depicted. Dedication exercises were held at the Bennett Place April 29 with a band concert by the Durham and Southern High School bands preceding the program held in the Durham Civic Center. Participating in the exercises, at which the Honorable R. O. Everett, Chairman of the Bennett Place Memorial Commission, presided were the Reverend Malbert Smith, Mr. H. C. Bradshaw (Chairmen of the Durham-Orange Civil War Centennial Committee), Mrs. Betty Cook, Dr. Arthur Palmer Hudson, Dr. Lenox D. Baker, Mrs. Magruder Dent, Mr. Robert G. Cabell, III, Mr. Morgan A. Reynolds, Mrs. Ernest L. Ives, Mrs. Hersel Smith, Sr., Mrs. John R. Love, Jr., Mrs. Jean Troy, the Honorable Claude Currie, the Honorable Archie K. Davis, Mr. Joseph Secrest, and Mr. Harold Allen, Jr. An open house and tea were held following the program at the Bennett Place State Historic Site. On April 3 Mr. Bragg gave a slide-lecture to the Julian S. Carr Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, on "The Bennett Place and the End of the War."

Mr. Walter R. Wootten, Historic Site Specialist at Alamance Battle-ground State Historic Site, has made numerous speeches during the last quarter before civic and patriotic groups on the Regulator movement and the Battle of Alamance. Spot radio interviews have afforded Mr. Wootten an opportunity to publicize the entire historic sites program, and he has assisted in arranging a number of tours which ended at the Alamance Museum-Visitor Center. He has participated in several conferences with civic leaders in the county to make plans to create tourist interest in the area. The educational program of the site is being perfected and visitation has increased. An assistant, on a part-time basis, has been employed to assist at the site. The Highway Commission is grading and black-topping the driveway to the Museum-Visitor Center, eliminating the graveled road and increasing parking facilities.

At the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site, work on the interior of the schoolhouse is virtually complete. Shades have been installed at the windows and two more desks have been donated to the project. The building has been wired for electricity and the pump is now in operation. A pump house has been built and with a few minor additions the schoolhouse will soon be restored to its original appearance. Mr Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., Historic Site Specialist at the Aycock Birth place, states that plans for the museum have been completed and bids were let the latter part of May. Mr. Sawyer made several trips to Fayetteville during April and May to consult with the architects on museum plans. Brownie Scout Troop Number 85 of Goldsboro visited the site on

April 7 with their leader, Mrs. James Jeffreys. Visitation to the site has increased steadily. Vegetable and flower gardens, as well as herb beds, have been planted to make the site more attractive and realistic.

The annual North Carolina Azalea Festival service was held in the ruins of St. Philips Church at Brunswick Town on Sunday afternoon, April 8. The Rt. Reverend Thomas H. Wright, D.D., Bishop of East Carolina, was in charge of the program and introduced the speaker. Reverend Cotesworth P. Lewis, D.D., Rector of Bruton Parish, Williamsburg, Virginia, and the Robert Hunt Shrine, Jamestown Island. During the day over 1,800 visitors viewed the ruins of Colonial Brunswick Town and studied the displays located throughout the area. Costumed hostesses greeted visitors and served lemonade from an oak barrel. The Brunswick Town guide, Mr. R. V. Asbury, Jr., was on hand to show visitors around the historic site. Mr. Stanley South, the Archeologist at Brunswick Town, has recently completed architectural renderings of the excavated homes based on the archeological evidence uncovered at the site. A copy of these drawings is placed in a display case beside each ruin so that the visitor can better visualize the appearance of the homes of Brunswick before they were in ruins. Mr. Don Mayhew of Mooresville has recently been employed as Archeological Assistant to Mr. South, and is at present working on drawings in color illustrating how each of the excavated homes appeared in its setting within the town in the eighteenth century. Archeological reports were completed by Mr. South on the following excavated ruins: The Public House or Tailor Shop on Lot 27, The Newman-Taylor Kitchen on Lot 77, The Jones-Price Ruin, Fort Anderson Barracks, The Brick Oven at Prospect Hall, Ruins on the Wooten-Marnan Lot, The Goal, and Judge Maurice Moore's Kitchen.

An archeological examination of the yard and the cellar of the Attmore-Oliver House in New Bern was conducted and a report on the findings was written. The investigation was made at the request of the New Bern Historical Society, and a report was presented to that organization. Excavation was conducted in the yard of the Ringware House in Swansboro and a number of retaining walls and the foundation of a small outbuilding were found as well as a number of objects lost by the late eighteenthand early nineteenth-century owners of the building. Among the objects of interest located was a nest of hen eggs dating from the early part of the nineteenth century with one egg completely intact. This project was undertaken at the request of the Swansboro Historical Society, and a report of the findings was turned over to the Society president. Talks on Brunswick Town and Fort Anderson were given to various groups, and visiting groups were shown around the site by Mr. South and Mr. Asbury.

Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Historic Site Specialist at Fort Fisher State Historic Site, reports that on March 4 the Fort Fisher Museum-Pavilion located on Battle Acre was opened and will be open daily from 8 A.M. to 5 P.M. During March and April 5,670 people registered in the

temporary museum building, representing 44 States and 11 foreign countries. It it estimated that 25,000 people visited the site during the twomonth period. On February 26 Mr. Honeycutt attended the Lower Cape Fear Archaeological Society meeting at Wilmington College where he was elected Vice-Chairman in charge of programs for the coming year. On March 5 Mr. Honeycutt spoke to the George Davis Chapter of the Children of the Confederacy at a dinner meeting held in Wilmington; on March 14 he spoke briefly to the Carolina Beach Woman's Club; on March 27 he lectured at the site to two groups participating in a "Tourarama" of historical places around Wilmington; on April 2 he spoke to the Lower Cape Fear Archaeological Society; on April 18 he spoke at a dinner meeting of the men of the Saint Pauls Methodist Church. Carolina Beach; and on April 29 he attended the dedication of the U.S.S. "North Carolina." From March 16 to April 29 Mr. Honeycutt reports that naval divers from the U.S. Naval School, Explosive Ordnance Disposal, Indianhead, Maryland, were engaged in recovering Civil War artifacts from the blockade-runner tentatively identified as the "Modern Greece" located at the bottom of the ocean a few hundred yards east of the shore and onehalf mile above Fort Fisher. The divers were brought to Fort Fisher upon the request of Governor Terry Sanford. The MSB28 of Mine Squadron 10 Mine Division 101 of Charleston, South Carolina, assisted in the recovery operation. Naval records show that the "Modern Greece" was a double-screw propeller, iron-hulled, schooner-rigged English vessel carrying 1,000 tons of cargo. The steamship sank on June 27, 1862, one-half mile north of Fort Fisher. The divers recovered over 100 British Enfield .577 caliber rifles, two Enfield bullet molds, bayonets, Whitworth bolts, pigs of lead, bars of tin, and numerous pickaxes, files, and hand saws. It is hoped that these artifacts will be used in the permanent Fort Fisher Museum-Visitor Center. On April 7 Secretary of State Thad Eure representing Governor Terry Sanford, Congressman Alton Lennon, Congressman David Newton Henderson, Commander B. J. Belmore, in charge of the school at Indianhead, Commander Victor Davis of Wilmington, Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Mr. Norman C. Larson, Mayor O. O. Allsbrook of Wilmington, Mayor John Washburn of Carolina Beach, Mayor George Canoteus of Kure Beach, Mrs. Alice Strickland, Mr. Glenn M. Tucker, and Mr. Honeycutt met the naval divers at the Fort Fisher Museum-Pavilion where the group toured the temporary museum building. Of special interest was an exhibit of the preserved relics from the blockade-runner. Later the group toured the temporary preservation lab which has been set up at the Fort Fisher Air Force Base commanded by Major Bernard Fisher. If conditions permit, plans are being made to continue the diving operation off Fort Fisher this summer. On April 30 the Lower Cape Fear Archaeological Society held their meeting at the preservation lab at Fort Fisher Air Force Base where the involved process of treatment was explained and illustrated. On May 9 Mr. Honeycutt attended a meeting of the Lower Cape Fear Historical Society where a special exhibit of blockade-runner artifacts was displayed. On May 10 a Confederate Memorial Day service and dedication of the Fort Fisher Museum-Pavilion was held on Battle Acre at 4 P.M. The Reverend H. H. Hilton made the

main address and Mr. Norman C. Larson dedicated the temporary museum building and expressed the State's appreciation for many donations made by individuals, clubs, and organizations. Two members of the George Davis Chapter of the Children of the Confederacy cut the ribbon with a Civil War sword and the guests were invited to tour the museum building after which refreshments were served. It is expected that many thousands will visit the site this summer to see the artifacts recently recovered from the sunken blockade-runner and will learn the importance of Fort Fisher, the protector of the Confederate blockade-runners.

Mr. Bennie C. Keel, Historic Site Specialist at the Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site, reports that construction on the Museum-Visitor Center is progressing rapidly and that the Department expects to accept the completed building by early summer. Recent improvements to the access road and parking lot have encouraged visitation and have amplified parking space. The attendance during the first quarter of the calendar year has reflected the need for these renovations. More than 5,000 persons registered during this period and on Easter Sunday well over 1,000 visitors toured the site. This summer excavation will center in the Plaza area and it is expected to progress to the point that reconstruction of the Square Ground, focal point of ceremonialism, will be passable by early fall. Mr. Keel has given guided tours to twelve school groups from five counties and has spoken to several civic groups as well as to the Upper Cape Fear and Catawba chapters of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina. At the latter two meetings he discussed the prehistory of the site and the problems faced in its reconstruction. Mr. Keel filmed a television program which was shown over WSOC, Charlotte, on March 24. This program is one of the series, "The Nature of Things," produced by the Charlotte Children's Nature Museum in collaboration with WSOC. Plans are progressing for a second show in the series and for another to be produced by WFMY-TV, Greensboro. The WFMY-TV presentation will be made at the site.

Division of Museums

On February 23 and 24 Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator, Mrs. Frances Ashford, and Mrs. Mary John Resch attended the North Carolina Council of Social Studies Teachers' meeting, where Mrs. Jordan moderated a panel on "Junior High School Social Studies Materials." From February 26 to March 2 Mr. Robert Mayo and Mr. John Ellington went to Fort Fisher to install exhibits in the Fort Fisher Museum-Pavilion. On March 3 the Museums Division gave a luncheon and a program on the Civil War for the wives of the officials of the Atlantic Coast Conference. Mr. Robert Jones joined the staff on March 12 as Museum Assistant (Education Curator). Mrs. Jordan and Mr. Ellington attended the ceremonies on March 14 commemorating the Battle of New Bern and on March 15 they were joined by Mr. Mayo at Fort Macon State Park to suggest renovations in the exhibits there. The Division gave a luncheon and a program on the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission to the

North Carolina Education Association Social Studies Conference on March 16. Mr. Jones and Mrs. Ashford went to Yadkinville on March 21 to talk to the Junior Historian Clubs and to meet with the eighth-grade teachers from Yadkin County. Mrs. Jordan and Mrs. Madlin Futrell went to Fort Fisher on March 26 and 27 to assist with the preservation of the artifacts recovered from the Confederate blockade-runner, "Modern Greece," and from April 4 to 8 Mr. Mayo and Mr. Samuel Townsend went to Fort Fisher to set up a preservation laboratory for the relics from the ship. Mrs. Resch resigned effective April 6 from the position of Stenographer II to move to South Carolina, and was replaced by Mrs. Ruth Drake on April 30. On April 9 and 10 Mrs. Jordan attended the Tryon Palace Commission meeting in New Bern and returned to Fort Fisher on April 11 to continue work on the preservation program for the items from the "Modern Greece." The staff of the Division on April 13 gave a program, "Gowns of the Governors' Wives," to the Wake County Bar Association Auxiliary, and Mr. Mayo returned to Fort Fisher, April 16-20, to continue the Division's assistance in preserving the Fort Fisher artifacts.

Mr. Ellington has been to New Bern, Elon College, and Roanoke, Virginia, to set up the traveling exhibit, "Civil War Medicine." He and Mr. Mayo have recently planned and executed another traveling exhibit, "Civil War Prisons," and they are presently working on plans for the revision of a number of exhibits in the Hall of History.

There are now 70 Junior Historian Clubs registered with the Division of Museums and the third issue of *Tarheel Junior Historian* is being prepared for distribution, featuring North Carolina counties. In March 73 school groups visited the Museum, totaling 3,368 students. This figure in no way reflects the aggregate visitation for the first quarter or the visitation of small groups and individuals.

Division of Publications

The demand for the publications of the State Department of Archives and History continues, and a total of 28,066 books, pamphlets, and leaflets were distributed during the first quarter of 1962. Included in the total were 59 documentary volumes, 391 small books, 817 letter books, 21,131 pamphlets, charts, and brochures, and 5,668 copies of the list of available publications. Receipts totaled \$4,921.51 for this three-month period.

The figures cited above are exclusive of copies of *The North Carolina Historical Review* and *Carolina Comments*. In addition to the current issues of *The Review*, the sale of sets of the first thirty-eight volumes was continued. Through the end of April, 98 sets had been sold. Because of the fact that more than twenty numbers are now out-of-print, the number of sets still available is limited and plans are being made to make other disposition of the remaining copies of back issues early in the new fiscal year. Arrangements have been made with University Microfilms, 313 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan, to supply out-of-print issues on microfilm to interested purchasers. Persons who wish to complete their sets of *The Review* by buying microfilm copies should write to University Microfilms for further information.

During the first quarter of the year, there were 89 new subscriptions and 170 renewals to *The Review*.

Reports from authors and editors indicate that manuscripts for new titles in the pamphlet series and copy for additional documentary volumes should be forthcoming within the next few months. The pamphlet on the history of tobacco in North Carolina, to be entitled, "Green Leaf and Gold," has been submitted by Mr. Jerome E. Brooks; this publication will be available before the opening of the new school year in September. Volume IV of *The Papers of William A. Graham*, for \$3.00, and Volume II of the Hodges Letter Book, available to adults upon request to the Division, are scheduled for publication around July 1.

In anticipation of delivery of a large quantity of books and pamphlets during the summer months, a request for storage space was sent to the General Services Division. As a result, arrangements were made for the Division of Publications to use additional space in the warehouse located

next to the Education Building.

To facilitate the transcribing of material to be included in the Jarvis and Pettigrew volumes, now being edited by Dr. W. B. Yearns and Dr. C. O. Cathey, respectively, a request was submitted to the Budget Division that the Division of Publications be permitted to employ a temporary typist for approximately four months from surplus receipts secured through the sale of back sets of *The North Carolina Historical Review*. The request was granted, and Mrs. Mary Frances Kelly reported for work March 6.

Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Editor, Mrs. Elizabeth W. Wilborn, Editorial Assistant II, and Mrs. Mary A. Holloway, Editorial Assistant I, went to Chapel Hill on March 14 to look for suitable illustrations to be used in future publications. Mrs. Wilborn spoke to a class at Needham Broughton High School in Raleigh on March 27 and to the Tuesday Afternoon Reading Club in Reidsville on May 8. Mrs. Blackwelder spoke to the Lafayette Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution, on March 16 in Raleigh; to the Sixteenth District of Home Demonstration Clubs, meeting near Laurinburg, on March 21; and to the Raeford Woman's Club on April 24. She participated in vocational guidance programs at Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Virginia, March 19, and at Meredith College on April 4. Mrs. Blackwelder attended the meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina at North Carolina Wesleyan College on April 6. She went to the Mississippi Valley Historical Association meetings in Milwaukee, April 26-28; she represented The North Carolina Historical Review at a round table of editors of historical journals held in conjunction with that Association.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. Murray S. Downs of North Carolina State College read a paper, "British Parliamentary Opinion and American Independence," on April 23 at the Conference on Early American History held in Columbia, South Carolina. Dr. Burton F. Beers was chairman of the session on American

Far Eastern Policy at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, in Boston, April 2-4. He represented the College at the Southeast Regional Meeting of the American Studies Association in Miami on May 4 and 5.

Dr. D. J. Whitener, Dean of Appalachian State Teachers College, spoke on "Quality Education—A Progress Report" at the district meeting of the State School Boards held in Valle Crucis on April 18. Dr. Eugene Drozdowski is the author of "Jonathan Swift, Political Propagandist, 1710-1713," in Faculty Publications (Spring, 1962). Dr. Max Dixon had an article, "Democracy and Liberalism: An Essay in Contrasts," in The Social Studies, LIII, No. 4.

Dr. Inzer Byers will become Chairman of the Department of History at Salem College, effective September, 1962, replacing Dr. Philip Africa, who recently resigned. On the same date, Mr. A. Hewson Michie, Jr., will become Assistant Professor of History and Mr. Allen Harris will join the faculty as Instructor in History.

On May 3 Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace, Chairman of the Department of History at Meredith College, and Dr. Alice B. Keith, a member of the history faculty for 34 years, both of whom are retiring this year, were honored at a dinner by the Meredith faculty. Dr. Keith is the editor of *The John Gray Blount Papers* (Volumes I and II) published by the State Department of Archives and History.

Dr. Marvin L. Skaggs, Chairman of the Department of History at Greensboro College, was elected President of the Northwestern District (9 counties) of the North Carolina Schoolmasters' Club. Dr. Elmer Puryear, now at the College of Charleston, will join the faculty as Professor of History and Political Science on September 1.

Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., Chairman of the Department of History at Duke University, and Dr. Robert F. Durden attended the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Milwaukee, April 26-28. Dr. Robert I. Crane presented a paper, "Concepts of Political Power in Pre-Modern India," at the Boston meeting, March 3-5, of the Association for Asian Studies. His article, "Divergent Developments in Indian Nationalism, 1895-1905," was published in Studies of Asia (1961); and his book, Select Bibliography on Asia (American University Field Staff), was also published in 1961. Mr. Donald G. Gillin had an article, "Education and Militarism in Modern China, Yen Shishan in Shansi Province, 1911-1930," in the Journal of Modern History (June, 1962). He is the recipient of an International Relationships Fellowship, Rockefeller Foundation (February, 1962); in January he was appointed to the Joint Committee on Contemporary China of the Social Science Research Council; and in April he was appointed to the Stanford University Committee on East Asia Studies. Mr. William E. Scott was the recipient in January of a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation and also a grant from the Ford Foundation Fund.

Dr. James L. Godfrey of the Department of History of the University of North Carolina was Visiting Scholar to the Georgia University Center, May 16-18, where he made addresses to the several divisions on aspects of British history, 1945-1951. Dr. Herbert L. Bodman delivered a paper, "Notes on the Use of Artillery in the Safavi Army," at the April 3 meeting of the American Oriental Society, Cambridge, Massachusetts; and Dr. Robert M. Miller read a paper, "Methodism and Prohibition before 1900 to Unification in 1939," at the meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina in Rocky Mount on April 6. Dr. Josef Anderle of the University of Chicago has joined the faculty as an Assistant Professor, specializing in East European and Russian history. Dr. Y. C. Wang of the University of Kansas has also joined the staff as an Assistant Professor, with Far Eastern history as his specialty. Dr. Leopold B. Koziebrodski recently had a book, Le droit d'asile, published by A. W. Sythoff of Leyden. Dr. Loren C. MacKinney is the author of two articles: "Beginnings of Western Scientific Anatomy: New Evidence and a Revision in Interpretation of Mondeville's Role," Medical History, VI (1962); and "American Manuscript Collections of Medieval Medical Miniatures and Texts," Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences (April, 1962). Dr. Frank Ryan was granted one of the four Tanner Awards presented annually for excellence in teaching.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL GROUPS

The Historic Edenton and Chowan County Commission met to organize formally on March 24. A historical movie, "Ye Towne on Queen Anne's Creek," was shown the group, followed by a luncheon at the James Iredell House served by the Edenton Tea Party Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. A tour of the historical sites was then made. Dr. Robert Lee Humber of Greenville was elected Temporary Chairman of the seventeen-member Commission appointed by Governor Terry Sanford. The purpose of the Commission is to acquire, restore, and maintain sites and shrines in Edenton and Chowan County. The waterfront of colonial Edenton has acquired a new look with the return of Chowan Courthouse and Edenton Green to their original appearance.

August 12 through 18 has been set aside to commemorate the 375th anniversary of the birth and baptism of Virginia Dare, first child of English parents to be born in the Western Hemisphere. Representative Herbert Bonner has announced his intention of introducing a bill which would bring a congressional delegation to join Governor Terry Sanford and University President William C. Friday in observing the occasion.

The Gaston County Historical Bulletin, official organ of the Gaston County Historical Society, had the following articles in the February issue: a report on the December meeting, an addition to the lists of cemetery records, the final installment of the article on the history of the public

library of the county, the minutes of William Gamble Camp of Confederate Veterans, and the Index for Volume VII, 1961.

The News Bulletin of the Moravian Music Foundation (Winter, 1962) lists acquisitions, has a roster of Friends of the Moravian Music Foundation, and has an editorial, "The Arts and the Church," by Dr. Donald M. McCorkle, Director and Editor. Dr. Hans F. David, internationally eminent musicologist, is the recipient of the second Moramus Award for Distinguished Service to American Music. The award is made by the Friends of the Foundation from time to time to scholars who have made outstanding contributions to the history of American music. Columbia Records has issued Volume II of Arias, Anthems and Chorales of the American Moravians.

On March 7 the names of the officers of the recently organized Hillsborough Historical Society were announced as follows: President, Dr. Charles H. Blake; First Vice-President (Projects), Mrs. H. W. Moore; Second Vice-President (Research), Mrs. Alfred G. Engstrom; Third Vice-President (Museum Materials), Mrs. Clarence D. Jones; Secretary, Mrs. Marion B. Roberts; and Treasurer, Mrs. Robert J. Murphy. On April 6 the Society held its first public meeting in the new Orange County Courthouse. The group discussed the use of the spelling of the Earl of Hillsborough's name and decided to use it in the official title of the Society. Mrs. Ernest L. Ives of Southern Pines was guest speaker. The Society will conduct a survey of historic sites and buildings in the area, and more than fifty structures have been designated for investigation. The second project of the Society will be the publication of a map-folder on historic Hillsboro. Plans for a pilgrimage in April, 1963, are being perfected. The Old Courthouse, built in 1845 by local architect John Berry, has been designated as a Historic American Building by the Department of Interior and architectural information has been placed on file in the Library of Congress. This building is now being used as the Orange County Historical Museum.

On April 14 the Cumberland County Historical Society participated in the third of a series of historical tours with Mr. Jack Crane serving as tour chairman. Places visited included Rockfish Creek, the grave of Col. Robert Rowan, Fort Folly, Cape Fear Baptist Church, Dunn's Creek Quaker Meeting House, and the vault where John Kelly is buried.

The Burke County Historical Society met on April 24 with Dr. J. F. McGimsey, Jr., as guest speaker. Mr. Stanley Moore, President, announced that plans were being made to hold an open house for the Society's special room at the Morganton Public Library, where the historical collection is housed.

Members of the North Carolina Society of Local and County Historians and officials of the city of Charlotte and Mecklenburg County were guests on a tour of historic sites in Mecklenburg County on May 6. Mr. James A. Stenhouse conducted the tour which began at the Coliseum and included twelve historic houses and churches.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians sponsored a tour of historic sites in Guilford County on April 1. The group, led by Mr. James G. W. MacLamroc, was joined by members of the Rockingham County Historical Society. Those attending met at the Guilford Courthouse Battleground Historical Museum. Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson of Greensboro is President of the Society of County and Local Historians.

The Chronicle of the Bertie County Historical Association for April, 1962, contained three historical essays written by high school students of the county and an article on Mr. John W. G. Powell. On April 27 the Bertie group met in Windsor with Mr. J. A. Pritchett as principal speaker. Further plans were made to attempt the restoration of "Hope," a project which has been of interest to the group for several years. President Thomas Norfleet presided at the meeting.

The Perquimans County Historical Society met at the County Library on April 2 with Captain Nat Fulford presiding. A display of historical artifacts pointed out the need of a museum to house the growing collection of the Society. Many items have been contributed for a museum, including old newspaper files.

The Caswell County Historical Association met on April 11 in the Rotary Clubhouse in Yanceyville.

On April 6 the Gaston County Historical Society met at the Lions Clubhouse in Mt. Holly with President W. T. Robinson of Cherryville presiding. A report on the sale of the new county history revealed that approximately 275 copies remain unsold.

On April 12 the dedication of a gambrel-roofed colonial house in Halifax marked the observance of the 186th anniversary of the signing of the Halifax Resolves, the action of the North Carolina Provincial Congress calling for the severing of ties with Great Britain. Dr. Jack Moore, Dean of North Carolina Wesleyan College, was the featured speaker.

The Historical Society of North Carolina held its spring meeting on April 6, at North Carolina Wesleyan College in Rocky Mount. Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, Dr. David L. Smiley, and Dr. Wilfred Buck Yearns were elected to membership.

The Beaufort Historical Association met on February 26 to plan for the re-enactment of the Spanish invasion and decided to sponsor the Museum of the Sea this summer. At the April 16 meeting Mrs. W. R. Hamilton was re-elected President. Other officers elected were Dr. John Costlow, Vice-President; Mrs. Ben Jones, Secretary-Treasurer; and Mrs. Charles Cheek, Corresponding Secretary. A slide program was given and Dr. Costlow presented a design for historical markers to be erected by the Society which is similar to the arms of the Earl of Beaufort. Mr. Grayden Paul, Curator of the Museum, reported on the loan of items to be used in displays in the vessel.

Mrs. J. M. Ballard, President of the Catawba County Historical Association, announced at the March 10 meeting two gifts for the Old Hass Cemetery Endowment Fund. Mr. Paul Wagner, Custodian, reported on items purchased for the Museum. A number of books have been donated. Plans for the unveiling of the Museum plaque and the publication of the second volume of the county history were discussed. Mr. Neal Wilfong presented the program.

Mr. Tucker Littleton, President of the Swansboro Historical Association, announces that the Society has become a member organization of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The National Trust is the only historical agency ever chartered by Congress and there are only four affiliate member organizations in North Carolina—The Historic Bath Commission, The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, Old Salem, Inc., and the Tryon Palace Commission.

Mr. Carl F. Cannon, Jr., Director of the Greensboro Historical Museum, announces that Mr. Robert Mayo, Exhibits Designer for the Hall of History, will assist in the expansion program for the Greensboro institution. The City Council has authorized the Museum to occupy space now being used by the Greensboro Public Library, which is expected to move into new quarters in 1963.

The annual meeting of the Wayne County Historical Society was held on April 24 with Mr. R. L. Cox, President, presiding. Dr. B. G. Childs of Duke University was the guest speaker. Officers elected were: Mr. Conway Rose, President; Dr. W. Burkett Raper, Vice-President; Mrs. N. A. Edwards was renamed Secretary and Mr. B. G. Stowe was renamed Treasurer. Col. Hugh Dortch spoke briefly and the group discussed the history of Wayne County being written by Mrs. Eleanor B. Powell.

The Wake County Historical Society met in Raleigh on April 17 with Dr. A. M. Fountain, President, presiding. Mr. Herbert O'Keef introduced Mr. Manly Wade Wellman, who spoke to the group on the importance of county histories.

Copies of *The Land of Wilkes* by Judge Johnson J. Hayes may be secured by writing Mr. T. E. Storey, President of the Wilkes County Historical Society, Wilkesboro. The regular meeting of the Society was held on April 16 and the winners of the historical essay contest in the county gave the program. They were Mr. Mike Anderson, Miss Elizabeth Critcher, and Miss Loretta Shoemaker.

Mr. Fred P. Markham, III, was elected President of the Pasquotank County Historical Society at the April 27 meeting. Other officers elected were Mr. W. C. Morse, Jr., Vice-President; Mrs. C. B. Gaskins, Secretary; Mrs. James T. Spence, Treasurer; and Mrs. E. P. Fearing, Historian. Mr. Lem Blades, III, outgoing President, presided, and Mr. George Attix, Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, talked on efforts which have been made to establish a museum.

Mr. James C. Monroe was elected President of the Bladen County Historical Society at the April 26 meeting held in Elizabethtown. Other officers are Mr. Finley K. Rogers, Vice-President; and Mrs. Carl Campbell, who was re-elected Secretary and Treasurer. Mr. Hector H. Clark, who has been President since 1957, when the Society was organized, presided at the meeting. Mrs. Campbell exhibited a collection of newspapers to be designated as "The McCulloch Collection," honoring the late Norman B. McCulloch, who was an Elizabethtown publisher and who was instrumental in the founding of the historical group.

The Carteret County Historical Society and the Carteret County Civil War Centennial Committee jointly sponsored a commemoration of the Battle of Fort Macon on the 100th anniversary, April 25. A special page in the *Carteret County News-Times* on the same date featured articles and stories by Mr. F. C. Salisbury who arranged the program. He also wrote the narrative read by Mr. Tucker R. Littleton. The ceremony was held at Fort Macon State Park.

The Western North Carolina Historical Association held its spring meeting on April 28 at the Assembly Inn in Montreat with President Albert S. McLean presiding. Mrs. M. N. Lane conducted a tour of the Montreat Historical Foundation and Dr. C. Grier Davis, President of Montreat-Anderson College and Mountain Retreat Association, spoke briefly. Mr. Samuel Beck spoke on "The Confederate Postal Service," and Mr. John Parris spoke on "Little Fires of History."

A series of historical tours of Rowan County, sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce and led by Mr. James S. Brawley, was begun in May.

The Moore County Historical Association met on May 1 and elected directors for the 1962-1963 season. Following the meeting the new board of directors met to elect officers. All officers were re-elected as follows: Mr. Norris L. Hodgkins, Jr., President; Mrs. Katherine N. McColl and Dr. Colin G. Spencer, Vice-Presidents; Mrs. L. T. Avery, Secretary; and Mr. John McPhaul, Treasurer. A discussion was held relative to the Association's newest project—construction of a "cookhouse" at the Alston House. Mr. E. T. McKeithen reported that the second volume of the county history, by Mr. Manly Wade Wellman, is in the hands of the printer.

The Raleigh Historic Sites Commission met on May 1 to consider a survey of the city and to take final action on its budget. Mrs. Edward

Waugh, who is Chairman of the Commission, reported that a charter setting forth the aims of the Commission is being prepared. Also under consideration are fund-raising methods and a study of what other cities are doing to preserve historic sites.

Mr. Edmund H. Harding, Chairman of the Historic Bath Commission, announces the opening of the Palmer-Marsh House and the Bonner House in Bath on May 5. Both houses have been fully restored and are partially furnished. He further announced the gift of \$1,000 to the Bath restoration from Secretary of Commerce and Mrs. Luther H. Hodges. Mrs. Hodges is a member of the Commission, which met in Washington on April 30. A morning prayer service and sermon were held at St. Thomas Episcopal Church with approximately 350 persons present. The houses were officially opened following inspection by the Commission. Following the admission of the general public a luncheon was served in the yard of the Glebe House by the Bath Fire Department.

The *Historical Foundation News* (April, 1962) has a report on the acquisitions, services, buildings and equipment, executive committee and staff, and recommendations of the Foundation. A travelogue by Dr. T. H. Spence is also included.

The Johnston County Historical Society met in Smithfield on April 29 and elected the following officers: Mrs. W. B. Beasley, President; Miss Julia Rose, First Vice-President; Miss Virginia Satterfield, Second Vice-President; and Mr. James Bryan Creech, Secretary-Treasurer. Mr. J. P. Rogers, Jr., was guest speaker. The July 15 meeting is scheduled to be held at the Harper House on Bentonville Battleground State Historic Site.

The Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Inc. Bulletin for May, 1962, has been issued. It contains the President's Message by Mr. R. Jack Davis; "The Confederacy on the Sea," by Charles H. Foard; an article on the discovery of a portrait of Adam Boyd; and a list of new members of and gifts to the Society. The Society met on May 9 with Mr. Winston Broadfoot, Director of the George Washington Flowers Memorial Collection of Duke University, speaking on "History as an Art." The Lower Cape Fear Historical Society and the Junior League of Wilmington sponsored a historical walking tour on April 14. The tour started at Thalian Hall and included the following stops: St. John's Gallery and the Cornwallis, Groover, Cameron-Dixon, Toomer, and Morris-Boney houses, and Bellamy Mansion.

The Department has received a copy of a 64-page, clothbound publication issued as part of the Sesquicentennial Celebration of the First Baptist Church in Raleigh. Entitled *The Struggles and Fruits of Faith*, the book contains a 35-page historical sketch of the church which celebrated its 150th anniversary the week of March 4-11. Illustrations in both color and black and white are included. A limited number of copies are avail-

able for \$2.50 each; orders may be sent to the First Baptist Church, Raleigh.

MISCELLANEOUS

The Fletcher Pratt Award for the best book on the Civil War published in 1961 was presented to *Chickamauga: Bloody Battle in the West* by Dr. Glenn Tucker of Flat Rock. Dr. Tucker is the author of several books in the field of American history and is a former member of the Editorial Board of *The North Carolina Historical Review*.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture has chosen for its biennial Institute Manuscript Award of \$1,000 and publication, Howard C. Rice, Jr.'s, two-volume edition of the Marquis de Chastellux's "Travels in North America, 1780-1782." This is the first American edition of Chastellux's observations on his travels in America since 1828, and the first translation into English since the Grieve edition in 1788.

A 20-year index to the *Journal of Southern History* is in preparation. Pre-publication price, hard bound in black library linen (heavy duty) is \$7.50; regular price, \$10.00. Checks for the index at \$7.50 will be accepted until the publication date of November 10, 1962. Any person interested should send his mailing address and check made payable to the Southern Historical Association to Dr. Bennett H. Wall, Secretary-Treasurer, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

A Guide to Civil War Source Material in the Department of Archives and History, State of Mississippi, compiled by Patti Carr Black and Maxyne Madden Grimes, and edited by Charlotte Capers, Director, has been received. It makes available for researchers, writers, and scholars a listing of invaluable source materials. Prepared as a part of the observance of the Civil War Centennial, the booklet is another fulfillment in the national plan to render the commemoration constructively objective.

The Society of American Historians announces the awarding of its sixth annual Francis Parkman Prize to Dr. Leon Wolff for his *Little Brown Brother* published by Doubleday. The Award consists of \$500 and a bronze medal. This is the first year the medal, conceived originally by Dr. Allan Nevins and bearing a bust of Parkman, has been awarded. The design was prepared and half the cost was contributed by the *American Heritage* magazine. Medals will be awarded retroactively to previous winners.

The Department has received *The Magazine of Albemarle County History*, XVII (1958-1959), published by the Albemarle County (Virginia) Historical Society. This magazine is issued annually in a limited quantity and contains articles relating to Virginia history. Dr. William H. Runge of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, is Editor.

The Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation announces the establishment of a grants-in-aid program for scholars holding the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, or having equivalent status. The grants-in-aid will not exceed \$500 per month and will be made only for study periods of more than one month. Application forms and complete information may be obtained by writing the Director of the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, Greenville, Wilmington 7, Delaware.

The next annual meeting of the Conference on the History of Western America will be held at the Albany Hotel, Denver, Colorado, October 11-13, with the University of Denver as the host institution.

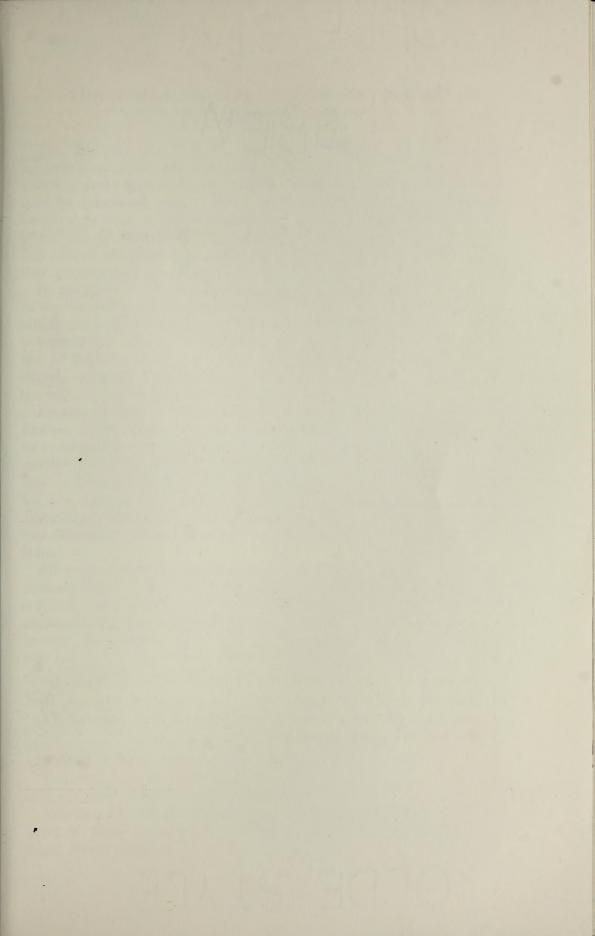
The National Trust for Historic Preservation announces that the retirement home of President Woodrow Wilson, where he died on February 3, 1924, became a memorial to him at the death of his widow, Mrs. Edith Bolling Wilson. The house, at 2340 S St. N.W. in the Nation's Capital, was deeded to the National Trust in 1954, with residence rights for Mrs. Wilson during her lifetime. It was the only house owned by Wilson, as he maintained his residence in rented or official quarters otherwise. A trust fund of \$250,000 was established to permit the Trust to preserve and maintain the house. The gift included furnishings and the extensive collection of books of the Wilsonian era.

At the fifth annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Harry S. Truman Library Institute an authorization of \$10,000 was made for the coming year for the issuance of grants to promising scholars up to a maximum amount of \$1,000 each. The Institute Committee would like to have applications for winter grants by October 1, but interested persons may make inquiries at any time. Correspondence should be addressed to the Director, Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri.

NOTICE

Because of changes in postal regulations, it is imperative that you notify us immediately of a change of address. We now have to pay a penalty for each returned copy of *The Review*. We shall appreciate your co-operation.

The Editors.



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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW EDITORIAL POLICY

The Editorial Board of *The North Carolina Historical Review* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of North Carolina and adjacent States. Articles on the history of other sections may be submitted, and, if there are ties with North Carolinians or events significant in the history of this State, the Editorial Board will give them careful consideration. Articles on any aspect of North Carolina history are suitable subject-matter for *The Review*, but materials that are primarily genealogical are not accepted.

In considering articles, the Editorial Board gives careful attention to the sources used, the form followed in the footnotes, the style in which the article is written, and the originality of the material and its interpretation. Clarity of thought and general interest of the article are of importance, though these two considerations would not, of course, outweigh inadequate use of sources, incomplete coverage of

the subject, and inaccurate citations.

Persons desiring to submit articles for *The North Carolina Historical Review* should request a copy of *The Editor's Handbook*, which may be obtained free of charge from the Division of Publications of the Department of Archives and History. *The Handbook* contains information on footnote citations and other pertinent facts needed by writers for *The Review*. Each author should follow the suggestions made in *The Editor's Handbook* and should use back issues of *The North Carolina Historical Review* as a further guide to the accepted style and form.

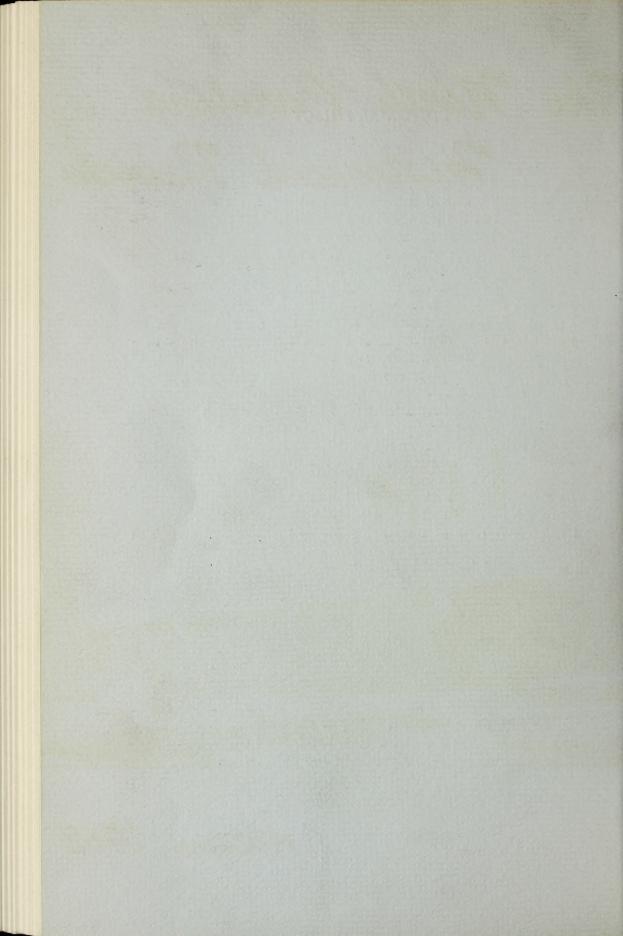
All copy should be double-spaced; footnotes should be typed on separate sheets at the end of the article. The author should submit an original and a carbon copy of the article; he should retain a second carbon for his own reference. Articles accepted by the Editorial Board become the property of *The North Carolina Historical Review* and may not have been or be published elsewhere. The author should include his professional title in the covering letter accompanying his article.

Following acceptance of an article, publication will be scheduled in accordance with the established policy of the Editorial Board. Since usually a large backlog of material is on hand, there will ordinarily be a fairly long period between acceptance and publication.

The editors are also interested in receiving for review books relating

to the history of North Carolina and the surrounding area.

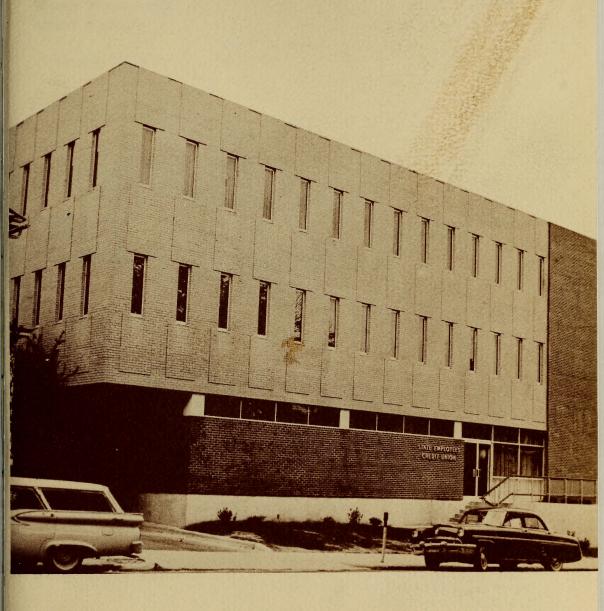
Articles and books for review should be sent to the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina.



North Carolina State Library Raleigh

North Carolina Historical Review





Autumn 1962

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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This review was established in January, 1924, as a medium of publication and discussion of history in North Carolina. It is issued to other institutions by exchange, but to the general public by subscription only. The regular price is \$3.00 per year. Members of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, Inc., for which the annual dues are \$5.00, receive this publication without further payment. Back numbers may be purchased at the regular price of \$3.00 per volume, or \$.75 per number. The review is published quarterly by the State Department of Archives and History, Education Building, Corner of Edenton and Salisbury Streets. Second class postage paid at Raleigh, North Carolina.

COVER—The new building of the State Employees Credit Union was photographed by Mrs. Madlin Futrell, State Department of Archives and History. For an article on the history of credit unions in North Carolina, see pages 541-548.

The North Carolina Historical Review

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PATRONS OF THE PRESS:

Subscription Book Purchases in North Carolina, 1733-1850

BY WILLIAM S. POWELL *

In 1939 F. E. Compton delivered the fourth of the R. R. Bowker Memorial Lectures at the New York Public Library. By way of introduction he noted that he had been unable to find a definition of subscription books that could not be challenged. "But perhaps we can agree," he said, "that subscription books are, in the main, those for which a definite market is created, before or after publication, by soliciting individual orders."

The history of subscription publication is an ancient and honorable one. When England's earliest printer, William Caxton, undertook to translate and print The Golden Legend in 1483, he relied on a single subscription for the necessary funds. Because of the expense and the enormous amount of work involved, he tells us that he was "half desperate" until the Earl of Arundel came to his assistance. The Earl agreed to purchase "a reasonable quantity" of Caxton's book and to grant him a yearly fee for the remainder of his life.

The single patron of a publication was soon accepted as a logical means of financing a publication. Numerous flowery dedications give us some idea concerning the gratitude of authors for the assistance of their patrons. Before many years had passed groups of men were assisting in the publication of worthy works. For example, in 1552 eight Lords of the Privy Council pooled their resources to see John Foxe's

Tables of Grammar through the press.1

From here it was only a logical next step to obtain lengthy lists of subscribers to assure the financial success of a book. The first surviving book in which a printed list of subscribers is found, appeared in 1617

^{*}Mr. Powell is Librarian of the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

¹F. E. Compton, Subscription Books (New York: The New York Public Library, 1939), 5, hereinafter cited as Compton, Subscription Books; Sarah L. H. Clapp, "The Beginnings of Subscription Publication in the Seventeenth Century," Modern Philology, XXIX (November, 1931), 205-206.

when John Minsheu, a Cambridge scholar, published a polyglot dictionary containing English words with their equivalents in other languages. The subscription list, consisting of 166 names, apparently was made up of the author's friends residing in Cambridge and Oxford.²

The first book published in what is now the United States was The Whole Book of Psalms, Faithfully Translated into English Metre, printed at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1640, the first printing press in this country having been set up there just the year before. The press in the colonies was subject to many restrictions and its use spread slowly. The second and third colonies to have a press were Maryland and Pennsylvania, but forty-six years had elapsed since the Massachusetts printer had set to work. Virginia was seventh of the colonies to see the establishment of a press, but that was only after a century (lacking nine years) had passed since the Cambridge press began operation. South Carolina had a press the following year, 1731, and North Carolina's James Davis opened shop in 1749. Between that date and 1785 seven other colonies or States acquired their first press.³

The story of printing by subscription in this country has been touched on only incidentally by historians, bibliographers, and librarians. No bibliography of subscription books has been compiled, and until more work has been done it will be almost impossible to

point out the landmarks.

In 1683 Cotton Mather wrote in his diary: "There is an old Hawker, who will fill this country with devout and useful Books, if I will direct him." Some years later he recorded: "I am informed, that the Minds and Manners of many People about the Country are much corrupted by foolish Songs and Ballads, which the Hawkers and Pedlars carry into all parts of the Countrey." When the Massachusetts Assembly passed a law in 1713 restricting the peddlers, Mather commented that he "must . . . assist the Booksellers in addressing the Assembly, that their late Act against Pedlers, may not hinder their Hawkers from carrying Books of Piety about the Countrey." But we do not know that they sought orders for books in advance of publication.

⁴ Diary of Cotton Mather (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 2 volumes, 1921-1922), I, 65; II, 242, 283; Downing Palmer O'Harra, "Book Publishing in the United States to 1901," The Publishers' Weekly, CXV (March 16, 23, 30, April 6, 20, May 11, 18, June 8, 1929), 2,252.

² Compton, Subscription Books, 15. ⁸ Lawrence C. Wroth, "Book Production and Distribution from the Beginning to the American Revolution," Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt (ed.), The Book in America (New York: R. R. Bowker Company, 1951), 7-59, hereinafter cited as Wroth, "Book Production and Distribution."

Among the earliest American books known to have been sold by subscription were Samuel Willard's Compleat Body of Divinity (Boston, 1726), A Collection of All the Acts of Assembly (Williamsburg, 1733), and Thomas Prince's Chronological History of New England (Boston, 1736).5 The Williamsburg imprint is the first to which persons outside the immediate area of the printer subscribed; the names of four North Carolinians appear among the uncompleted list of 250 subscribers.

Subscribers to books undoubtedly considered themselves patrons of the press and were fully aware of the fact that only through their common support could the books be issued. Public notices concerning the proposed publication of a title frequently and candidly pointed out that the manuscript would go to press only when a certain number of persons (sometimes as few as 200) had subscribed. In some instances the announcement stated simply that work would get underway as soon

as the number of subscribers justified it financially.

Authors were certainly aware of their indebtedness to subscribers. In 1775 Hugh Knox begged leave "to return thanks to all his Subscribers, for the genteel encouragement they have given him. . . . He heartily wishes the work was more worthy of their acceptance and hopes, that his distance from the press will apologize for any little errors or inaccuracies which may appear in the work." 6 Robert Mayo, more than forty years later, was equally cordial in expressing "gratitude to the generous Public, for the ample patronage they have bestowed." "Generous Subscription" is a term which occurs again and again by way of preface to the lists of names. An 1832 attempt to round up subscribers, however, found them less than generous. The author of A Concise History of the Kehukee Baptist Association in this State tells us that after two annual efforts to induce enough subscribers to sign up for copies "to justify the undertaking," the Association resorted to taking up a collection at a yearly meeting. Passing the plate proved to be the solution to the problem, and the book appeared the next year.8

⁷Robert Mayo, A New System of Mythology (Philadelphia [Pennsylvania]: Printed for Geo. Mayo & Co., 3 volumes. 1816), II, 345.

⁸Joseph Biggs, A Concise History of the Kehukee Baptist Association (Tarboro: Printed and Published by George Howard, 1834), vii-viii, hereinafter cited as Biggs, History of Kehukee Baptist Association.

⁵ Wroth, "Book Production and Distribution," 52; Samuel G. Drake, "Books Published by Subscription," The American Historical Record, I (January, February, March, April, August, 1872), passim, is an interesting study of subscription books in this country and is the only one to my knowledge which makes any use of the names of the subscribers in discussing the books.

⁶ Hugh Knox, The Moral and Religious Miscellany (New York: Hodge and Shober, 1975).

The Rev. Henry Pattillo, author of a book of sermons published in 1788 while he was living in North Carolina, made an interesting observation on the literary production of the country at that time. "Bookwriting is but in its infancy in these states. Let no one despise the day of our small things," he wrote. "Americans will naturally relish the fruits of their own soil, though they smell of the congenial forest, and fall short of the more elaborate productions of foreign climes. And so affectingly scarce are good books, among the common people of these southern states, since the late war, that this little piece may compose

the whole library in some houses its author has called at."

Lists of subscribers printed in these books, if more generally known, would undoubtedly prove to be a source of much interesting information on a great many North Carolinians. Most lists of subscribers give full names and titles-Brigadier General, Major, Captain, the Reverend, Doctor, Esquire, or plain Mister which suggests some importance when assigned to some men and not to others. Often occupations or offices are indicated-governor, senator, member of congress, judge, attorney, doctor, secretary of state, justice of the peace, merchant, schoolmaster, collector of customs, sheriff, student. Degrees sometimes appear: M.A., M.D., LL.D., D.D. Place of residence frequently is given, that is, town and county, and sometimes even the name or location of a plantation. Once in a while, especially in religious books, subscribers are identified by the parish or congregation to which they belonged.10 In some instances, however, names are grouped only by State with no further evidence of residence, and a few lists of subscribers consist only of names with absolutely no identification.

Subscribers apparently had a good idea what they were to get for their money. The forms on which their names were entered generally contained detailed statements of the proposed contents of the book, its size, number of pages, kind of binding, a note on illustrations, and frequently a proposed date of publication or some other indication as to when the volume might be expected. It appears that a period of approximately two years generally elapsed between the announcement of the publication of a book and its actual delivery to the subscriber. 11

Henry Pattillo, Sermons, &c. (Wilmington [Delaware]: Printed by James Adams,

b Henry Pattillo, Sermons, &c. (Wilmington [Delaware]: Printed by James Adams, 1788), vii-viii.

b For instance, St. Luke's Parish [Salisbury] in Henry Kollock, Sermons on Various Subjects (Savannah [Georgia]: Published by S. C. and L. Schenck, 1822); Center Church [Iredell County] and Thyatira Church [Rowan County] in Alexander Mac-Whorter, A Series of Sermons, Upon the Most Important Principles of Our Holy Religion (Newark [New Jersey]: Printed by John Wallis, 1803).

E. Millicent Sowerby, Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson (Washington: The Library of Congress, 5 volumes, 1952-1959), I, 241-243, 462-465, hereinafter cited as Sowerby, Catalogue of Library of Jefferson; Biggs, History of the Kehukee Baptist Association, vii-viii.

The price, of course, was also set forth. In only one instance has evidence been found that a partial payment in advance was required,12 but in another, James Davis expected a ten shilling deposit from persons unknown to him or who had not previously subscribed for one of his books.13

Frequently subscribers received a small advantage over nonsubscribers who might purchase a copy of a book later. Out of 60 subscribers who purchased more than one copy of Burkitt and Read's Concise History of the Kehukee Baptist Association in 1803, 34 bought 12 or 24 copies, so there may have been a special price for a dozen copies. In two cases persons agreeing to take six copies of a title were entitled to a seventh free of charge. 14 In others they were able to buy at a saving-twenty-five to fifty cents per copy, generally. This, however, must not have been much of an inducement to buy, for books were expensive. Marshall's The Life of George Washington, the most popular subscription book sold in North Carolina, cost \$15.00 for the set; Wilson's American Ornithology cost \$96.00; and Scott's edition of the Bible sold for around \$25.00, depending on the binding.¹⁵

Subscription books purchased by North Carolinians or advertised for sale within the State may be grouped into three general categories: first, those known to have been sold by subscription, but which carry no lists of subscribers; second, those which do list the subscribers; and third, titles proposed for publication by subscription, but of which no copies are known today and, therefore, presumed never actually

to have been published.

The first category is probably the most elusive since there is generally no internal evidence to indicate that the publication history is different from an ordinary book. We know about these cases only through external sources, usually newspaper advertisements seeking subscribers. A sermon by the Rev. Samuel Eusebius McCorkle of Rowan County on the Comparative Happiness and Duty of the United States of America, preached in 1795 on "the Day of General Thanksgiving and Prayer, appointed by the President of the United States," is an example. It was printed by Abraham Hodge in Halifax, "by the Request of the Hearers," we are told. Advertisements seeking subscribers appeared in both Halifax and New Bern newspapers. 16

¹² North-Carolina Gazette (New Bern), July 4, 1777, hereinafter cited as North-Carolina Gazette.

Carolina Gazette.

13 North-Carolina Gazette, September 24, 1791.

14 North-Carolina Gazette, June 20, 1795; North-Carolina Minerva, and Fayetteville Advertiser, February 10, 1798.

15 Sowerby, Catalogue of Library of Jefferson, I, 241-243, 463-465; II, 95-96.

16 North-Carolina Journal (Halifax), August 3, 1795; North-Carolina Gazette, June 20, 1795.

In New Bern on July 16, 1791, The North-Carolina Gazette advertised that "Subscriptions to Mr. Ebenezer Hazard's Collection of State Papers to be printed in Philadelphia, are received at this office." Neither Volume I printed in 1792 nor the second volume, which ap-

peared two years later, has a list of subscribers, however.

In 1791 subscriptions were sought in North Carolina for a Masonic publication which promised information on the Grand Lodges of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. The Masons of North Carolina, in this case, must have been reluctant to subscribe. The book was to be put to press "so soon as a sufficient number of subscribers to defray the expence are procured." When the book finally appeared the information on North Carolina was not included, although the promised material on the other States was there.17 A separate volume dealing wholly with North Carolina appeared in 1805, though it is not known whether subscribers were sought for it.18

A printed subscription form for Hugh Williamson's The History of North Carolina in the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina is apparently unique. Added in manuscript is the name of only one subscriber, that of John Haywood of Wake County who ordered "two Setts bound" for \$5.00. Williamson's plans for his history were obviously changed after the appearance of this subscription form as the two published volumes which exist today contain only the material he had projected for "Book II" of the first volume. Much of the material outlined for "Book I" appeared in a separate publication in 1811 dealing with climate. The second volume, as announced on the subscription form, never appeared but would have made a most valuable third volume to Williamson's history.

Cornelia Phillips Spencer once reported finding "a little dingy blank book" which had been the property of the Rev. Colin McIver in 1819. In it she found written proposals for publishing by subscription a volume of sermons "from the manuscript of ministers of approved reputation residing in the Southern States." Some 780 subscribers were listed in the little book, she noted, and since the Rev. Mr. McIver lived in the vicinity she added that "Fayetteville people of

course lead off." According to Mrs. Spencer

"Robert Jaffray, 2 copies," is the first name on the list followed by many familiar to many since. Robt. Strange, Jno. D. Eccles, Jas. H. Hooper, W.

Moss [1805]).

¹⁷ North-Carolina Gazette, July 16, 1791. The book was printed in Virginia. Charles Evans, American Bibliography (Chicago [Illinois]: Privately Printed for the Author, 14 volumes, 1903-1959), VIII, 198.

¹⁸ The Ahiman Rezon and Masonic Ritual (New Bern: John C. Sims and Edward G.

In a fhort time will be published, The History of North Carolina,

From its discovery to the end of the revolution war.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

With a correct Map of the State.

By HUGH WILLIAMSON.

CONTENTS.

Vol. I. Book. I.

Of the general face of America and the changes it feems to have undergone.—The uniform difference between the climate of the old continent and that of the new in corresponding latitudes, and the cause of that difference.—The diversity of colour that is found among the human species in the old world, and the reasons why such diversity does not exist in America.—The animal productions of America compared with those of the old continent.

—The change of climate that has been observed in North America.—The effects of cultivation in North Carolina on the climate and constitution of its inhabitants.—The diseases well receased in North Carolina, their earlies and the means of nevertings them. most prevalent in North Carolina, their causes and the means of preventing them.

Book II.

DOOK 11.

Of the attempts made by the fubjefts of France and Spain to form a fettlement in Carolina.

—The attempts under the aufpices of Sir Walter Raleigh to form a fettlement in Carolina.

—The first permanent fettlement and the establishment of civil government in the counties of Albemarie and Clarendon.—The administration of the governors Drummond, Yeamons, Eastchurch, Sothel, &c.—The palatine colony at New Bern.—The Indian wars.

—The administration of the governors Eden, Burrington, Everard, Johnston, and Dobbs.

—The insurrection under governor Tryon, and the abdication of governor Josiah Martin.

Vol. II.

A general history of the late war, and a more particular account of every action in which the regular troops or militia of North Carolina were engaged, together with an estimate of the forces and supplies raised from year to year in that state.

CONDITIONS.

L This work, printed on a new type and fine paper, carefully flitched in boards, will be delivered to fubferibers at four dollars, one half the price to be paid at the time of fubferibing. The feet nearly bound in leather and lettered will come at four dollars and an half. Geutlemen who with to have the books in that form, will fignify the fame by paying two dollars and an half at the time of fubferibing. The fubferibers will be delivered at Edenton, Newbern, Wilmington, Fayetteville, and Halifar, for the fubferibers in those feveral dif-

lars and an half. Gentlemen who with to have the books in that form, will fignify the fame by paying two dollars and an half at the time of fubfcribing.

II. No fubfcriptions will be received except in North Carolina.

Subscribers in the County of Wake. wood he will bound

The pre-publication plans for Williamson's History of North Carolina, as set forth on this subscription form, were considerably changed before the book actually appeared.

Hooper, Charles and Peter Mallett, John Dobbin, R. Donaldson, E. L. Winslow, Thos. N. Cameron, Jno. Millins, Jno. D. Toomer, Wm. Broadfoot, and a long list of 'Macs.' Turning the pages and moving up the country I find Duncan Cameron, Alex. Wilson, Jas. Mebane, Jo. Gales, Jno. Haywood, D. L. Swain, Chas. Manly, J. S. Taylor, Paul Barringer, Jo. Hawkins, Wm. McPheeters, N. Harding. Here is many a well-known Wilmington name, Jas. Ow[e]n, McRae, Anderson, Wright, Cowan, Dudley, Taylor. All the then faculty of the University—Caldwell, Mitchell, Olmsted, Andrews, Kollock. And some of the students also subscribed, whose names are rather better known now than then. A. Mitchel, Armand DeRosset, Hugh Y. Waddell, Jos. H. Saunders. . . . Moving out West for subscribers, Rev. Colin McIver seems to have done a good business at Sugar Creek, Rocky River, Charlotte and Salisbury. Here are plenty of Alexanders, Harris', Brevards, Pharrs, Caldwells, Grahams.... The young men who signed their names in this little book are old men, and the old men are gone and their names are a mere echo in their native State. Why should I sit here sentimentalizing over these faded autographs? Yet somehow I turn them over sadly and tenderly.19

Within six months after its publication in 1829, a four-volume set of Jefferson's correspondence was subscribed for by over 6,000 persons in the South alone. Since this volume was sold by subscription after, rather than before publication, it contains no list of subscribers.

The second general category of subscription books—those which include a list of subscribers—is more easily identified. The earliest volume yet found to which North Carolinians subscribed was A Collection of All the Acts of Assembly, Now in Force, in the Colony of Virginia, printed in Williamsburg by William Parks in 1733—sixteen years before the establishment of the printing press in North Carolina. The four North Carolina subscribers were Dr. George Alleyn of Edenton, William Little, Esq., John Lovick, Esq., and Col. Edward Mosely. For the last three no other address was given than just "North Carolina."

The first subscription book to be printed in North Carolina was James Davis' A Collection of all the Acts of Assembly, of the Province

The University of North Carolina Press, 1953), 449-450. The book to which Mrs. Spencer referred was The Southern Preacher: A Collection of Sermons, From the Manuscripts of Several Eminent Ministers of the Gospel, Residing in the Southern States... Selected... by the Rev. Colin McIver (Philadelphia [Pennsylvania]: Published by the Editor and Proprietor, 1824). The copy of this book in the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina Library bears an apparently contemporary signature of a former owner, Archd. Noble, who perhaps was also a subscriber. Efforts to locate Mrs. Spencer's "little dingy blank book" have been unsuccessful.

A manuscript list of 41 subscribers to Audubon's Birds of America in the Washington and Georgetown, D. C., area was contained in a letter by Audubon recently offered for sale by the Carnegie Book Shop, New York, N. Y., in its Catalogue #225 [May, 1958], 3.

20 Julian P. Boyd, "God's Altar Needs Not Our Pollishings," New York History, XXXIX (January, 1958), 12.

of North-Carolina, in Force and Use, Since the Revisal of the Laws in the Year 1751. Together with the Titles of All Such Laws as Are Obsolete, Had Their Effect, Expir'd or Repeal'd. With an Exact Table. It was printed at New Bern in 1764 and eighty-two "gentlemen" are recorded as having subscribed. The printer tells us, however, that several subscription papers had not been returned at the time the book was put to press and the names they were expected to contain could not be included.

The earliest women subscribers of whom any record has been found—Mrs. Mary Stevenson, Perquimans County; Miss Sarah Lippincott and Mrs. Sarah Lindsay, both of Hertford Town; and Mrs. Jean Blair and Mrs. Jermina Allen, of Edenton—bought copies of Hugh Knox's *The Moral and Religious Miscellany*, printed in New York in 1775. Mrs. Blair, in fact, took three copies. The next woman subscriber does not appear on the scene for more than a dozen years; Susannah Clark, for whom no address was given, ordered Henry Pattillo's *Sermons* published in 1788. Mrs. I. S. Blount of Tarboro was the only North Carolina subscriber for Judith Sargent Murray's *The Gleaner* printed in Boston in 1798. Not until after 1802 did the names of women begin to appear fairly frequently in lists of subscribers.

The first person recognized as a Negro subscriber was John Chavis, free Negro preacher and teacher of both races in North Carolina. He purchased two copies of *The Beauties of the Evangelical Magazine* published in Philadelphia in 1803. The earliest book by a Negro to which North Carolinians subscribed was *The Poetical Works of George*

Moses Horton published in 1845.

A fact of possible interest to those concerned with the history of the Negro in North Carolina is that Alexander Work, Esq., of Iredell County subscribed to William Gordon's *History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America* published in 1789 in New York. This might be seized upon as evidence of his interest in books. It was to this family that Monroe Nathan Work, noted Negro bibliographer and writer, belonged.

Anyone interested in names will find it profitable to study subscription lists. For instance, it was rather unusual in the eighteenth century for a person to have two given names, yet in 1764 we find Capt. Thomas Clifford Howe of New Bern subscribing to James Davis' A Collection of all the Acts of Assembly. In 1771 Lancelot Graves Barry, Esq., of Wilmington subscribed to Blackstone's Commentaries and three years later to Hawkesworth's A New Voyage Round the World. Major Leonard Henly Bullock in 1788 subscribed

to Pattillo's Sermons. Out of 1,115 North Carolina subscribers to books in the eighteenth century only fifty-three men had more than one given name. Only two, Jean Louis Baptiste Moignard of Beaufort and John G. L. Schenck of Edgecombe County bore three given names, and they both subscribed to Martin's The Office and Authority of a Justice of the Peace in 1791. With the coming of the next century double names became more common, and we even find the name of one Robert C. T. Sydenham Hilliard among the subscribers to George Moses Horton's book of poems.

There is evidence that authors subscribed for their own works. James Iredell, for instance, appears among the list of subscribers to his volume of *Laws of the State of North-Carolina* published in Eden-

ton by Hodge and Wills in 1791.

The names of only two North Carolinians appear among the subscribers to *The Self-Interpreting Bible*, the first Bible printed in New York City, which was issued in 1792. A Wilmington merchant took one copy, and John Boyse, A.M., of Coddle Creek, Iredell County, subscribed for 36 copies. We can only guess what Boyse did with so many copies, but it is easy to imagine that he was a schoolmaster or perhaps a minister and that he sold Bibles to supplement his meager income from teaching or preaching. Merchants frequently subscribed for a number of copies of a title, undoubtedly selling books along with their general merchandise.

The third arbitrary category of subscription books (titles proposed for publication by subscription, but of which no copies are now known and, therefore, presumed never actually to have been printed), is based largely on advertisements which appeared in North Carolina newspapers. Three examples will serve to illustrate this group and at the same time show the results of the efforts of some early journalists to

write appealing advertising copy.

On October 6, 1775, the North-Carolina Gazette, in a most patriotic tone, recited the

PROPOSALS,

For printing by Subscription,

The most interesting Debates in the House of Commons that ever were agitated in that august and venerable Senate, the Speeches and Proceedings on the late Acts of Parliament, that were intended to sap the Foundations of *American* Freedom, and reduce these once happy Regions to a State of Ministerial Vassallage.

The Proceedings on those Acts of Parliament will be mentioned in Order as they were passed, and consist of the Speeches of Lord *Chatham*, Lord *Camden*, Lord *Effingham*, the young Marquis of *Granby*, the Bishop of St. Asaph, Governor Johnston, Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Burke, William Temple Luttrell, Mr. Cruger, and others; also the Petition and Remonstrance of the Lord Mayor and City of London.

To which will be added,

- The following American Papers that have been published by the Continental, and Provincial Congresses, in Pursuance of passing the above destructive Acts of the British Parliament, viz.
- The Addresses of the first and second Continental Congresses to the King, their Addresses to the People of Canada, to the People of England, and Ireland, and to the People of the Twelve united Colonies of America: Also the Address of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts-Bay to the People of England, after the Battle of Lexington.

CONDITIONS.

- That this Work consist of 160 Pages in small Octavo, printed on an elegant Type and *American* Paper, and delivered to the Subscribers, sewed in Boards, at the small Price of three Shillings and six Pence; or neatly bound at five Shillings.
- Subscriptions are taken at the Printing-Office in Newbern, and Subscription Papers will be sent to the several Counties in this Province.

To the PUBLIC.

This is the first Attempt in this Province to perpetuate the Memory of those noble and venerable Senators who have stood foremost in the grand Struggle for *American* Liberty; and has been promoted and encouraged by a Number of worthy and patriotic Gentlemen in the upper Settlements of this Province [remainder of paper torn, but apparently 500 copies had been subscribed].

Two years later, on July 4, 1777, the same paper came forward with a very ambitious proposition. The editor and printer, James Davis, was offering to subscribers

An exact ABRIDGMENT of all the ACTS of ASSEMBLY of this State in Force and Use, alphabetically digested, down to the Time of publishing the Book.

Together with

An exact Table, Marginal Notes and References, shewing the Time of passing the particular Laws, and the Chapters, as printed at large in the revised Body of Laws of this State.

CONDITIONS.

1st. That the Book will be printed in large Octavo, on good American Paper, and a beautiful new Type.

2d. That it will contain about 500 Pages, neatly bound, and delivered to the Subscribers at three Dollars each, one of which Dollars to be paid at the Time of subscribing.

3d. That the Work will be put to Press as soon as 300 Subscribers appear.

To the PUBLIC.

The Usefulness of a Work of this Sort must forcibly strike every Person the least conversant with Business, as an alphabetical Digest must save the Trouble of turning over a voluminous Folio, and present the Reader with what he wants to know at one View; besides its being more portable, and convenient for Use. The Subscriber therefore hopes for the Encouragement of the Public to this Undertaking, and assures them of his best Endeavours to make the Performance useful. When the enormous Price to which every Article of Life is now risen is considered, he hopes the Public will not think three Dollars too high, nor the Payment of one of them at the Time of Subscription, unreasonable.

He begs Leave, as he is now solliciting the Favour of the Public on another Publication, to return them his most sincere Thanks for their great Encouragement to his former Labours, his Revisal of the Laws, and Office of a Justice, having had a rapid Sale, there being but few of them now left on Hand. As he is now detached from the Service of the Public as Printer to the State, in which honourable Service he has laboured Twenty Eight Years, he is quite at Leisure, and if properly encouraged, will publish the Book with all imaginable Expedition.

JAMES DAVIS.

Subscription Papers are taken in at the Printing Office in Newbern, and Subscription Papers will be sent to the several Counties of the State, of which Public Notice will be given in this Paper.

A third example of the proposed publication of yet another type book will, perhaps, remind readers that the present-day handy, one-volume reference works are really not based on a new idea. In the late winter and early spring of 1799 Wilmington and Salisbury papers brought their readers news of the pending publication, not later than October 20, 1800, of *The North-Carolina Register and Almanac*. It was intended "to be published annually, with such corrections and additions as time may require," they were informed, "to render it a useful Pocket Companion to all its Patrons." ²¹

The Wilmington Gazette, March 7, 1799; The North Carolina Mercury and Salisbury Advertiser, June 27, 1799.

This new book was to contain

Some useful extracts from the history, geography, constitution and laws of this state.

Observations and directions to masters of vessels and pilots, concerning the navigation and of the coast and rivers of North-Carolina.

Abstract from the constitution and laws of the United States; and a correct list of the members of both houses of congress—the executive officers of the federal government—the consuls and ministers of the United States, residing in foreign countries; and their places of abode—the consuls and ministers of foreign governments, residing within the United States; and their places of abode—the officers and vessels in the navy of the United States—the members of both houses of the state legislature—all other officers of the state, from the governor to the magistrate, whether civil, military, or such as have appointments under the general government, in aid of the revenue; including public notaries, inspectors of produce for exportation, trustees and commissioners of public schools, town officers, sealers of weights and measures, branch pilots, &c.

Also, the times of holding circuit and district courts of the U. States; and of superior and county courts, in this state.

Some account of the incorporated societies in this state, their times of meeting and associations.

A brief account of the manners and times of doing business in the custom houses.

Together with rates of custom-house officers' fees—lighterage—storage—postage—and duties on merchandize imported into the U. States—on tonnage of vessels—on stampt paper, &c.—on wheel carriages—on distilled spirits, the produce of the U. States—on lands—on houses—on negroes—of drawbacks and bounties. And some useful tables of money, time, tide, &c. &c.

The North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina Library has two broadside subscription forms for books which apparently were never published. From New Bern on November 15, 1803, Francois-Xavier Martin announced proposals for printing by subscription "A Digested Index to the American Reports." It was to be put to press the first of January, 1804, and to sell for \$5.00. A list of persons receiving subscriptions in various places from New York to Charleston was included as well as space for listing the names and place of residence of subscribers. A second broadside contains "Proposals for Publishing a Pocket Hymn Book" to contain about 250 pages. "A large number of the Hymns and Songs," we are told, "have never been in print." The form is undated, but subscribers promised

Newbern, November 15th, 1803.

PROPOSALS

FOR PRINTING BY SUBSCRIPTION,

A

DIGESTED INDEX

TOTHE

AMERICAN REPORTS.

By FRANCOIS-XAVIER MARTIN, of NORTH-CAROLINA.

Spauric from the same stock, speaking the same language, occupying the same shving of the western hemisphere, united under one Federal Government, having the same political and commercial relations with the other nations of the earth, the inhabitants of these States cannot differ much in their municipal laws and customs. In reality the common law of England is in every State the basis of its injustputence, varied in a few instances only by some legislative improvements, which necessity has required or convenience superceased. Forey where wants mearly similar have produced similar emendations.

"Hence the decisions of the courts in the several States cannot fail to be interesting to those, generally, who may have the wish and the leasure to examine and compare them, and to the jurist, particularly, who is called by duty and interest to seek a knowledge of them and the particularly.

These are now accumulated to more than twenty volumes; and it is imagined that the compression of them into a portable one, being a digest of every case alphabetically arranged to the compression of the whole, and a valuable of the compression of the whole, and a valuable of the compression of the whole, and a valuable of the compression of the whole, and a valuable of the compression of the whole, and a valuable of the compression of the whole, and a valuable of the compression of the whole, and a valuable of the compression of the whole, and a valuable of the compression of the whole, and a valuable of the compression of the whole, and a valuable of the compression of the whole, and the compression of the who

It is presumed that nothing further need be naid in regard to the utility of this work, abstractedly considered. In offering it to the public, the compiler will only say, that to an experience of many years in the practice of the law and in several compliations of a similar gazaure, thirdly confined to the Stort in which he resides, his minnetse care and best exertions for added—in the hope that the undertaking will be found to be executed in a manner to discrete the corroscare he has socilized.

The work is executed on the plan of the Digified Index to the Cheenry Reports, lately published in England, and will refer to every adjusqued case recorded in the American books of Reports, viz. Reafs, Kirbis, Celemanis, New-York Term Reports, Opinions given in the Mayor's Court of New-York, Dullats, Wallates, Wallatis, Wallates, Cells, Informatic, Eugher's, Berls, and two pamphlet volumes published in N. Carolina, the one by D. Cameron, Eugher be other by the maker of this complisation.

the other by the maker of this compisition."

To avoid confusion, all the cases depending on acts of the Legislature or on rules of practice of the several States, have been placed under two general heads, divided into a distinct pararraph for each State.

" If there be any other American reports, they will be precured and added before the work is put to profe.

CONDITIONS.

 The work to be comprised in one octave volume, printed on good paper and type, and delivered to subscribers in law binding.

II. The price to be four dollars, payable on delivery.

SUBSCRITTIONS are received by Messts. Eura Sergeast & Co. H. Ceritat, T. & J. Swards, in New York; Mr. Sieppard Kulled, Elizabethrown; Messts. Mathew Carry, Yah Cornel & Co. T. Bradford, and Gerge Davis, Philadelphia; Mr. Kir, in Balimore; Messts. Catton & Stewart, Alexandria; Messts. Cornel, Rajas & Co. City of Washington, Mr. Mr. Prichards, Richmond; Mr. Edward Mirch, Nordiek; Messts. Sounceville & Counal, Pleterrburg; Mr. A. Holge, Halfaz; Mr. & Devalfor, Warrenton; Mr. Lemed Standin, Chem. Philadelphia, Mr. & Devalfor, Warrenton Edw. Lemed Standin, Philadelphia, Mr. & Devalfor, Warrenton & Mr. Lemed Standin, Philadelphia, Mr. & Devalfor, Warrenton & Mr. Lemed Standin, Philadelphia, Mr. & Devalfor, Warrenton & Mr. Lemed Standin, Philadelphia, Mr. & Devalfor, Warrenton & Mr. Lemed Standin, Philadelphia, Mr. & Devalfor, Warrenton & Mr. Lemed Standin, Warrenton & Mr. & Mr. & Lemed Standin, Warrenton & Mr. & Mr.

It is requested that the subscription papers may be all returned to the publisher at Newbern, by the first of January next, when the book will be put to press.

Subscribers' Names.

· Residence.

The top portion of a subscription form describing the proposed book. A blank space at the bottom of the page was left for subscribers' names.

to pay Robert T. Daniel eighty cents for each copy. The names of fourteen subscribers have been added in ink.²²

The subscribers were Richard Allen, 6 copies, Green[e] County; Abraham Joiner, Green[e] County; Marshal Dickinson, Pitt County; David Smith, Pitt County; Elizabeth Cobb, Kinston; Mary Anderson, Kinston; Rachell McCabe, New Bern; Elizabeth Bryan, New Bern; Sally Whitfield, New Bern; Mary Lane, New Bern; Thomas Ringold, New Bern; Bryan McCabe, New Bern; Saml. Simpson, 12 copies, Fort Barnwell; and Wm. P. Biddle, 6 copies, New Bern. Writing in the Wake Forest Student,

While publishers, or perhaps printers is the more accurate term, seem generally to have relied on newspaper advertisements and printed forms to gather advance subscriptions, we do have the names of a number of individuals who took book subscriptions. In many cases some person in each county of the State was authorized to receive subscriptions. James Davis of New Bern, Abraham Hodge of Halifax, Allmand Hall of Wilmington, and Joseph Gales and William Boylan both of Raleigh, and all five printers, frequently appear as taking subscriptions.

The Fayetteville Gazette for October 9, 1792, advertised that copies of A Collection of the Statutes of the Parliament of Great-Britain, Which are now in force in the State of North-Carolina would be sent by "the very first opportunity" to distant subscribers, and that copies might be had from William Farris, Washington; Hodge and Wills, Edenton; Joseph Ross, Tarboro; Stephen Camberling, Greenville; B. Stith, Halifax; John Hogg, Hillsboro; Robert Donnell, Wayne County; Perry and Tarbe, Fayetteville; Montfort Stokes, Salisbury; Dr. J. Kingsbury, Mattamuskeet; and William Ferrand, Swansboro.

In the early years of the nineteenth century subscriptions were taken in Warrenton by Richard Davidson, London-born newspaper publisher and judge; in Fayetteville by Peter Perry, a prominent merchant; and in Edenton by Lemuel Standin, long-time postmaster. In New Bern two former Continental Surgeons, Dr. Isaac Guion and Dr. Solomon Halling, took subscriptions. Both men were prominent in Masonic circles, and Halling was also a druggist, schoolmaster, and Episcopal clergyman. Many authors, of course, were also quite actively engaged in procuring subscribers.

Frequently persons desiring to subscribe for a book were instructed to leave their orders with local postmasters, and on at least one occasion "several Gentlemen of the Bar" were reported to be taking subscriptions. Booksellers ranging across the State undoubtedly were glad to act as agents for book publishers as they did for newspaper publishers. Records exist of booksellers operating in North Carolina in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries from Edenton, New Bern, Swansboro, and Wilmington in the east to Salisbury, Salem, and Morganton in the west.23

XXV (October, 1905), 16-17, Charles E. Taylor noted that Robert Thomas Daniel published a 280-page book entitled "Daniel's Selection" in Raleigh in 1812. It consisted of 176 hymns and 52 "Spiritual Songs." In 1905 Taylor had a copy which he described as "well printed and strongly bound," but recent efforts to locate this copy have been unsuccessful.

²⁸ North-Carolina Gazette, September 24, 1791, December 26, 1795; Adelaide L. Fries (ed.), Records of the Moravians in North Carolina (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 8 volumes, 1922-1954).

VIII, 3,414.

A bibliography of seventy-four books having subscription lists which include the names of North Carolinians is the result of more than six years of diligent searching in this country and in England. The earliest of these appeared in 1733 and an arbitrary terminal date of 1850 has been set. In 1795 six titles, the maximum for any one year, were published, and for only three years during that period were there as many as four books. In 1792, 1794, and in 1803 there were four. In 1772, 1791, 1793, 1802, and 1804 there were three. In seven different years there were two, and for the remainder of the time only one or none. The period between 1790 and 1800 represented good years for subscription book salesmen in North Carolina; during that ten-year period, twenty-five titles were offered in forty volumes. Insofar as number of volumes purchased in North Carolina was concerned, however, the five-year period 1802-1807 was more important; 1,459 North Carolinians bought fifteen titles published in twentyeight volumes.

If any valid conclusion can be drawn from two examples of the publication of second editions, it might be that once the market for a book was satisfied, further editions were useless. The original 1803 edition of *A Concise History of the Kehukee Baptist Association* by Burkitt and Read was popular—321 subscribers purchased 885 copies. A revised edition published in 1850 found only one subscriber in North Carolina. In 1775 thirty-four subscribers, mostly in Hertford County, purchased 121 copies of Hugh Knox's *Moral and Religious Miscellany*. In 1807 only 23 copies of a new edition were sold, this

time to residents of Burke County, for the most part.

A classification, while not strictly according to general library practice, will nevertheless give some idea of the interests of North Carolinians during this period. Sixteen books are of a religious nature, including the Bible; twelve relate to law; nine are in the field of history; five are poetry; six each are biography, literature and essays, and geography and travel; eight are on scientific subjects, including natural history and agriculture; two deal with arithmetic and discount and interest; and one each is on a foreign language and shorthand. Worthy of special note is the fact that a United States Senator from North Carolina in 1793 purchased a copy of The System of Short-hand, practised . . . in Taking Down the Debates of Congress.

A respectable number of North Carolinians bought Oliver Evans' The Young Mill-wright & Miller's Guide (Philadelphia, 1795), and James H. Conway's The North-Carolina Calculator, or New Practical Arithmetic published at Salisbury in 1819. Only one saw fit to order

PROPOSALS	*
FOR PUBLISHING A	
POCKET HYMN BOOK.	
THE Work will appear in the course of the ensuing summer, neatly printed	
and bound, and will contain about 250 pages - A large number of the Hymns and	
Songs have never been in print. The price to Subscribers not to exceed ¢s each.	*
We the subscribers promise to pay Robert T. Daniel 80 cents for each co-	Carrier J.
by agreeablesto the above conditions. If aness our hands.	
SUBSCRIBERS NAMES. No COPIES. RESPENCE.	
Richard Allen 6 - Grun Count	THE WAY
Abroham Joiner 1 - Grin bounty	
Marchal Diskinson 1 Titl County	
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. Nem P. Bidale 6 New Berns	

A completed subscription form. No copy of Daniel's hymnal has been found, but Dr. Chas. E. Taylor, writing in the Wake Forest Student for October, 1905, described a copy which he then had before him. Entitled Daniel's Selection, this 280-page book was printed in Raleigh by Thomas Henderson in 1812. This subscription form is in the Bruce Cotten Collection of North Caroliniana at the University of North Carolina Library.

Varlo's A New System of Husbandry in 1785, but in 1811 nineteen bought Mason's The Gentleman's New Pocket Companion, Comprising a General Description of the Noble and Useful Animal the Horse.

John Marshall's *The Life of George Washington*, published in five volumes in Philadelphia between 1804 and 1807, was the most popular subscription book sold in North Carolina. Some 548 copies were purchased in the State, and it is interesting to note that Mason Locke Weems, whose story of Washington and the cherry tree has almost been accepted as fact, toured North Carolina taking orders for this set of books.²⁴

Only one copy of several titles was sold in North Carolina, but all told, during the forty-one years when at least one subscription book

²⁴ The American Historical Record and Repository of Notes and Queries, II (February, 1873), 82-83; James S. Purcell, "A Book Pedlar's Progress in North Carolina," The North Carolina Historical Review, XXIX (January, 1952), 8-23.

was sold, North Carolinians purchased 3,481 books. A number of these appeared in two volumes, a few in three, but most were single volumes. Alexander Wilson's American Ornithology, however, was published in nine volumes, and the State Papers and Publick Documents of the United States filled twelve volumes. These figures suggest that North Carolinians were buying nearly a hundred books a year,

on the average, by subscription alone.

If subscription lists reflect geographical interest in books, and some of them obviously do, we must conclude that the press in North Carolina was quite provincial. Out of ten subscription books published in North Carolina between 1764 and 1845 only four were subscribed for outside the State. Virginians took 328 copies of A Concise History of the Kehukee Baptist Association published at Halifax in 1803; an even hundred copies of John Haywood's Reports of Cases Adjudged in the Superior Courts (Raleigh, 1806), including copies ordered by former North Carolinians Andrew Jackson and Hugh Lawson White in Tennessee, were purchased in that State and in South Carolina, Kentucky, and Virginia; two copies of James Gay's poetry, the first volume of poetry printed in North Carolina, were sold in Connecticut and five in South Carolina; and twelve copies of Joseph Bigg's Concise History of the Kehukee Baptist Association were purchased by a Georgian.

Subscribers at home were scattered pretty well over the State, but the large number of them from Rowan, Burke, and Buncombe counties, particularly in the years before 1800, suggests that North Carolinians took advantage of this means of buying books largely because no other sources were readily available to them in rural North Carolina. The subscription book agent undoubtedly created his own market and in so doing contributed to the education of his clients.

SUBSCRIPTION BOOKS 25

Aikin, John.

A view of the life, travels, and philanthropic labors of the late John Howard. Philadelphia: Printed for John Ormond, by W. W.

[1]

Woodward, 1794. (6 subscribers)

²⁵ No place of residence is given for the subscribers to entries number 5, 6, and 30 in this bibliography, and only those who can be identified as North Carolinians are considered in reporting the number of subscribers. In the case of number 65, subscribers in North Carolina and Virginia are listed together, so in this study only those persons who can be identified as North Carolinians are considered.

The beauties of the Evangelical Magazine. Philadelphia: Printed [2] by William W. Woodward, 1803, 2 vols. (4 subscribers) Belknap, Jeremy. [3] The history of New-Hampshire. Boston: For the author, 1791-1792. 3 vols. (2 subscribers) Benedict. David. [4] A general history of the Baptist denomination in America, and other parts of the world. Boston: Printed by Manning & Loring . . . for the author, 1813, 2 vols. (180 subscribers purchased 290 copies) [5] Bible. The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments: together with the Apochrypha. Philadelphia: Printed for Mathew Carey, 1802. (20 subscribers) The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, with **[61** original notes, practical observations, and copious marginal references. By Thomas Scott, Rector of Aston Sandford, Bucks. Philadelphia: William W. Woodard, 1804-1809. 5 vols. (10 subscribers) The self-interpreting Bible: containing the sacred text of the Old [7] and New Testaments. New York: Hodge and Campbell, 1792. (2 subscribers purchased 37 copies) Biggs, Joseph. [8] A concise history of the Kehukee Baptist association, from its original rise to the present time. Tarboro: Printed and published by George Howard, office of the Tarborough (N. C.) Free Press, 1834. (392 subscribers purchased 650 copies) [9] Blackstone, William. Commentaries on the laws of England. Philadelphia: Printed for the subscribers, by Robert Bell, 1771-1772. 4 vols. (23 subscribers) Brown, John. [10] A dictionary of the Holy Bible. Pittsburgh: From the Ecclesiastical and Literary press of Zadok Cramer, 1807. 2 vols. (4 subscribers)

Bryan, Daniel. The mountain muse: comprising the adventures of Daniel Boone; and the power of virtuous and refined beauty. Harrisonburg [Va.]: Printed for the author: by Davidson & Bourne, 1813. (1 subscriber)	[11]
Burkitt, Lemuel, and Jesse Read. A concise history of the Kehukee Baptist association from its original rise down to 1803. Revised and improved by Henry L. Burkitt. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1850. (1 subscriber)	[12]
A concise history of the Kehukee Baptist association from its original rise to the present time. Halifax: Printed by A. Hodge, 1803. (321 subscribers purchased 885 copies)	[13]
Calcott, Wellins. A candid disquisition of the principles and practices of the most antient and honourable society of Free and Accepted Masons. London: Printed: Reprinted and sold by Brother William M'Alpine, in Marlborough-Street, Boston, 1772. (3 subscribers)	[14]
Carey, John. The system of short-hand, practised by Mr. Thomas Lloyd, in taking down the debates of Congress. Philadelphia: Published by J. C and sold by H. and P. Rice, 1793. (1 subscriber)	[15]
Carpenter, Thomas. The American senator or a copious and impartial report of the debates in the Congress of the United States. Philadelphia: Printed by J. Page, 1796-1797. 3 vols. (3 subscribers purchased 4 copies)	[16]
Catesby, Mark. The natural history of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands. London: Printed at the expence of the author, 1743. 2 vols. (1 subscriber)	[17]
Colman, Henry. European agriculture and rural economy. From personal observa- tion. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Company, 1850. 2 vols. (1 subscriber)	[18]

Conway, James H. The North-Carolina calculator, or new practical arithmetic. Salisbury: Printed by J. Krider, 1819. (115 subscribers purchased 190 copies)	[19
Davies, Samuel. Sermons on important subjects, by the late reverend and pious Samuel Davies, A.M The fifth edition. To which are now added, three occasional sermons, not included in the former editions. New York: Printed for T. Allen, 1792. (1 subscriber)	[20
Dickinson, John. The political writings of John Dickinson, esquire, late president of the state of Delaware, and of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Wilmington [Dela.]: Printed and sold by Bonsal and Niles, 1801. 2 vols. (2 subscribers)	[21
Dufief, Nicholas Gouin. Nature displayed, in her mode of teaching language to man. Philadelphia: Printed by Thomas L. Plowman, for the author, 1804. 2 vols. (44 subscribers)	[22
Evans, Nathaniel. Poems on several occasions, with some other compositions. Philadelphia: Printed by John Dunlap, in Market-Street, 1772. (1 subscriber)	[23
Evans, Oliver. The young mill-wright & miller's guide. Philadelphia: Printed for, and sold by the author, 1795.26 (9 subscribers)	[24
Gardiner, John, and David Hepburn. The American gardener. Washington: Printed by Samuel H. Smith, 1804.	[25

Gay, James. [26]
A collection of various pieces of poetry, chiefly patriotic. Pub-

(3 subscribers)

²⁶ One of the earliest books of its kind, it was reprinted until as late as 1853. Joseph Sabin, A Dictionary of Books Relating to America (New York: Joseph Sabin, 29 volumes, 1868-1936), VI, 273; The Association of Research Libraries, A Catalog of Books Represented by Library of Congress Printed Cards (Ann Arbor [Michigan]: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 167 volumes, 1942-1946), XXXXV, 640.

lished at the earnest request of a number of good citizens for the improvement of patriotic minds. Raleigh: Printed by Wm. Boylan, 1810.

(67 subscribers purchased 208 copies)

Goldsmith, Oliver.

[27]

An history of the earth, and animated nature. Philadelphia: Printed for Mathew Carey, 1795. 4 vols.

(5 subscribers)

Gordon, William.

[28]

History of the rise, progress, and establishment of the independence of the United States of America. New York: Printed by Hodge, Allen, and Campbell, 1789. 3 vols.

(107 subscribers purchased 121 copies)

Gutherie, William.

[29]

A new system of modern geography: or, a geographical, historical, and commercial grammar; and present state of the several nations of the world. Philadelphia: Printed by Mathew Carey, 1794-1795. 2 vols.

(5 subscribers)

Halyburt, Thomas.

[30]

Natural religion insufficient and revealed necessary to man's happiness in his present state. Albany: Printed by H. C. Southwick, 1812.

(8 subscribers)

Hanson, Thomas.

[31]

The Prussian evolutions in actual engagements; both in platoons, sub, and grand-divisions. Philadelphia: Printed for the author, by J. Douglass M'Dougall, 1775.

(1 subscriber)

Hawkesworth, John.

[32]

A new voyage, round the world, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, and 1771; undertaken by . . . Captain James Cooke, in the ship Endeavour, drawn up from his own journal, and from the papers of Joseph Banks, esq., F.R.S., and published by the special direction of the Right Honourable the Lords of the Admiralty. New York: Printed by James Rivington, 1774.

(57 subscribers)

Hopkins, Samuel.

[33]

The system of doctrines, contained in divine revelation, expanded and defended. Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1793. 2 vols.

(1 subscriber)

Horatius Flaccus, Quintus. The lyric works of Horace, translated into English verse: to which are added a number of original poems. By a native of America. Philadelphia: Printed by Eleazar Oswald, 1786. (2 subscribers)	[34]
Horton, George Moses. The poetical works of George M. Horton, the colored bard of North-Carolina. To which is prefixed the life of the author, written by himself. Hillsborough: Printed by D. Heartt, 1845. (99 subscribers)	[35]
Juvenalis, Decimus Junius. The satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis, translated into English verse, by William Gifford. Philadelphia: Printed by Thomas Lowry Plowman, 1803. (2 subscribers)	[36]
Knox, Hugh. The moral and religious miscellany. New York: Printed by Hodge and Shober, 1775. (34 subscribers purchased 121 copies)	[37]
The moral and religious miscellany; or, sixty-one aphoretical essays, on some of the most important Christian doctrines and virtues. Gettysburg, Pa.: Printed by Robert Harper, 1807. (23 subscribers)	[38]
Kollock, Henry. Sermons on various subjects, by the late Henry Kollock, D.D., with a memoir of the life of the author. Savannah: Published by S.C. and L. Schenck, 1822. 4 vols. (25 subscribers purchased 26 copies)	[39]
Linn, William. Sermons historical and characteristical. New-York: Printed by Childs and Swaine, 1791. (3 subscribers)	[40]
MacWhorter, Alexander. A series of sermons, upon the most important principles of our Holy Religion. Newark: Printed by John Wallis, 1803. 2 vols. (160 subscribers purchased 196 copies)	[41]
Marshall, John. The Life of George Washington. Philadelphia: Printed & Published by C. P. Wayne, 1804-1807. 5 vols. (548 subscribers) ²⁷	[42]
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²⁷ Included with the North Carolina subscribers in the published list are three from "Clarke C. H." This obviously is an error, and they have not been considered in this

Martens, Georg Friedrich von. [43] A summary of the law of nations, founded on the treaties and customs of the modern nations of Europe; with a list of the principal treaties, concluded since the year 1728. Philadelphia: Published by Thomas Bradford, 1795. (20 subscribers) Martin, François-Xavier. [44] The office and authority of a justice of the peace, and of sheriffs. coroners, &c. According to the laws of the state of North-Carolina, Newbern: Francois-Xavier Martin, 1791. (203 subscribers) Mason, Richard. [45] The gentleman's new pocket companion, comprising a general description of the noble and useful animal the horse. Petersburg: John Jackson, 1811. (19 subscribers) Mayo, Robert. [46]A new system of mythology, . . . giving a full account of the idolatry of the pagan world. Philadelphia: Printed for Geo. Mayo & Co., by M'Carty & Davis, 1816. 3 vols. (41 subscribers) Murray, Judith Sargent. [47]The gleaner, a miscellaneous production. Boston: Printed. by I. Thomas and E. T. Andrews, 1798. 3 vols. (1 subscriber) North Carolina (Colony). Laws, statutes, etc. [48]A collection of all the acts of assembly, of the Province of North-Carolina, in force and use, since the revisal of the laws in 1751, Together with the titles of all such laws as are obsolete, had their effect, expir'd or repeal'd. With an exact table. To which is prefixed, a list of the names of those gentlemen who subscribed for the book. Newbern: Printed by James Davis, 1764.

(82 subscribers)

North Carolina. Laws, statutes, etc.

A collection of the private acts of the General Assembly of the State of North-Carolina, from the year 1715, to the year 1790, inclusive, now in force and use. Newbern: Francois-Xavier Martin, 1794.

(42 subscribers purchased 146 copies)

[49]

study. Among the Virginia subscribers are thirteen from "Charlotte." These include six men named Alexander and one named Allison which certainly are Charlotte, North Carolina, names, but these thirteen have not been considered here.

A collection of the statutes of the Parliments of England in force in the State of North Carolina. Published according to a resolve of the General Assembly by Francois-Xavier Martin, Esq. Counsellor at Law. Newbern: The editor's press, 1792. (104 subscribers purchased 116 copies)	[50]
Laws of the State of North-Carolina. Published, according to act of assembly, by James Iredell. Edenton: Printed by Hodge & Wills, Printers to the State of North Carolina, 1791. (235 subscribers purchased 340 copies)	[51]
North Carolina. Superior Courts. Reports of cases adjudged in the Superior Courts of Law and Equity, Court of Conference, and Federal Court. For the State of North Carolina; from the year 1797 to 1806. By John Haywood, Esq., Vol. II. Raleigh: Printed by William Boylan, 1806. ²⁸ (178 subscribers purchased 179 copies)	[52]
Pattillo, Henry. Sermons, &c. Wilmington [Dela.]: James Adams, 1788. (104 subscribers purchased 165 copies)	[53]
Priestley, Joseph. A description of a set of charts of biography, comprising the names of persons of the greatest eminence of every class. Philadelphia: Printed by Samuel Akerman, for Mathew Carey, 1804. (17 subscribers)	[54]
Ramsay, David. History of the United States, from their first settlement as English colonies, in 1607, to the year 1808 continued to the Treaty of Ghent, by S. S. Smith. Philadelphia: Published by Mathew Carey, for the sole benefit of the heirs of the author, 1810-1817. 3 vols. (16 subscribers)	[55]
Robinson, Robert. The history of Baptism, edited by David Benedict. Boston: From the press of Lincoln & Edmands, 1817. (32 subscribers purchased 93 copies)	[56]
Rowlett, John.	[57]

²⁸ An earlier volume with a similar title was published in Halifax in 1799, but there is nothing in it to indicate that it was sold by subscription.

Rowlett's tables of discount, or interest, on every dollar. Phila-

delphia: Printed for the proprietor, by Hugh Maxwell, 1802.

(9 subscribers)

3 vols.29

(5 subscribers)

Scott, Joseph. **[58]** The new and universal gazetteer; or, modern geographical dictionary. Philadelphia: Printed by Patterson & Cochran, 1799-1800. 4 vols. (23 subscribers) Smith, Samuel Stanhope. [59] Sermons, by Samuel Stanhope Smith, D. D., President of the College of New-Jersey. Newark: Printed and sold by Jacob Halsey and Co., 1799. (1 subscriber) Smyth, John Ferdinand Dalziel. [60] A tour of the United States of America: containing an account of the present situation of that country. London: Printed for G. Robinson, 1784. (1 subscriber) The Spirit of the farmer's museum, and lay preacher's gazette. [61] Walpole [N. H.]: Printed for Thomas & Thomas, by T. Carlisle, 1801. (6 subscribers purchased 13 copies) Spurrier, John. **[62]** The practical farmer: being a new and compendious system of husbandry, adapted to the different soils and climates of America. Wilmington [Dela.]: Printed by Brynberg and Andrews, 1793. (1 subscriber) State papers and publick documents of the United States from the **Г63**7 accession of George Washington to the presidency. Boston: Printed and published by Thomas B. Wait, 1819. 3rd edition. 12 vols. (14 subscribers) **[64]** Swift, Zephaniah. A system of the laws of the state of Connecticut. Windham [Conn.]: Printed by John Byrne, for the author, 1795-1796. 2 vols. (12 subscribers) [65] Tousard, Anne Louis de. American artillerist's companion, or elements of artillery. Phila-

delphia: Published by C. and A. Conrad & Company, 1809-1813.

²⁹ A copy of the prospectus for this book was sent by the author to the governor of North Carolina. It is now in the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina Library.

Varlo, Charles. A new system of husbandry. From many years experience, with tables shewing the expence and profit of each crop. Philadelphia: The author, 1785. 2 vols. (1 subscriber)	[66]
Virginia (Colony). Laws, statutes, etc. The acts of assembly, now in force, in the colony of Virginia. Williamsburg: Printed by William Hunter, 1752. (4 subscribers)	[67]
A collection of all the acts of assembly, now in force, in the colony of Virginia. Williamsburg: Printed by William Parks, 1733. (4 subscribers)	[68]
Webster, Noah. A collection of essays and fugitive writings. On moral, historical, political and literary subjects. Boston: Printed for the author, by I. Thomas and E. T. Andrews, 1790. (2 subscribers)	[69]
The Weekly magazine of original essays, fugitive pieces, and interesting intelligence. Philadelphia: J. Watters & Co., 1798-1799. (1 subscriber)	[70]
Williams, Samuel. The natural and civil history of Vermont. Walpole, Newhampshire: Printed by Isaiah Thomas and David Carlisle, jun., 1794. (2 subscribers)	[71]
Wilson, Alexander. American ornithology; or, the natural history of the birds of the United States. Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1808-1814. 9 vols. (12 subscribers)	[72]
Witherspoon, John. The works of the Rev. John Witherspoon, D.D. L.L.D. late president of the college at Princeton, New-Jersey. To which is prefixed an account of the author's life, in a sermon occasioned by his death, by the Rev. Dr. John Rodgers, of New-York. Philadelphia: Printed and published by William W. Woodard, 1802. 2nd ed. 4 vols. (116 subscribers purchased 145 copies)	[73]
The World displayed. Philadelphia: Published by Dobelbower, Key, and Simpson, 1796. (7 subscribers)	[74]

SUBSCRIBERS.

The State of NORTH-CAROLINA, (Seventy copies.)

His Excellency William Blount, Efq; Governor of the actrinory of the United States, fouth of the fiver Ohio, near Knoxville.

States, Fouth of the fiver Ohio, near Knoxville.

George Ellis, Efq; one of the commissioneers of the town of Acubern.

Blake Baker, Eng; Conntellor at Lawy

Edgecowing-win, ment't, New-Hanover.

Mr. John Burgwin, Efq; J. P. Carteret.

Mr. Nicholas A. Bray, Jones.

Thomas Blount, Efq; J. P. Jones.

Lir. James Fergus, Wilmington.

Hon. W. B. Groves, Efq; memb

Houfe of Repretentatives of the

William Blackledge, Efq; Autornay at Law,

Newbern.

County Court.
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All the personal information contained in the subscription lists in the preceding books has been included in this listing of subscribers by name. Titles, including the infrequently-used "Mr.," have been given when they appeared in the lists, and the spelling of the original entries has been carefully followed even in the case of obvious misspellings. For this reason any name sought for should be searched under possible variant spellings. The grouping in one entry, for convenience's sake, of all the persons by the same name does not necessarily mean that a single person is represented by that name. Numbers following the names refer to entries in the preceding bibliography.

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³⁰ The Mero District was in Tennessee. Since this territory was not ceded by North Carolina and accepted by the United States until April 2, 1790, Allison undoubtedly was a citizen (if not a native) of North Carolina at the time of subscribing.

31 MHRUS is an abbreviation used a number of times for "Member, House of Rep-

resentatives, United States."

**A county formed in 1787 in North Carolina's western territory which was ceded to the United States in 1790 to become the State of Tennessee. David Leroy Corbitt, The Formation of the North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943 (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1950), 117, hereinafter cited as Corbitt, Formation of North Carolina Counties.

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³⁷ This is perhaps an error for Tarbe. The 1790 Census lists a [firm?] Perry & Tarbe. Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790, North Carolina (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), 41, hereinafter cited First Census, 1790. One Peter Tarbé of Fayetteville is mentioned in an advertisement in the Fayetteville Gazette, October 12, 1789.

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²⁸ Apparently the middle initial "I" was printed but corrected by hand in ink to read "F."

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³⁹ The name follows Richard Henderson in the list of subscribers and may have been intended for Henderson. "Huderson" could have been the typesetter's reading of a poorly written "Henderson."

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⁴¹ Merchant Knox may have been related to Hugh Knox, author of this volume, and this may explain why so many copies were sold in Hertford.

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⁴² The copy of this volume in the University of North Carolina Library has the bookplate of "Peter P. Lawrence."

[&]quot;Lenox Castle was a summer resort at the mineral springs in Rockingham County, named for its witty and eccentric proprietor, John Lenox, who advertised his tavern in 1804 as "The Castle of Thundertontrenck." William Henry Hoyt (ed.), The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 2 volumes, 1914), I, 14.

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^{45 &}quot;N. C. Co." is undoubtedly the result of the subscription-taker's unfamiliarity with the names of North Carolina counties. One James Marshall lived in Anson County in 1790, according to the *First Census*, 1790 and a man by the same name, also from Anson County, subscribed for John Haywood's *Reports* in 1806. "N. C. Co." and "Anson Co." when spoken do sound very much alike, and this suggests that subscriptions to this book were taken orally by an agent who toured the State.

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⁴⁶ A county formed in 1777 in North Carolina's western territory which was ceded to the United States government in 1790. A part of Washington County was annexed to Wilkes County in 1792. Corbitt, Formation of North Carolina Counties, 216.

⁴⁷ "Mrs. Shirley" follows "Geraldus Shirley" in the list of subscribers.

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⁴⁸ The Right Worshipful Col. Simpson, Master of the First Lodge in North Carolina, in 1772 when this volume was published, cannot now be positively identified. His first name may have been William. One William Simpson was a member of the Lodge some years later. St. John's Lodge No. 1, A. F. & A. M., Wilmington, has none of its records for the period 1754-1788. Chas. B. Newcomb, Secretary, to William S. Powell, October 23, 1956.

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WILLIAM R. KING AND THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

By John M. Martin *

When the momentous First Session of the Thirty-First Congress met in December, 1849, William Rufus King had still not arrived in Washington. This veteran Alabama senator was still in Montgomery, where he had gone to be near the State legislature while it considered his re-election to the Senate and had remained to nurse a severe cold and wait for weather more favorable for travel.1 Knowing the serious problems then facing Congress, King had been reluctant to accept

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¹Born in Sampson County, North Carolina, April 7, 1786, King was the second son of William and Margaret DeVane King. After attending academies near his home, King entered the Preparatory School at the University of North Carolina in 1800 and the University of North Carolina in 1801. Although he made a commendable record at the University, King left that institution in 1804 without taking a degree and began the study of law under William Duffy of Fayetteville. In 1808 he was elected representative to the North Carolina House of Commons from Sampson County, an office held earlier by his father. He was re-elected in 1809 but resigned to become office held earlier by his father. He was re-elected in 1809, but resigned to become solicitor of the fifth circuit of the State superior court.

In 1810, when the incumbent chose not to seek re-election as congressman from the Wilmington District, King was elected to that office. He began his career at the national level at the age of twenty-five when President Madison called Congress into special session in late 1811. An ardent supporter of the War of 1812, King was twice re-elected by the people of his district; however, he resigned in 1816 to join William Pinkney as secretary on a special diplomatic mission in Europe. After his return to the United States about two years later, King moved to the rapidly developing Territory of Alabama. Settling in Dallas County, he was chosen as representative to the Alabama Constitutional Convention of 1819 and, shortly thereafter, as one of Alabama's first senators. Except for a brief period in the 1840's, when he resigned to become Minister to France, King continued to represent Alabama in the Senate until after his election to the Vice-Presidency in 1852. Albert James Pickett, History of Alabama, And Incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi, From the Earliest Period (Charleston [South Carolina]: Walker and James, 2 volumes, 1851), II, 410-417; University Student Records, 1795-1809, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Raleigh Register and North-Carolina State Gazette, August 24, 1809, August 30, 1810, May 7, 1813, August 18, 1815. Although the title to this newspaper was changed in 1811 and varies thereafter, for this reference it is cited as it appeared on the first date mentioned. In 1810, when the incumbent chose not to seek re-election as congressman from the on the first date mentioned.

King took the oath of office as Vice-President of the United States in Cuba, where king took the oath of office as Vice-President of the United States in Cuba, where he had gone to recover his health. A special act of Congress made his swearing-in possible. He later returned to his home in Dallas County, Alabama, and died there (without reaching Washington, D. C.) on April 18, 1853. His body, originally interred in a vault on his plantation, was later moved to the City Cemetery, Selma, Alabama. Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961: The Continental Congress, September 5, 1774, to October 21, 1788, and The Congress of the United States, From the First to the Eighty-Sixth Congress, March 4, 1789, to January 3, 1961, Inclusive (Washington: United States Government Printing Office 1961) 1 168

(Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1961), 1,168.

another term in the Senate. He wrote his friend James Buchanan, "I hesitated to permit my name to go before the Legislature; and certainly should have declined being a candidate, had any respectable portion of the Democratic Party been opposed to me. A seat in the Senate is, I assure you, far from being desireable to me; bringing with it as it does at this particular time especially, great responsibility, great labor, and no little anxiety." While he waited in Montgomery, King worried about what was taking place in Washington. He expressed special concern that southern Whigs were supporting Robert Charles Winthrop as Speaker of the House. "From the bottom of my heart do I curse them," said King, "for abandoning the South to embrace the interest of a party which they must know is laboring to deprive it of its constitutional rights. Winthrops election will give a death blow to settling the slavery question upon anything like a fair compromise." ³ After a final party at the Exchange, at which "wine passed pretty

freely," King left for Washington in mid-December.4

After he arrived in Washington a few days later, King found much cause for alarm. He wrote an Alabama friend that the slavery question was the "all absorbing subject" and was being agitated by "Fanatics and unprincipled aspirants for political power." Seeing the dangers involved, he sought to bring about such a compromise on the troublesome issue as would maintain the honor and the constitutional rights of the slaveholding States. The best hope for the South lay in unity. If the whole South stood together without division, wrote King, northern extremists would perhaps check their attacks and permit "the patriotic men of every section to meet upon grounds of compromise, and thus settle this agitating question." If this were not possible and attacks on southern rights continued, he stood ready to resist "at every hazard, and at every sacrafice." 5 Writing of the slavery question to Buchanan, he expressed fear that there would be no early settlement of the issue and that the probable action of Congress would "drive the South to desparation." The North, he said, was deceiving itself in supposing it could continue to violate southern rights with impunity. Northern aggressions had already broken party ties, and Whigs and Democrats were standing shoulder to shoulder to resist the

William R. King to A. Saltmarsh, December 12, 1849, copy in William R. King Collection, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, hereinafter cited as King Collection; Southern Advocate (Huntsville, Alabama), November 16, 1849, hereinafter cited as Southern Advocate.

3 King to James Buchanan, January 6, 1850, James Buchanan Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, hereinafter cited as Buchanan Collection.

4 King to Saltmarsh, December 12, 1849, copy in King Collection.

5 Thomas Butler Cooper to Mrs. Thomas Butler Cooper, December 11, 1849, Thomas Butler Cooper Collection, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

attack. "They must," he warned, "stop at once their course of aggressions or nothing but divine intervention can prevent a dissolution of the Union."6

On the floor of the Senate during January and February, King sought to calm emotions and to prevent sectional bickering. When William H. Seward presented an antislavery petition drawn up by his constituents in New York, King asked that it be tabled so that "miserable fanaticism" would not have the opportunity to agitate the slavery question.7 Later he moved that a similar petition from New Hampshire be tabled, explaining that no step should be taken during the prevailing excitement that would further stir emotions and perhaps do "incalculable mischief." Agitators of the slavery question, he declared, were drawing a "fearful responsibility on themselves" and would be accountable if excitement were further aroused.8 When a clash occurred between Jeremiah Clemens of Alabama and Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, over a resolution introduced by Clemens asking the President to furnish information about California, King intervened as a peacemaker. Explaining that he wished no vote taken that would array one section against another or that would give the impression that any section was actuated by sectional prejudice, he concluded, "I speak as a Senator who has been here many years, and as one always anxious to see the members of this body preserve that decorum and kindness toward each other which secures to the body the respect in which it is held throughout the country and the world."9

Late in January, when Henry Clay presented his famed compromise resolutions, King was one of the first to express his approval. In a speech that the Union called "calm, dignified, and statesmanlike," he deprecated the fact that so much emotionalism was being shown by some members of the Senate and called on the body to use the resolutions as a possible basis for settlement.10 Although he did not agree with Clay on all points, he conceded that the resolutions had been presented with good intent and deserved consideration. King objected to the immediate admission of California, partly because of its mixed population (Chinese, Mexicans, Sandwich Islanders, and the like) and

⁶King to George Washington Gayle, January 15, 1850, Files of the Alabama Governors, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

⁷King to Buchanan, January 13, 1850, Buchanan Collection.

⁸The Congressional Globe: Containing Sketches of the Debates and Proceedings, 1833-73 (Washington, D. C., John C. Rives [and Others], New Series, 46 volumes [in 111 books], 1833-1873), Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), XXII, Part I, 164. This reference will hereinafter be cited as The Congressional Globe.

⁹Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), The Congressional Globe, XXII, Part I, 242.

I, 342.

Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), The Congressional Globe, XXII, Part

partly because its constitution had been drawn up in an irregular manner. He preferred that States follow the procedure used when he and Clay entered the government service. Then, territorial governments had been set up and used while the populace was being trained in the exercise of government. Only after this period of training and after the territory had acquired a certain population had statehood been granted. King denied that the South was seeking to force slavery into the proposed territories. Rather, it was contending for a great principle lying at the very foundation of its constitutional rights, the security that slavery would not be prohibited. Said King: "We ask no act of Congress . . . to carry slavery anywhere. . . . I believe we have about as much constitutional power to prohibit slavery from going into the Territories of the United States as we have power to pass an act carrying slavery there. . . . There is the difference-not that it shall be admitted or established, but that it shall not be prohibited." King agreed with Clay that to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia would be a violation of good faith toward Virginia and Maryland as long as they maintained slavery, but that the slave trade should be abolished in the District of Columbia. "I have never seen the day," declared King, "when I was not willing to pass a law for the purpose of breaking up those miserable establishments that exist under the very eyes of Congress itself, and are so offensive to many gentlemen, who feel, perhaps, more sensitive on the subject than I do." As for Texas, King said that the United States would be showing bad grace if, after having conquered territory from Mexico, it refused to let Texas have the boundaries it asked. In spite of his objections to the Clay resolutions, King pledged himself to yield all he could with honor and without the sacrifice of essential rights. With the wisdom of long experience, he urged his fellow senators "to keep as far as possible within those temperate and calm limits which ought to be practicable to all." "... no good results," he warned, could come "from angry discussion upon any question."11

As heated debate on the subject of slavery continued during February, King lamented the fact that it was consuming so much time and creating such great excitement; however, he began to see prospects for settlement. In late February, he wrote a friend in Alabama that he had been "laboring to induce the North to open her eyes to the dangers by which we are surrounded" and was beginning to have faint hope that they would "cease their aggressions and agree to such adjustment as we of the South can with honor accept." If they

¹¹ Daily Union (Washington, D. C.), February 2, 1850.

did not make concessions, on them would rest responsibility for the consequences. ¹² King approved Daniel Webster's conciliatory "Seventh of March" speech, but felt that John C. Calhoun's impassioned speech given a few days earlier did mischief "by pushing things to an extreme." ¹³

At the request of James Buchanan, King in early March conducted a survey among his fellow southern congressmen to determine their thinking about the various issues then before Congress. His investigation showed that there was great diversity of opinion, that southerners had not come to any general understanding about any of the problems involved and would not likely reach such an understanding. Nevertheless, King was able to formulate certain conclusions based upon his many conversations. First, southerners preferred an extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific with an express understanding that slavery would be protected south of that line during the territorial stage; but, since acceptance of this plan appeared unlikely, they would be willing to accept some other arrangement such as the creation of a new State out of a portion of Texas. Southerners, he felt, wished to see the disputed land in Texas purchased for a liberal consideration and a territory created in New Mexico "saying nothing on the subject of Slavery." They hoped to see the extravagant boundaries of California curtailed and a territory created south of 36° 30' without mention of slavery; however, they would probably acquiesce in the admission of California with its existing boundaries. 14 In the light of later developments, King seems to have given an amazingly accurate estimate of southern feelings.

Later in March, when John P. Hale of New Hampshire charged that James Buchanan had once called the Democratic Party of the North "the natural ally of the South," King came to Buchanan's defense in a speech that was also a call to the northern Democracy for aid in the existing crisis. Actually, said King, Buchanan had merely said that northern Democrats were "in favor of protecting the rights of the South to their slave property under the Constitution" and that the South could look to them "for aid in defending and protecting their rights." King hoped that others in the North would still uphold this viewpoint. Later, when Hale reopened the question charging that Buchanan had said all Christendom was allied against the South

¹² Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), The Congressional Globe, XXII, Part I, 250.

Lind to Saltmarsh, February 27, 1850, copy in King Collection.
 King to Buchanan, March 11, 1850, Buchanan Collection.
 King to Buchanan, March 11, 1850, Buchanan Collection.

except for the northern Democracy, King again came to Buchanan's defense. Admitting that European reformers and northern abolitionists were allied against the South, he charged that their views were based on ignorance of the South. They did not know about the manner in which slaves were treated, the kindness shown toward them, or the utter impossibility of producing emancipation "without the destruction of one race or the other, and producing a state of things which no human being, with the common feelings of humanity, [could] ever wish to see brought about." Once northern Democrats had been willing to help preserve the rights of the South; but now, regrettably, they were changing their views in order to court the abolitionists. 16

In April King delivered a speech in opposition to the immediate admission of California which was characterized by both conciliation and firmness, a love of the South but a greater love of the Union. Despite the existence of her constitution, King said that California was not a State and could not be a State until Congress gave its consent, nor would northern senators be in such haste to admit California if her constitution provided guarantees for slavery. King wished the entire slavery question settled on a "reasonable basis" so as to restore "fraternal relations and harmony." He would yield anything consistent with his duty to his constituents and his country, but he would not be driven to a course which he believed would neither be beneficial to the country nor put an end to agitation. If outsiders attempted to interfere with southern rights, King warned, there would be no division among the people of the wronged section. They would stand shoulder to shoulder in resistance. They would concede much to maintain good will, but, driven to the extreme, would be "compelled to calculate the value of the union." Few men, he declared, had been more attached to the Union than he. In past years he had not taken part in wild schemes because he considered them visionary and dangerous. Now he trusted that there would be "patriotism, good sense, and fraternal feeling enough" for the Senate to act upon the slavery question in such a way as would "restore harmony and peace to the country." The United States was destined for greatness, said King, if peace could be preserved at home. "We have nothing at all to fear from abroad," he concluded, "It is our internal dissensions, our internal bickerings and strife, got up in some instances by unprincipled politicians, to advance their own selfish purposes, and carried forward through the medium of miserable fanatics, that are becoming stronger

¹⁶ Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), The Congressional Globe, XXII, Part I, 548.

and stronger every day, that is leading to results of which God only knows the end." He urged the Senate to work out solutions that would save "this glorious union from division and fulfil the destiny" which awaited it.1

King's April correspondence reflected a feeling of deep pessimism. He now expressed doubt that the rights of the South could be protected and the Union preserved. Had southerners presented a united front from the first, there would have been little difficulty in securing a satisfactory settlement, but such had not been the case. The "banefull spirit of party" had divided them, and the unfortunate division had encouraged northern agitators to "persevere in their course of aggression." So long as it was believed that there would be united action on the part of the South, northern meetings had been called at which abolitionists were denounced and congressional representatives called upon to respect the constitutional rights of the slaveholding States. Lack of union in the South, however, had given encouragement to the extremists in the North. 18 King blamed especially the abolitionist element, who in an effort to secure political elevation, fostered this spirit of fanaticism. Without the slavery question as an issue, they would sink into their original insignificance; hence, they ministered to the "contemptible and infamous" spirit of fanaticism in order to gain power. 19 The death of John C. Calhoun, he felt, constituted a severe loss to the cause of the South; for no man, said King, was "more devoted to its interests than he was." 20

King was a member of the select committee of thirteen chosen on April 19 to investigate the various questions before the Senate. His chief desire during the hearings was to seek an adjustment of the slavery question which would "save the honor of the South, and protect her essential rights." He stood ready to yield all that could properly be surrendered "to restore harmony to the land, and preserve . . . free institutions." 21 King did not agree with the entire committee report, which approved, in essence, the resolutions offered by Clay in January. He especially objected to the proposed admission of California with such extensive boundaries and with two members in

¹⁷ Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), The Congressional Globe, XXII, Part I, 608.

Part 1, 508.

18 Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), The Congressional Globe, XXII, Part I, 706-707.

19 King to Matthew P. Blue, April 11, 1850, Matthew P. Blue Collection, Alabama Department of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as Blue Collection.

20 King to Morgan Smith, April 23, 1850, quoted in Advertiser and State Gazette (Montgomery, Alabama), May 22, 1850, hereinafter cited as Advertiser and State Gazette.

21 King to Blue, April 11, 1850, Blue Collection.

Congress and without any restriction on her right to tax public lands. Nevertheless, he pledged his support for the proposed adjustment if it could be stripped of some of its more objectionable provisions.²²

As debate on the compromise proposals developed, King took the floor on several occasions. Speaking on the Texas boundary question in June, he said that Texas had a claim to the disputed territory which was "right, just, and proper." She had been received into the Union with the understanding that her boundaries would be guaranteed. Now that the disputed territory had been acquired from Mexico, the Texas claim should be allowed and compensation given her for any land taken away. Any claims of New Mexico to the territory were of minor consequence since it was not yet a State and was completely subject to the will of Congress. King denied a southern contention that purchase of the territory would convert slave soil into free soil. Such was not the case; for if Congress purchased the disputed land from Texas, it would be recognizing the Texas claim and the existence of Texas law which protected slavery. Any territorial legislature would be duty-bound to respect existing institutions; therefore, owners of any kind of property could safely go there during the territorial stage. Since planters would go only where climate and soil permitted slaves to be used profitably, he suspected that much of the territory acquired from Mexico would not attract planters with their slaves. If such were the case, the people of New Mexico, when they acquired statehood, could exclude slavery if they wished. In favoring the purchase of territory from Texas, King admitted that he differed from many of his southern colleagues in Congress and many of his constituents in Alabama, but said that he preferred to follow a course that was "right in itself." 23

King spoke out again when an amendment was offered to the New Mexico territorial bill implying that Congress might later refuse to admit a State if its constitution protected slavery. If the amendment passed, said King, southerners would be forced to believe that there was a determination on the part of the North to reject all prospective States unless their constitutions prohibited slavery within their limits. He warned supporters of this view that the "days of the Republic" were numbered if the time ever came when a State was rejected because its people chose to preserve slavery. In such a case, southerners would join together and resist as one man. They wished to have as-

23 King to Buchanan, May 8, 1850, Buchanan Collection.

²² King to Morgan Smith, April 23, 1850, quoted in the *Advertiser and State Gazette*, May 22, 1850.

surances that States would not be prevented from coming into the Union simply because they were not ready to give up slave property

in order to "gratify fanaticism." 24

In his private correspondence written during June, King complained that the slavery question was receiving so much attention and expressed fear that the vexing problems before Congress would not be solved until it was too late. Blaming the excitement on the rabid "fanaticism of the North" and "too much ultraism in the South," he feared that the moderate conservative men of the North and South would "be a lean minority, on any reasonable plan of settlement." And, if no settlement were reached at that session of Congress, he visualized that excitement would become greater and greater and the feelings of sectional hostility increased until "nothing short of divine interposition" could save the Union.25 If southerners had united in favor of the Missouri Compromise line at an earlier date, there would have been hope for settlement on that basis; but now he feared it was too late.26

King was elated when the Nashville Convention in July adopted a moderate set of resolutions including a demand for the extension of the Missouri Compromise line. 27 He called these resolutions "temperate and dignified" and such as became the body from which they emanated. On the other hand, he opposed the belligerent address of the convention because it expressed extreme views that would tend to "inflame the public mind" and induce southerners to believe that they had "no security from northern aggressors" except the bursting asunder of bonds of union. They would tend to stir up passions which would take control of southern thinking in place of "sound sense and patriotic devotion to country." 28

When President Zachary Taylor died on July 9 and Vice-President Millard Fillmore succeeded to the Presidency, King was chosen Presient pro tem of the Senate by the unanimous vote of both parties. His being selected at such a time was a real tribute to King's reputation for fairness, integrity, and ability as a presiding officer. In his eulogy of President Taylor, he asked all senators to "vow on the altar of our country to discard all bickering and strife, all sectional dissensions,

²⁴ Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), The Congressional Globe, XXII, Part

I, 867-868.

Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), The Congressional Globe, XXII, Appendix, Part II, 907-908.

King to Dr. Neal Smith, June 13, 1850, Gulf States Historical Magazine, I (July,

<sup>1902), 45.

**</sup>King to Buchanan, June 8, 1850, Buchanan Collection.

**King to Buchanan, June 11, 1850, Buchanan Collection.

and live and die as Americans should, in support of the Union." And in his acceptance speech, he promised to enforce Senate rules mildly, but firmly, and impartially in order to promote "harmony of the body and of sound legislation." 29 The Whig National Intelligencer probably expressed the general approval of the country when it said King was "a gentleman of ripe experience" in the duties he had assumed and that he was equally fitted "by his personal qualities of uprightness, courtesy, and dignity of manner." 30 As presiding officer, King sought by strict application of Senate rules to steer the body away from dangerous questions and to moderate angry debate. In doing so, he undoubtedly helped make sessions more orderly than they had previously been.31

In mid-July King came down from the chair to make his longest speech of the session. In this speech, he examined all the provisions of the Compromise Bill and explained why he could not support it unless certain modifications were added. As he viewed the bill, "not one solitary provision" was fully satisfactory to the South; nevertheless, there were certain portions of it which would be accepted by southerners if other portions were amended so as to justify them in accepting the whole bill collectively.32

King reasserted his view expressed earlier that the slave trade should be abolished in the District of Columbia. Slave pens operated by speculators shocked the feelings of southerners as well as northerners and should be abolished. He had confidence that the humanity and kind feelings of the southern people would cause them to support him in this view.

Although he conceded that the fugitive slave provision in the bill might be defective, King nevertheless gave his assent to it. Some southerners objected to the section requiring a slaveowner to apply to courts of his own State for a record of ownership of any escaped slave and to furnish a transcript of this record as evidence of ownership in the courts of the State to which the slave had fled. They maintained that such a procedure gave the slave jury trial and endangered the effectiveness of the law, but King defended the plan because "record evidence" would be respected more in the courts outside the South than would any other kind of evidence. Everything possible should be

 ²⁹ King to Saltmarsh, August 25, 1850, King Collection.
 ³⁰ Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), The Congressional Globe, XXII, Part

III, 1,365, 1,370.

**Daily National Intelligencer (Washington, D. C.), July 12, 1850, hereinafter cited as Daily National Intelligencer.

**Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), The Congressional Globe, XXII, Part II, 1,390, 1,433, 2,072.

done, he said, to prevent the execution of the law from shocking the sentiment of the country; the plan as it stood was well designed to

reduce friction growing out of its administration.

King declared that the claim of Texas to disputed territory in the Southwest was so strong that the United States could not deprive her of it without a breach of faith. Her rights had been rendered perfect by conquest. Hence, he favored doing substantial justice to Texas by giving her "reasonable compensation" for her claim. Although she preferred the land, she had shown a willingness to compromise in order to restore peace and harmony. Southerners need not fear that purchase of the territory would mean substitution of Mexican law forbidding slavery in place of Texas law guaranteeing slavery, for Texas law could only be abrogated through positive enactment which could take place only after New Mexico achieved statehood. In the meantime, slaveowners could carry their slaves into the territory if they wished.

King approved the section of the bill which provided for the organization of Utah and New Mexico as territories. It was framed, he said, so as to embody the principle of nonintervention contended for by the South for some years. It provided that the legislative power of the territories should extend to all rightful subjects of legislation, consistent with the Constitution and the act, but that no law could be passed establishing or prohibiting African slavery. Was not the South protected? "I hold that we are," declared King, "and that the Territorial Legislature has no power whatever to pass any law which destroys that description of property in that Territory. They are bound, on the other hand, to pass laws to protect property of every description." Planters need not fear that Mexican law would endanger their property, for the Supreme Court, if a test case ever arose, would rule that American laws over property were paramount over Mexican law. He would not be afraid to carry his own property into the area.

In the proposed admission of California as a State with its extensive boundaries, King found "an insuperable objection" to the Compromise Bill. He and his fellow southerners would have been willing to overlook the irregularities associated with the forming of the California constitution if the boundaries had been kept within "properly restricted limits," but such had not been the case. As then constituted, California would be an empire within itself with a seacoast of over a thousand miles. If it were split, there would be more likelihood that the United States would be able to retain the West, and southern congressmen would have better ground on which to stand. King proposed an

amendment, therefore, calling for the division of California along the parallel 35° 30', the land to the north to be included in California and the land to the south to be left for later settlement. Although the arrangement might result in two free States, he felt that the South would not object. If the area proved unfit for slavery and if those who favored creating a free State became dominant, they could make the second State free at the time they drew up a constitution. But, warned King, "Let [Congress] determine to withhold from the South all participation in that whole country-let them determine to do what is tantamount to the enactment of the Wilmot proviso, so far as that extensive country is concerned-let them determine on that, and God only knows how long the peace of the country is to be preserved." He would vote for the bill only if modifications were made, especially with regard to California. Steps had to be taken to do justice to all sections and quiet the public mind.33 Despite King's impassioned defense of his views, the amendment was voted down, as was the Com-

promise Bill at a later date.34

Later, when the Compromise Bill was broken down into several component parts, King voted for some portions of it and against others. He supported the purchase of territory from Texas for \$10,000,000, the admission of California, the New Mexico territorial bill, and the fugitive slave bill, but voted against the bill for the suppression of the slave trade in the District of Columbia.35 Although King did not speak about any of these issues in the Senate at the time, he later defended his views in a public letter. Despite his indignation because slavery had been kept out of all of California, King said he could see no violation of the Constitution in admitting California as a State since Congress had the undoubted right to admit States. He voted as he did on the Texas boundary question believing that he was "promoting the true interests of Texas and the whole South." No slave territory had been surrendered to free soil, and Texas had not been treated unfairly. Since New Mexico and Utah had been organized without any limitations on slavery, any slaveowners could carry their property there with perfect security. Finally, King explained why he had voted against abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia after he had committed himself to vote for such a measure. The law as finally passed, he pointed out, called for the emancipation of

⁸⁸ Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), The Congressional Globe, XXII, Part

Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), The Congressional Globe, XXII, Appendix, Part II, 1,395-1,397.

Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), The Congressional Globe, XXII, Appendix, Part II, 1,404.

all slaves brought in contrary to the law, and he could not bring himself to vote for the emancipation of any slave regardless of the circumstances. Although he realized that many southerners disagreed with him, he could not trim his sails to "every popular breeze" and

violate obligations he owed the common country.36

As a result of the adoption of compromise measures, Alabamians split into two groups: the Southern Rights group, or "disunionists," and the Unionists, or "submissionists." Although King's intentions had been honorable in voting as he did on the compromise bills, he was denounced by many from the Southern Rights group. In late August, he wrote Buchanan that he was in a fair way of being "denounced in Alabama as a submissionist; a craven surrenderer of southern rights" because of his vote on the Texas boundary bill. The disunionists, he said, would "exert every nerve to inflame the public mind, now so easily excited, against [him], and all others who [had] manifested a disposition to settle if practicable this fearfull question." At the same time, he predicted that all moderate men of the South would be broken politically if the North did not cease its aggressive conduct.³⁷ In a letter to a friend in Alabama, he expressed regret that he was being denounced by his "old Friends" but conceded that northern agitation of the slavery issue tended to jeopardize southern interests. Under the circumstances more "sound sense and patriotic devotion to country" were needed. Only if constitutional provisions were set at naught and southern States denied their essential rights should there be a dissolution of the Union. In that case, honor, interest, self-respect, and self-preservation would require separation; but, so far, nothing had been done that would bring about the "sacrifice of the honor of the South or the destruction of its essential rights." 38

Virulent attacks on King and his Senate colleague, Jeremiah Clemens, were made in "disunionist" newspapers and at meetings held over the State in protest against the compromise measures. Reporting the passage of the Texas territorial bill, the Montgomery Advertiser and State Gazette declared, "It will be seen that both our Senators voted for it-et tu Brute! We cannot, will not approve this buying of slave territory to make it free, merely because Millard Fillmore, the abolition President, has planted his foot upon it and drawn the sword in its defense. . . . Look at the vote, and sicken, as we, at its contemplation." 39

Thirty-First Congress, First Session (1850), The Congressional Globe, XXII, Part II, 1,540, 1,555, 1,573, 1,569, 1,674, 1,660.

King to A. B. Clitherall, June 16, 1851, quoted in Daily National Intelligencer,

July 15, 1851.

King to Buchanan, August 26, 1850, Buchanan Collection. King to Saltmarsh, August 25, 1850, King Collection.

The Dallas Gazette, in King's home county, castigated him for his views regarding the slave trade and his vote for the dismemberment of Texas and charged that there was "much complaint against Col. King, in every quarter, on the subject of his recent Congressional course." 40 Commenting on some of King's views, the Wetumpka State Guard declared, "If this is truly the position of Col. King, every county in the State should request him to resign his seat in Congress, for no man entertaining such views, though it may be Col. Wm. R. King, a large and extensive slaveowner, should speak for Sunny Alabama, upon the floor of Congress." The same newspaper later called him a submissionist who would support any platform of "cowardly submission to every and any act Congress might think proper to perpetrate." 41 Even the usually friendly Huntsville Democrat found it difficult to reconcile King's new loose construction views of the Constitution with his old strict construction views. There might as well be no constitution if it was to be interpreted as loosely as King proposed. 42 Meetings of Southern Rights groups were equally critical. One Montgomery meeting declared that the pockets of King and Clemens were "stuffed with Texas bonds." 43 Another Montgomery meeting passed a resolution saying that King had voted against the wishes of the group and perhaps of nineteen-twentieths of the people of Alabama, and that his views better reflected those of the people in New York and Massachusetts.44 Still another group, meeting at Line Creek, resolved that the views of King and Clemens failed to meet the approval of the group and that they should be advised "to come home unless they do better." 45 One correspondent of a State newspaper accused King of betraying the South into the hands of the abolitionists "for the sake of a few federal honors." 46

On the other hand, newspapers with Unionist leanings came to King's defense. One of his old antagonists, the Florence Gazette, when it found him under attack by the "bloodhounds of disunion," called his course wise and patriotic and promised him support against "disunion intriguers." 47 The Mobile Daily Advertiser said that none could ever suspect King of favoring disunion and expressed belief that he would

⁴⁰ Advertiser and State Gazette, August 21, 1850.
41 Dallas Gazette (Cahawba, Alabama), quoted in Mobile Daily Advertiser (Alabama), October 22, 1850, hereinafter cited as Mobile Daily Advertiser.
42 The State Guard (Wetumpka, Alabama), quoted in the Weekly Alabama Journal (Montgomery), November 2, 30, 1850, hereinafter cited as Weekly Alabama Journal.
42 Democrat (Huntsville, Alabama), November 28, 1850, hereinafter cited as Democrat.
43 Weekly Alabama Journal, October 3, 1850.
44 Mobile Daily Advertiser, October 30, 1850.
45 Weekly Alabama Journal, September 12, 1850.
46 Southern Advocate, December 4, 1850.

"repudiate the little knot of secessionists" who were trying to bring him under their influence.48 The Weekly Alabama Journal declared that King had done his duty in true fealty to his section and urged him to defend himself against his attackers.49 The Southern Advocate praised his stand for peace, compromise and union and his efforts that helped bring about the triumph of patriotism over "Fanaticism and Ultraism." 50

Throughout the fall of 1850, King sought to secure acceptance of the Compromise in Alabama and to calm emotions that had been aroused. Soon after his return to Alabama in October, he declined to attend meetings proposed in his honor at Selma and Tuscaloosa on the grounds that such gatherings would tend to array one group of people against other groups and further arouse passions already too much inflamed. In his letter to the Selma committee, he admitted that injustice had been done the South by Congress, especially by the admission of California with such extensive boundaries and with slavery excluded. But, said King, "no constitutional provision was violated by her admission"; and, as a mere act of unjust legislation, it could not, in his opinion, furnish justifiable grounds for the extreme measures openly advocated by some. As regarded the other compromise measures, he added, "I presume there is no one so ignorant of the constitution as to contend that, by any of them, that instrument has been violated either in letter or spirit." 51 In a similar vein, he wrote the Tuscaloosa committee that the honor of the South remained untarnished, the Constitution inviolate. Yet extremists, more afraid of what might happen than of what had happened, were demanding extreme measures. If such groups had been allowed to take control every time in the past when oppression had occurred, the Union would have been broken long ago. Fortunately, good sense had always prevailed in the past, and he hoped it would prevail in the existing crisis. If, however, a spirit of fanaticism in the North, combined with a lust for power, caused that section to pursue a course in the future that threatened the Constitution and southern property, all southern men should "hurl defiance at the fanatical crew, and unitedly determine to defend their rights at every hazard and every sacrifice." At the present, there was still hope that "intelligence and patriotism of the North" would succeed in arresting the mad career of "fanatics and unprincipled aspirants for power" and that harmony could be restored

⁴⁸ Florence Gazette (Alabama), November 9, 1850. ⁴⁹ Mobile Daily Advertiser, October 22, 1850. ⁵⁰ Weekly Alabama Journal, October 3, 1850. ⁵¹ Southern Advocate, August 16, 1850.

to the country.52 Both letters were widely publicized and received the plaudits of those who favored acceptance of the Compromise.53

In early November King declined to attend a meeting called by the Unionists in Montgomery for the purpose of arousing Union sentiment in the State. His refusal was in part based on his desire to prevent further turmoil and in part on his desire to rebuke the Unionists for seeking to organize a new party. In his letter declining the invitation, King expressed doubt that the Compromise would bring peace and quiet to the country. A sense of injury would continue to rankle in the minds of southerners and could be eradicated only by time and a willingness on the part of the North to respect southern rights. In what had been done, the most that could be expected of the South was acquiescence. Nevertheless, he could see no grounds for resorting to such revolutionary measures as were being advocated by those seeking to excite the public mind and convince the people that their only safety lay in the dissolution of the Union. "With such men," he declared, "I have no sympathy-I am no disunionist." On the other hand, King was unwilling to be called a submissionist. The people of Alabama knew "full well" that their rights, their interests and his were the same and would be slow to believe that he had allowed their constitutional rights to be violated.54

Privately, King sought to prevent the Democratic Party of Alabama from becoming identified with immediate secession. Although many party members were disturbed about the recent action of Congress, he wrote a friend, a majority were not ready to adopt extreme measures to secure redress. Most southerners were willing to submit to the Compromise and wait for further developments. Identification of the Democratic Party with any disunion movement would inevitably place Alabama in the hands of the Whigs; therefore, the party must dissociate itself from the extremists in order to stay in power. Leaders should take no rash action but should try to unite the South following the lead of Virginia and Georgia. Moreover, the North must be made to realize that the "cup of forebearance" was full and that any further aggression would "snap the cord which binds us together." In the meantime, Democrats should cease denouncing each other and avoid making immediate secession a part of their creed.55

In Washington during the short Second Session of the Thirty-First

⁸² King to Selma Committee, October 20, 1850, quoted in *Mobile Daily Advertiser*, October 30, 1850.
⁸³ King to Tuscaloosa Committee, October 23, 1850, quoted in *Democrat*, November 28,

<sup>1850.

&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Daily National Intelligencer, November 7, 1850.

⁵⁵ Mobile Daily Advertiser, November 19, 1850.

Congress, King, as President of the Senate, took little part in debate; but, working behind the scenes, he sought to encourage honest execution of the compromise measures and to maintain unity in the Democratic Party. 56 Writing from Washington in March, he took a more optimistic view toward conditions than he had taken earlier. He now believed that further agitation of the slavery question would not be countenanced "by any respectable portion of either House of Congress" and that all indications pointed to the likelihood that there was less danger of encroachments upon southern rights than at any time for the past twenty years. Despite the efforts of "fanatical wretches" to prevent its enforcement, he felt that the Fugitive Slave Law would be enforced. King hoped, therefore, that southern people would not "suffer themselves to be hurried into revolutionary measures" by demagogues and political aspirants unless unexpected aggression should occur. He could see none of the advantages of dissolution of the Union that secession orators and newspapers proclaimed. 57 Denouncing these "self styled States rights men," King charged that disunion had been their object from the beginning. They had capitalized upon unjust measures of the previous Congress which had excited the southern people and had furnished them an opportunity to carry on their disunion project in the guise of defending southern rights against northern aggressions. Because of the excitement of the moment, many worthy citizens had joined the movement with no clear view about its intentions; but, now that its disunion designs were known, the good and true would abandon the extremist leaders and deliver them to the condemnation of every patriot in the land.58 King further warned Alabama Democrats that divisions within the party would inevitably lead to Whig control and admonished the different factions to practice moderation and forbearance in order to secure "harmony and concert of action." 59

In the Alabama election of 1851 normal party lines were broken down, and a contest developed between the Unionists, a group which favored acceptance of the Compromise, and the Southern Rights group, which King had earlier called disunionists. Because of his caustic criticism of the Southern Rights group, he was accused of being a Unionist. King, however, spiked this rumor in June in a widely publicized letter to a constitutent. In this letter he declared his alle-

To Bolling Hall, November 19, 1850, Bolling Hall Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

To Mobile Daily Advertiser, May 4, 1851.

Democrat, April 17, 1851.

King to Frank K. Beck, March 3, 1851, copy in King Collection.

giance to the Democratic Party despite its alliance with the Southern Rights group and denied that he was an advocate of any third party, either State or national. "I have always considered the good old Democratic Party as the true Union party"; he declared, "and that nothing more is required to put down sectional divisions, and preserve peace and harmony, than to have the Government administered in strict conformity with Democratic principles." 60 The Advertiser and State Gazette rejoiced that King had given the Union movement a "sockdolager under the fifth rib" and that his influence was being used to help put down this "last grand move of federalism to attain power in Alabama." 61 The Huntsville Democrat expressed its pleasure that he had come out in favor of the Democrats rather than a "tame-Whig submissionist." 62 On the other hand the Unionist Alabama Journal accused King of "excessive and ill timed partyism" and charged that he favored "temporary party success above that of the cessation of the agitation of the slavery question." Only by establishing a third party, it declared, could southern rights be protected. ⁶³ Despite such criticisms, King maintained during the spring and summer of 1851 that the Compromise had placed southern rights on a better foundation than they had been for many years and that Congress would not disturb the existing situation.64 In November he took the lead in reorganizing the Democratic Party of Alabama. He joined with other party leaders in sending out an address to Alabama Democrats stating that the cause which recently threatened the unity of the party had now ceased to exist, that the people of the South had decided to acquiesce in the Compromise, and that all Democrats, regardless of their personal opinions, should "cease opposition to the popular decision." 65 Under the influence of this address, the Alabama Democratic Convention, meeting in January, 1852, endorsed the Compromise as a final settlement and King for either of the two offices to be filled by the 1852 Democratic National Convention. 66

That King's attitude toward the Unionist movement weakened it greatly is evidenced by later press comment after the Democratic Party had been reorganized. The Alabama Journal gave him large credit for breaking up the Unionist Party and for reorganization of the

[®] King to Philip Phillips, March 11, 1851, Philip Phillips Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
[®] King to Clitherall, June 16, 1851, quoted in *Daily National Intelligencer*, July 15,

^{**} Advertiser and State Gazette, July 16, 1851.

** Democrat, July 31, 1851.

** Weekly Alabama Journal, July 12, 1851.

** Mobile Daily Advertiser, June 4, 1851.

** Advertiser and State Gazette, November 25, 1851.

Union Democrats. "It is believed," said that newspaper, "that he is fully entitled to the chief credit of that operation, or at least has had that reputation." 67 The Advertiser and State Gazette agreed that King had done his best to keep the Democratic Party from being misled by the Whigs with the cry "Union! Union!";68 and the Tuscaloosa Observer commended him for helping to save the Democratic Party "from the Charybdis of Federalism and the Scylla of Disunion." 69

During this period, King made a substantial contribution toward maintenance of the well-being of the country and the South. In the Compromise debates, he served as a moderating influence between northern "fanatics" and southern "ultras." As presiding officer in the Senate, he sought to minimize emotional outbursts on the part of angry members. After the adoption of the Compromise, he took the lead in Alabama in securing acceptance of the settlement and made his influence felt throughout the country. Later, he helped to settle North-South differences within the Democratic Party and to reorganize the party in Alabama. Partly in recognition of these services and partly in recognition of his long service in the Democratic Party, he was chosen in 1852 as the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee and proclaimed throughout the United States as an ideal person to help see that the Compromise was enforced.

^{**} Mobile Daily Advertiser, January 24, 1852.

** Weekly Alabama Journal quoted in Advertiser and State Gazette, June 17, 1852.

** Advertiser and State Gazette, June 17, 1852.

**Tuscaloosa Observer (Alabama), quoted in Mobile Daily Advertiser, May 4, 1851.

THE MAN BEHIND "THE BIRTH OF A NATION"

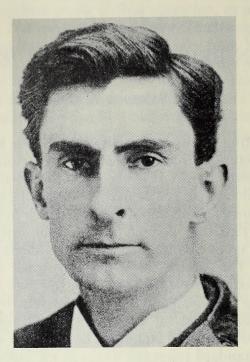
BY RAYMOND A. COOK *

"It is like writing history with lightning." These words by President Woodrow Wilson refer to one of the most remarkable creations in the history of Western culture. It is generally conceded that The Birth of a Nation will always be considered the film which gave the motion picture its stature as an art form, the film which brought to the world the realization that this medium, for good or evil, was perhaps the most powerful agency which had ever been devised for moving the minds of men. The external history of this great film and the fame it gave its director are well known. But the man who was in great part responsible for changing much of society by the tremendous impact of flashing stories on a screen is practically unknown. He is not discussed in studies of American culture; his name is not to be found in such standard reference works as the current Encyclopaedia Britannica, The Dictionary of American Biography, The Literary History of the United States, or the studies of Van Wyck Brooks. He is unheard of today among 99 per cent of our present population. Yet the man who made possible this revolution in motion picture art was one of the most colorful and amazing figures of his time. Lawyer, legislator, preacher, lecturer, playwright, actor, novelist, motion picture producer, real estate entrepreneur, and millionaire, he made the impact of his personality and work felt in many facets of American life. This man, Thomas Dixon, the son of a poor farmer, was born on January 11, 1864, near Shelby, North Carolina.2 Within a few months the Civil War was over and hundreds of ragged, hungry soldiers, streaming by the Dixon farmhouse on their way home to South Carolina and Georgia, ate most of the few provisions of the Dixon family. By hard work and an almost fanatical budgeting of resources, the family somehow managed to hold together during the poverty-stricken years of Reconstruction. Young Dixon became a full-fledged plow-

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¹ Milton Mackaye, "The Birth of a Nation," Scribner's Magazine, CII (November, 1937), 69, hereinafter cited as Mackaye, "The Birth of a Nation."

² Thomas Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 210, unpublished memoirs in the possession of Mrs. Thomas Dixon, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Dixon, "Southern Horizons."



Thomas Dixon

University of North Carolina Library Photographic Service

hand at ten years of age, and received hardly any schooling until he was thirteen. Even this early in life, however, he began to reveal the abilities and personality which were to make him remarkable as an adult. So closely did he apply himself to his studies in a local school that within a year and a half he had finished courses in mathematics and geometry; he had read in Latin Caesar's Gallic Wars, much of Ovid's Metamorphoses, and Cicero's Orations; and in Greek Xenophon's Anabasis.3

At fifteen years of age, with the aid of borrowed money, Dixon entered Wake Forest College where he won many prizes and the highest scholastic honors ever bestowed by that institution.4 The determination throughout his life to succeed was exemplified in the incredible regimen of study he set for himself. Allowing little time for sleep, and budgeting his schedule so as to have a full thirteen hours

³ Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 211, 212. ⁴ Winston-Salem Journal, April 4, 1946. See also Edwin Anderson Alderman and Joel Chandler Harris, Library of Southern Literature (Atlanta, Georgia: The Martin and Hoyt Company, 15 volumes, 1909), IV, 1,405.

outside of class for application to his books, he won prize after prize, and in four years earned both the B.A. and M.A. degrees and a scholarship to the Johns Hopkins University. While at Johns Hopkins, he became a close friend of his classmate, Woodrow Wilson; in later years each of these men helped the career of the other in ways that they could not have foreseen at the time.

As a student at Johns Hopkins, Dixon applied himself to the study of history and political theory, but, by the end of the first year, he found his interests turning to the stage. Despite the protestations of Wilson, Dixon gave up his studies and went to New York to pursue his career as an actor. Arriving in the city on January 11, 1884, his twentieth birthday, Dixon almost immediately gave his whole heart to the study of dramatics. But disappointment was not far away. Despite his sympathetic and imaginative readings of the scripts given him, his physical appearance was strongly in his disfavor. Though he was nearly six feet, four inches tall, he weighed less than 150 pounds.6 At this time he looked like a latter-day Ichabod Crane, and his physique gave little hint of the handsome and commanding figure he was to possess only a few years later. Bitterly disappointed, but with a determination to become a successful actor some day, he took the train home to Shelby, where his mother and father were then living.

The hope of becoming an actor now became secondary before the pressing realities of his home life in Shelby. Once more his interest turned to politics, and he decided to enter a law school at Greensboro, directed by Judge (Robert Paine) Dick of the Federal Court and Judge (John H.) Dillard of the State Bench. Dixon again made an excellent record as a student and received his law license in 1885.7

While Dixon was still a student at law school, his father urged him to run for the State legislature. Recalling his success as a student orator at Wake Forest College, Dixon entered upon a whirlwind campaign which seated him in the legislature before he was old enough to vote.8 Hardly had he been elected to the legislature when many members, greatly impressed by his brilliant oratory, urged him to run for Speaker of the House. Waging a strong campaign, Dixon was becoming a serious threat to his leading opponent when the latter

⁶ Winston-Salem Journal, April 4, 1946.

Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 248.
Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 271-273. See also Mildred Lewis Rutherford, The South in History and Literature (Atlanta, Georgia: The Franklin-Turner Company,

<sup>1907), 606-607.

&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The News and Observer (Raleigh), October 13, 1936, hereinafter cited as The News and Observer. This same source says that Dixon shared this distinction with Senator Clyde R. Hoey.

learned that Dixon was not yet twenty-one. Insisting that a person under age could not be seated even though he were elected, Dixon's opponent persuaded the members that Dixon should be forced to withdraw from the race.9 During his stay in the State legislature, young Dixon introduced and pressed the passage of several important bills, among them the first bill in the South to pension Confederate

veterans, an example soon followed by other States.10 Dixon soon became disillusioned at the corruption he saw in the political circles of the capital, and, when the legislative session of 1885 ended, he left Raleigh with no desire to return as a legislator. Casting about for a means of livelihood, he opened a law office in Shelby and soon attracted many clients by his electric courtroom presence. Though his law career was brief, it was distinguished by an originality rarely seen in the profession. After successfully acting as counsel for the defense in two famous North Carolina murder trials before he was twenty-two, Dixon gained the conviction of a man tried for arson. Dixon did not rejoice, however, in the conviction brought about by his forceful and eloquent prosecution. After thoroughly reviewing the case, Dixon publicly acknowledged his error and successfully petitioned the governor for the man's release.11

In spite of the excitement of the law courts, Dixon felt that his life was lacking in direction and meaning. His wife, Harriet Bussey Dixon, whom he had married in March, 1886, urged him to follow whatever course seemed right to him. In 1887 he became a minister and accepted a pastorate at Goldsboro. Six months later he was called to the Second Baptist Church in Raleigh,12 where his reputation as an eloquent speaker grew so rapidly that within six more months he was called to the Dudley Street Church in Boston, Massachusetts.13 During the next several years, Dixon's prominence as a minister became widespread throughout New England. He moved to New York and drew such large crowds that no building could be found large enough to accommodate them.14 The multimillionaire, John D. Rockefeller, be-

281-282.

⁹ Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 255-256.

⁶ Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 255-256.

¹⁰ Durham Morning Herald, April 4, 1946.

¹¹ Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 275.

¹² Later called the Tabernacle Baptist Church. From the family papers of Clara Dixon Richardson, Black Mountain. Dixon was invited to the Second Baptist Church in a letter signed by W. T. Womble, John E. Ray, and N. B. Broughton, postmarked Raleigh, North Carolina, April 11, 1887.

¹³ (James Terry White, George Derby, and Others [comps. and eds.]), The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, . . . (New York: James T. White and Company, 43 volumes, indexes, and conspectus, 1893-19—[continuing]; Current Volumes A-I [cumulative index for current series], 1927-19—[continuing]), II, 189.

¹⁴ Wilmington Morning Star, April 4, 1946. See also Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 281-282.

came so enthusiastic over the sermons that he offered to share half the expenses in building a million-dollar temple in downtown Manhattan. 15 Dissension weakened the ranks of Dixon's congregation, however, and the dream of a great religious edifice did not materialize.

During the early part of Dixon's ministry, Wake Forest College had invited him to make the commencement address. He was only twentyfour years of age at the time, and, only four years before, he had left his Alma Mater with a philosophy close to agnosticism. During his visit at Wake Forest, the probability of an honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity for Dixon was discussed. Dixon dismissed this probability, but he said that he should like to nominate another young man for an honorary degree who was more deserving than he. For the next several hours Dixon praised his nominee, and a few months later the degree of Doctor of Laws was bestowed upon his Johns Hopkins' classmate, Woodrow Wilson. The occasion received wide publicity in the press and played an important part in establishing Wilson's career as a statesman.16

In January, 1899, Dixon resigned from the formal ministry, though he continued to be named by the title "Reverend" for much of his life. He said that denominationalism narrowed the attitudes and tolerance of its members. Hoping to reach a wider audience than he had as pastor of several large churches in New York, he turned to the lecture platform and subsequently became one of the most popular platform lecturers in the country. His impassioned, forthright oratory left its effect wherever he appeared, frequently embroiling him in disputes with various public forces such as Tammany Hall and Robert

Ingersoll, the famous agnostic.17

The desire to reach a still larger audience than he could by lecturing prompted Dixon finally to turn, at the age of thirty-eight, to writing novels. It was through this medium that he achieved his greatest fame. Pushing himself nearly sixteen hours a day at his thirty-seven room mansion at Cape Charles, Virginia, at railway stations, and on trains, Dixon in sixty days completed The Leopard's Spots (1902),18 a story of the trying conditions in the South immediately following the Civil War. He submitted the manuscript to Walter Hines Page, a friend of Dixon's legal days and then a member of Doubleday, Page and Company, Publishers. The book was an immediate success. Seldom

¹⁵ Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 300.

¹⁶ Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 289.

¹⁷ See Thomas Dixon, Dixon on Ingersoll: Ten Discourses Delivered in Association Hall (New York: J. B. Alden, 1892), passim.

¹⁸ Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 376, and passim.

has a first novel been so violently criticized, praised, and widely read. Within a short time several hundred thousand copies were sold; so great was the sensation produced by the book that numerous editons were printed in the European tongues, and the author's fame became international.

The Leopard's Spots had hardly been completed when Dixon set himself to work again. For his second novel on the Reconstruction period, Dixon sifted more than 5,000 pamphlets and books for source material during a year of obsessive, unrelenting labor. At last, when he felt ready to write, he worked feverishly until, at the end of thirty days, the manuscript was ready for the publisher. The storm which broke over the appearance of The Clansman was even greater than that resulting from The Leopard's Spots. On every side he was either eulogized as the author of the greatest novel on the Reconstruction era or condemned as a bigoted racist, twisting the facts of history to suit his prejudices.19 In the welter of praise and criticism Dixon saw himself becoming wealthy, and Doubleday, Page and Company was established as one of the major publishers of the country. The next few years saw the publication of many Dixon novels treating nearly every important social issue of his day. Dixon's last novel, The Flaming Sword, published in 1939, is an intense and almost prophetic book pointing up the imminent dangers of Communism.

Dixon turned several of his novels into plays which were highly successful. The one which created the greatest interest and controversy was The Clansman, closely modeled upon the novel. As it toured the country, the play was in such demand that several casts had to meet bookings simultaneously. The effect upon playgoers in the South was volcanic. At many performances men fought madly for choice seats and the play was variously described by critics as a "runaway car loaded with dynamite," ²⁰ "disgusting beyond expression," ²¹ and "the greatest theatrical triumph in the history of the South." ²² One critic went to the extent of claiming that such a phenomenal success had never before been seen in the history of the theater.²³ But this man, constantly bedeviled by the incubus of change, soon became restive in

¹⁰ For some typical reviews, see Francis W. Halsey, "Some Books to Read This Summer," The American Monthly Review of Reviews, XXV (June, 1902), 700-707; Mansfield Allen, "Thomas Dixon's 'The Leopard's Spots,' "Bookman, XV (July, 1902), 472; Edwin L. Shuman, "In the Realm of Books," Chicago Record-Herald, March 15, 1902

²² Virginian-Pilot (Norfolk, Virginia), September 23, 1905.
²¹ Montgomery Daily Advertiser (Alabama), November 5, 1905.
²² Times-Democrat (New Orleans, Louisiana), December 15, 1905, hereinafter cited as Times-Democrat.
²⁸ Times-Democrat, December 17, 1905.

his new success. He acted for a time the lead role in The Clansman and was acclaimed a compelling actor of such great promise that it seemed his success might even overshadow his popularity as novelist and playwright. Nevertheless, after one season, he said the profession of actor was too restrictive upon his time and talents and turned his energies elsewhere.

In September, 1911, Dixon tried to form a corporation to produce in color a motion picture version of The Clansman.24 The attempt failed, however, and he was to experience much disappointment in finding a producer. No one wanted anything to do with his "historical beeswax,"25 as it was called, for light farce and low comedy then typified the taste of the public for the products of the infant motion

picture industry.

Realizing that he would never succeed in getting the well-established companies to accept his story, Dixon tried among the lesser-known agencies. Finally, in 1913, he was introduced to Harry E. Aitken, who had just formed a small company which had not yet made a motion picture. The newly-hired director, a young man named David Wark Griffith, was to prove himself a genius in motion picture artistry. Dixon asked \$10,000 for the rights to his scenario, but the little company could offer him nothing near that figure. In the end, Dixon reluctantly agreed to accept a twenty-five per cent interest in the picture.26

In the weeks that followed, Dixon worked closely with Griffith in a dirty loft in Union Square which housed the meager facilities of The Epoch Producing Corporation, the name of the newly-formed company. At last, when the scenario was ready for production, Dixon filled Griffith's trunk with books and papers to be used in supplying background material for the historical features of the story. Wishing the group success in their undertaking, Dixon saw the little group off on their journey to Hollywood where the picture was to be filmed.

The history of the troubles accompanying the production of the film is well known. Three times Griffith had to suspend production because of lack of funds, and each time the members of the production, including actors, barbers, stagehands, and chambermaids donated their salaries and savings so that the work could be resumed. The Gish

²⁴From the family papers of Thomas Dixon. The organization was to be known as the Kinemacolor-Clansman Corporation. Ten thousand feet of film were to be exposed at fifty cents a foot. The capital stock of the corporation was set at \$10,000, to be equally divided among the stockholders. The contract was signed September 26, 1911, by Charles E. Ford and George H. Brennan, the presidents respectively of the Kinemacolor Company and the Southern Amusement Company, out of which the new

company was formed.

25 Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 421.

26 Mackaye, "The Birth of a Nation," 42.



Lillian Gish and a bit player in a scene from The Birth of a Nation.

Used with permission of the Film Library, The Museum of Modern Art, New York

sisters, Lillian and Dorothy, offered Griffith their total savings of three hundred dollars. So poor was the company that at no time did any actor make more than seventy-five dollars a week.27

The actual filming occupied nine weeks between July and October, 1914.28 Heretofore Griffith had looked upon motion picture production as superficial and referred to the one and two-reel comedies as "grinding out another sausage." 29 In the present case he sensed the great potentiality of the scenario and gave it complete and serious attention. Constantly trying new procedures, frequently against the advice of more experienced directors, Griffith achieved startling results. He introduced principles of scene-shooting that were to revolutionize the industry. His camera became a living, human eye, peering

The Charlotte Observer, October 2, 1938.

Roger Marvell (ed.), Experiment in the Film (London: The Grey Walls Press Ltd., 1949), 31.

G. W. (Billy) Bitzer, quoted in Iris Barry, D. W. Griffith, American Film Master (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1940), 21, hereinafter cited as Barry, D. W. Griffith.

into the faces of grief and joy, ranging over great vistas of time and space, and resolving the whole into a meaningful flux, which created a sense of dramatic unity and rhythm to the story. Such technological devices as "montage," the "close-up," the "fade-out," the "cutback," the "iris dissolve," and the climactic action sequence are now accepted so readily that it is hard to imagine a period in motion picture history when they did not exist; all of these procedures Griffith either introduced or brought to a level of high excellence in this picture.

When the film was finished, after many sections had been discarded, it was still twelve reels long, an unheard-of-length for that time.³⁰ The rumors which had spread concerning the expense of producing the film prompted critics to say that it was a foolish and audacious waste.

A musical score for the film was composed by Joseph Carl Briel, who made adaptations from Negro folk songs, passages in Rienzi, Die Walküre, and Norma. By February, 1915, Griffith decided that The Clansman was at last completed. It was given a preliminary private showing at Clune's Auditorium in Los Angeles on February 8.31 After making a few minor adjustments in the film, Griffith hurried with it to New York in order to show it to the censors and the group who were to promote the picture.

A few mornings later the persons scheduled to view the film fought through a near blizzard toward a high, barnlike structure at Broadway and Fifty-third Streets. Their tempers became progressively ruffled as the cutting wind and snow made their journey more and more difficult. One of the group, Theodore Mitchell, was particularly out of sorts. He, at the time, was one of the most highly successful men in the American theater. His interest in drama as high art, plus the snowstorm, made him disgruntled that, of all things, he had promised to watch a private showing of a "movie," something he regarded as a childish peep show.32

The damp, cold, and cheerless semidarkness of the large auditorium did not contribute to the enthusiasm of the group. As the time drew near for starting the film, the seventy-five people scattered among the seats impatiently kept looking back toward the projectionist to see when he would start. Among the guests were Aitken, the producer, and Thomas Dixon. At the end of the large room, Briel, the composer of

^{**}Barry, D. W. Griffith, 21.

**I Lewis Jacobs, The Rise and Fall of the American Film: A Critical History (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939), 184, hereinafter cited as Jacobs, The Rise and Fall of the American Film.

**Mackaye, "The Birth of a Nation," 40, says that the date was "early January"; Jacobs, The Rise and Fall of the American Film, 174, says February 20. Both of these dates are obviously wrong. See notes 37 and 43, below.

the musical score, was visibly irritated as he rehearsed with the orchestra.

Finally it was time to start. Dixon, not having seen any of the film and expecting the worst, crept upstairs to watch the picture away from the eyes of the other viewers. If the presentation proved to be a failure, Dixon did not want to be seen when it was over. After settling into his seat in the bone-chilling dampness, Dixon reacted to that preview showing in a way he had never expected:

The last light dimmed, a weird cry came from the abyss below—the first note of the orchestra, a low cry of the anguished South being put to torture. It set my nerves tingling with its call. And then a faint bugle note of the Southern bivouac of the dead. In it no starting challenge to action. No trumpet signal to conflict. It came from the shrouded figures of the great shadow world.

And then I saw my story enacted before my eyes in scenes of beauty and reality. And always the throb through the darkness of that orchestra

raising the emotional power to undreamed heights.

It was uncanny. When the last scene had faded, I wondered vaguely if the emotions that had strangled me were purely personal. I hesitated to go down to the little group in the lobby and hear their comments. I descended slowly, cautiously, only to be greeted by the loudest uproar I had ever hear from seventy-five people.³³

Dixon immediately caught the infectious enthusiasm of the group; he shouted to Griffith across the building that *The Clansman* was too tame a title for such a powerful story; it must be called *The Birth of a Nation*.

Hardly had the private showing of the film ended when news of its explosive character somehow found its way into the press. Opposition came from several unexpected quarters. The most powerful forces against showing *The Birth of a Nation* were headed by Oswald Garrison Villard, Editor of the New York *Evening Post*, and Morefield Story, President of the American Bar Association, who were apprehensive of the racial theme of the picture. The Epoch Producing Corporation, which produced the film, as an independent agent had no recourse to the powerful support of the large film companies. Within a few days of its preview showing, the success of the picture seemed doomed. Opposing factions threatened to suppress it completely. Then Dixon, determined to carry the picture to the nation, made a move remarkable even for a man of his energetic personality, a move which

³³ Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 423. ³⁴ Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 423.

for its outright boldness and originality has scarcely been paralleled in the history of motion pictures or American letters. If the President of the United States should give his approval to *The Birth of a Nation*, would not the opposition be silenced? The members of the company had little hope of success in the matter, but they had seen Dixon at work before, and they agreed that at least he should try to persuade the President to see the film. Dixon thought that should he be able to reach the President before the politicians heard of his move, he might be able to persuade Wilson to help him. He wrote to Wilson requesting a thirty-minute interview; the President replied immediately and arranged a time. After Dixon had been received at President Wilson's desk in the White House, they reminisced a few moments about their college days at Johns Hopkins University. Dixon then broached his subject for the first time. In relating the event, Dixon recalled:

I had a favor to ask of him, not as the Chief Magistrate of the Republic but as a former scholar and student of history and sociology. From the movement of his expressive eyebrows I saw that any anxiety that I might be an office seeker had been dissipated.

As rapidly as possible I told him that I had a great motion picture which he should see, not because it was the greatest ever produced or because his classmate had written the story . . . , but because this picture made clear for the first time that a new universal language had been invented. That in fact it was a new process of reasoning by which the will could be overwhelmed with conviction.³⁵

Wilson immediately showed interest in the film, but he said that he could not go to the theater at that time. The recent death of Mrs. Wilson held the White House in mourning. After a thoughtful moment, he added that if the projection equipment could be brought to the East Room of the White House, he and his Cabinet could view the film there.

In closing the interview, President Wilson recalled the day that Dixon had successfully nominated him for an honorary degree at Wake Forest College:

"I want you to know, Tom, that I am pleased to be able to do this little thing for you, because a long time ago you took a day out of your busy life to do something for me. It came at a crisis in my career, and greatly helped me. I've always cherished the memory of it." ³⁶

³⁵ Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 425.
³⁶ Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 426. The "something" refers to Dixon's nomination of Wilson at Wake Forest College for his first honorary degree.

On February 18, 1915, the motion picture was shown in the White House to Wilson, his daughter Margaret, and the members of the President's Cabinet and their families.37 When the two-and-a-half hours of the story had ended, President Wilson gave to the film one of its highest tributes: "It is like writing history with lightning. And my only regret is that it is all so terribly true." 38

If the film could be shown to the President of the United States and his Cabinet, could it not also be shown to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court? Nothing now seemed too audacious to Dixon. As his enthusiasm mounted, he could visualize the film's being presented before the Supreme Court, and then later perhaps before both Houses of Congress. He eagerly broached his thoughts to Griffith, who endorsed them heartily.

Early the next morning, on February 19, Dixon hurried to the office of a friend of early North Carolina days, Josephus Daniels, then Secretary of the Navy. Since Dixon did not know Chief Justice White personally and since Dixon had heard of the difficulty of obtaining a conference with White, he thought Daniels might be persuaded to arrange an introduction to the Chief Justice. When Dixon had stated the reason for his visit, Daniels urged him to drop the matter immediately, for he thought White would never consent to see Dixon. When Dixon further persisted and asked about the personality of the man he wanted to see, Daniels replied:

"Well, he's a wonderful old fellow, but he's a bear. He never goes out of his library. He may see you a moment if I ask him, but if you don't get out pretty quick, he [will] push you out and slam the door. Do you want to risk it?" 39

Dixon answered that he did, and soon Daniels had arranged the appointment by telephone. Within a few minutes Dixon was at Chief Justice White's door. Mrs. White met him and directed him to the library. When he entered, he saw a grizzled head buried among papers. For some time White did not look up. Finally when he did so, he flashed a half-angry look at Dixon "Well, well, Sir,'" he growled, "'What can I do for you? Mr. Daniels telephoned me that you were

³⁷ For the occasion, Dixon had a program printed on expensive parchment. The program read as follows: By courtesy of the President—D. W. Griffith Presents—to the—Chief Magistrate and his Cabinet—in a special private view—His Epic Production—The Birth of a Nation—founded on—Thomas Dixon's Historical Novel—The Clansman. The program indicated that the showing would be held in the East Room of the White House and the date on the program was "February Eighteenth, Nineteen Fiften"

³⁸ Mackaye, "The Birth of a Nation," 69. ³⁹ Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 431-432.

coming over." Dixon realized that he must state his business at once, so he said that he wanted the Supreme Court to view a picture. At this point White interrupted him:

"Picture! The Supreme Court of the United States see a picture! Of all the suggestions I have ever heard in my life that is the limit! What sort of picture?" 40

When Dixon answered that it was a moving picture, White said with a tone of finality:

"Moving Picture! It's absurd, Sir. I never saw one in my life and I haven't the slightest curiosity to see one. I'm very busy. I'll have to ask you to excuse me." 41

Realizing that the interview was ending unsuccessfully, Dixon, in turning to leave, said in a "Parthian shot" that the motion picture told the true story of Reconstruction and the redemption of the South by the Ku Klux Klan. At these words, Chief Justice White made an unexpected move. He slowly took off his glasses, pushed his work aside, leaned forward in his chair and said, "I was a member of the Klan, Sir." 42 After a few more words, he then immediately agreed to see the motion picture.

D. W. Griffith, by now showing complete trust in Dixon's persuasive abilities, had followed Dixon's suggestion to engage the ballroom of the Raleigh Hotel, even while Dixon was still at White's home. Griffith further had programs printed, leaving only a blank space in which to insert the name of Chief Justice White as guest of honor presiding over the occasion, as soon as Dixon should return with White's consent.

That evening, the members of the Supreme Court of the United States, with the Senate and the House of Representatives as their guests, witnessed another showing of The Birth of a Nation.43 While the film was being shown, Dixon envisioned the incalculable influence, for good or for evil, of the motion picture of the future:

⁴⁰ Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 433. ⁴¹ Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 433. ⁴² Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 434.

⁴³ The handsomely printed program read as follows: Auspices of—National Press Club—of Washington—The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court—of the United States—Guest of Honor—D. W. Griffith—Presents—The Birth of a Nation—Founded on—Thomas Dixon's Historical Novel—The Clansman—February Nineteenth, Nineteen Fifteen.



A scene from The Birth of a Nation.

Reproduced from Classics of the Silent Screen, with permission of the publisher, The Citadel Press, New York

I watched the effects of the picture on the crowd of cultured spectators and realized for the first time the important fact that we had not only discovered a new universal language of man, but that an appeal to the human will through this tongue would be equally resistless to an audience of chauffeurs or a gathering of a thousand college professors.⁴⁴

Dixon had promised President Wilson and Chief Justice White that he would not give the showings any publicity, but his plan to have them view *The Birth of a Nation* in a private showing was a brilliant move. When the film was scheduled to be shown in its first public appearance in New York, Dixon learned that his "sectional enemies," 45 as he referred to them, were planning to close the theater on opening night. At a preliminary court session less than forty-eight hours before the film was to be shown, the opposition had objected so strenuously

[&]quot;Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 436.
"Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 438.

that the sheriff had received a warrant to close the theater; at this point a defense attorney mentioned that the film had recently been shown at the White House. The opposition was incredulous, and a long distance call was placed to the White House. President Wilson's daughter Margaret answered the phone and affirmed that The Birth of a Nation had indeed been shown there a short time before. She added that the film had been seen the following night by the Supreme Court and Congress. The Chief Magistrate of the city of New York therefore immediately withdrew the warrant for the suppression of the film.46

The Birth of a Nation opened at the Liberty Theatre in New York, March 3, 1915, eight years after the play, *The Ćlansman*, was presented on the same stage. ⁴⁷ The public response was overwhelming. During the intermission, Dixon made a brief speech in which he said that the performance they were seeing would revolutionize the history of the theater and that the "Wizard of Light" would be remembered as its prophet; whereupon he called D. W. Griffith from the wings and introduced him to the audience.

The Birth of a Nation became the sensation of the hour. Along with unstinted praise for the power of the story and the superb artistry of the photographic effects came condemnation of the prejudicial treatment of the Negro. In objecting to the racial theme of the film, a critic heaped abuse upon Dixon:

He is yellow because he recklessly distorts negro crimes, gives them a disproportionate place in life, and colors them dishonestly to inflame the ignorant and the credulous. And he is especially yellow and quite disgustingly and contemptibly yellow, because his perversions are cunningly calculated to flatter the white man and provoke hatred and contempt for the

It [The Birth of a Nation] degrades the censors that passed it and the white race that endures it.48

During the last week in March, the city was at fever pitch over the film. The Board of Censors, after much dissension, finally voted, after the city administration had said that it had no authority to close the box office, to permit the continued showing of the picture. Rabbi Stephen Wise, a member of the censorship board, voiced a bitter denunciation of the production, saying in part:

⁴⁰ Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 438-440.
47 The New York Times, March 4, 1915.
48 Frances Hackett, "Brotherly Love," The New Republic, II (March 20, 1915), 185.

If it is true that the Mayor has no power to stop this indescribably foul and loathsome libel on a race of human beings, then it is true that Government has broken down. The Board of Censors which allowed this exhibition to go on is stupid or worse. I regret I am a member.⁴⁹

On the second night following Wise's statement in the press, the Liberty Theatre was the scene of a near riot. At a particularly exciting part of the story, when young Flora Cameron was leaping over a cliff to escape Gus, the Negro servant, a group of persons in the front rows began throwing eggs at the screen. As policemen rushed in to quell the fighting which the disturbance had caused, one of the more vocal demonstrators was heard shouting "rotten, rotten" as he was being rushed up the aisle. Whether the vociferous dissenter was referring to *The Birth of a Nation* or to the eggs is not recorded, but the reporter, who found himself in the midst of the pandemonium, had other matters of interest for his newspaper. As egg yolks oozed down the face of the screen and spectators took short cuts over the backs of seats, it became apparent that the sacred injunction of the theater that "the show must go on" would be violated on this night.

Hard upon the release of the picture had come trouble with the censorship boards and determined opposition from several quarters. Morefield Story led a vigorous fight to suppress the picture in Massachusetts. The mayor of Boston was appealed to, but he ruled that he knew of no legal grounds upon which the picture could be suppressed. Consequently, he ordered the Boston police force to give adequate protection for the crowds. A rally of several thousand persons was called to protest the showing of the film, but it opened on schedule to a great crowd who jammed the seats and lobby of the Tremont Theatre. As in New York, the picture was an immediate sensation,

many patrons coming again and again to see it.51

In the meantime, tension over the film ran high. A crowd of 25,000 persons demonstrated on the grounds of the State capitol, demanding that Governor David Walsh take steps to ban the picture. Impressed by the seriousness of the situation, the Governor hurriedly laid the matter before the legislature of Massachusetts, pressing for a special act to suppress the film. A bill was submitted and rushed through the house, only to be found unconstitutional by the judiciary committee. As a result, it appeared for a time that the film would have no further opposition. But this calm was short-lived. A

⁴⁹ The New York Times, March 31, 1915. ⁵⁰ The New York Times, April 2, 1915. ⁵¹ Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 443.

few nights later, a crowd of 10,000 persons gathered on Boston Common opposite the theater, and as feelings mounted higher, a pitched battle with the police broke out which lasted twenty-four hours.⁵²

The publicity arising from the Boston incident boosted the notoriety of the film enormously. The subject of the rioting was soon on the lips of the whole nation, and everyone wanted to see the motion picture which was causing so much commotion. Controversy raged wherever the film appeared, and cries of bigotry and intolerance followed Dixon and Griffith everywhere. Charles W. Elliott, President of Harvard University, accused the film of perverting white ideals. Jane Addams, philanthropist and founder of Hull House in Chicago, was greatly disturbed about the picture and wrote vigorously against it. Booker T. Washington denounced the film in the newspapers. To charges that he falsified history, Dixon offered a reward of \$1,000 to anyone who could prove one historical inaccuracy in the story.⁵³

Everywhere through the West the picture met opposition, but in the weeks that followed the New York and Boston showings, no theater was closed to the film. The picture, at first refused in Chicago on May 1, 1915, was soon accepted under a permanent injunction which restrained police interference provided children under eighteen years of age were not admitted. In nearly every large city in the North and West, the film had difficulties passing the boards of censorship but was ultimately passed by all. An official of the city of St. Louis said that it required the combined actions of the recreation division, the police department, and the prosecuting attorney's office to prevent the showing of the film. Even this opposition finally was successfully met. Between February and June the producers of The Birth of a Nation spent more than a \$100,000 in legal fees to meet the opposition of the critics in Los Angeles, New York, Boston, and Chicago alone.54 Still the film prospered greatly, bringing in thousands of dollars each day.

In general, the public who attended the film reacted favorably. In spite of the explosive theme, the artistry of the film captivated audiences everywhere. In Los Angeles, a ballot was distributed to the patrons to get their reaction to the picture. At one showing, more than twenty-five hundred favorable comments were returned as contrasted with only twenty-three objections. As to the technical and artistic achievements of the film, critics were of one accord. Vachel

EDixon, "Southern Horizons," 444-445.
Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 443.
Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 447.

Lindsay, the poet, praised some of the scenes in enthusiastic terms, describing them as "'tossing wildly and rhythmically like the sea.'" 55 From all sides the picture was acclaimed as the genesis of a new art form, more pervasive and powerful in its influence than anyone had ever dreamed a medium of communication could be. Though much has been learned about motion picture artistry since The Birth of a Nation, the harshness of the lighting and the great skill of Griffith gave an authenticity to the film that can scarcely be equaled by the most

modern techniques.

When the producers of the film finally had time to collect their thoughts in the welter of controversy and acclaim that surged about them, they realized that they owned the most valuable piece of dramatic property in the history of mankind. Dixon had suggested that J. J. McCarthy, later Vice-President of Fox Films, assume the responsibilities of promoting the film. McCarthy, who had been the agent for Dixon's play, The Clansman, had urged Theodore Mitchell to take care of the publicity. Mitchell, who had gone so reluctantly to that first showing in New York, became a dynamo of energy and enthusiasm in his work as he showed the film to millions of Americans as well as to royalty and commoner in Europe. 56 Under McCarthy's able management, twelve companies were kept employed full-time to fill the bookings.⁵⁷ These companies did not include other agencies which were organized to show the film in the New England States, Canada, and sixteen western States.

The superb artistry and force of The Birth of a Nation in relating the effects of the Civil War awakened the world to the social import of the motion picture. Here was a powerful agency controlled by a comparatively few men. These men could change the whole course of national culture by flashing pictures on a screen. Whether society admitted it or not, as Dixon said after World War I, the true capital of the world was not in the buildings of the League of Nations at Geneva, but in Hollywood, California, whose pervasive and incalculable power reaches people everywhere. The realization caused Dixon later to write:

⁵⁵ Quoted in "'The Birth of a Nation' is Filmed by Griffith," Life, VIII (January 15,

^{1940), 40.}So Mackaye, "The Birth of a Nation," 46.

The solution of the film was revised at Chicago, Harold Ickes was a prosecuting attorney for the city in trying to prevent the showing of the film. After excoriating the film all day in the courtroom, he is said to have remarked behind his hand to Harry Aitken: "Best picture I ever saw in my life." Quoted in Mackaye, "The Birth of a Nation," 69.

There has been nothing like this before in human history. The men who write and produce the pictures which these millions of boys and girls, men and women, see each week are making our life. The importance of this fact cannot be overestimated.

Here is a force in daily motion that may change the development of the race.58

Convinced that The Birth of a Nation had created something new in the world and that "the producers of motion pictures are wielding a greater power than any monarch who rules the world, or ever ruled it," 59 that "They can shape the destiny of humanity," 60 Dixon in the summer of 1915 moved to California and built "The Dixon Studios, Laboratory, and Press," 61 located at Sunset Boulevard and Western Avenue, Los Angeles.

In the midst of a large orange grove, he established an impressive array of buildings to house studios, darkrooms, machine shops, and living quarters for a number of workers. Here he planned to produce a motion picture greater than The Birth of a Nation. Differences of opinion had led to strained relations between Griffith and Dixon, 62 and the latter planned to outdo his co-worker in this sequel to The Birth of a Nation. Refusing to endure any domination by Griffith, Dixon set out upon his own road, confident that he could become an accomplished producer-director on his own merits and energy.

Dixon's conviction that the United States would be drawn into World War I caused him in 1916 to write and produce The Fall of a Nation in which he attempted to warn America that her sense of false security could again divide the nation and lead to her downfall. The public, still agog over The Birth of a Nation, was eager to see the sequel from Dixon's pen. But the picture was a failure. Variously described by critics as "graphic," "exciting," and "absurd," 63 it lacked the finished brilliance of The Birth of a Nation. Although he went on to produce other pictures such as The One Woman, Bolshevism on Trial, and The Mark of the Beast, and introduced several new tech-

Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 449.
 Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 458.
 Dixon, "Southern Horizons," 458.
 From the letterhead of Dixon's business stationery, family papers of Mrs. Thomas

⁶² On January 19, 1916, The Southern Amusement Company, co-founded by Dixon, sued the Epoch Producing Corporation (producer of *The Birth of a Nation*). The suit read in part: "On May 6, 1906, Thomas Dixon, Jr., gave to the plaintiff the sole dramatic rights of his book 'The Clansman,' and that in violation of these rights the defendant produced the moving picture play 'The Birth of a Nation.'" See *The New York Times*, January 29, 1916. See also Jacobs, *The Rise and Fall of the American Film* 294 can Film, 284.
The New York Times, June 7, 1916.

niques of film production, Dixon was not to surpass *The Birth of a Nation*. Nor was D. W. Griffith ever again to reach the success which was his when he collaborated with the author of *The Clansman*. Griffith continued to make other "colossals," only to die practically forgotten in a Hollywood hotel room in 1948.⁶⁴ The peculiar talents of each man had been transmuted through their collaboration into an artistic performance of genius that neither of them afterward achieved

in separate attempts.

Disappointed at his failure to capture the world with his motion pictures, the restless Dixon sold his holdings to others and returned to New York. The proceeds from his novels, plays, and The Birth of a Nation had made him a millionaire several times, and though he had poured enormous sums into his motion picture venture, there was still a great deal of money left. In times past he had found himself in need of money, but he had had no fear, for, calling upon his creative brain for a new money-making subject, he had soon found himself wealthy again. Now his attention was captured by the idea of developing a great tract of country in the "Little Switzerland" district of western North Carolina near Mount Mitchell. His project, called "Wildacres," was to be one of the most ambitious efforts devoted to the arts that the country had ever seen. "Wildacres" was to be a permanent Chautauqua establishment which would be devoted to the free discussion of art, science, philosophy, and politics. Dixon foresaw thousands of visitors yearly who would come to enjoy the scenery, the sports, and the intellectual stimulation provided by famous speakers and teachers. Because of the great size of the organization, several famous persons of world-wide influence could be expected to be in attendance at all times.65

With his inimitable enthusiasm, Dixon bought a mountain range and invested all of his wealth in the program. The project began to take on impressive form. Large buildings were erected and elaborate facilities were installed. Then abruptly came the end of his plans. The public, frightened by the Wall Street stock market crash and the backwash of the Florida land boom, suddenly lost interest in such things as "Wildacres." The project that might have made Dixon a multimillionaire became, almost overnight, a millstone about his neck.

**Clast Dissolve," Time, XLII (August 2, 1948), 72.

**For full information on the "Wildacres" project, see Thomas Dixon, Wildacres: In the Land of the Sky (Little Switzerland, North Carolina: The Mount Mitchell Association of Arts and Sciences, 1926), passim. See also Asheville Citizen-Times, October 13, 1952.

The following years were devoted to efforts to regain his wealth, but in spite of strenuous effort, he found his books less and less popular.

The issues that had been so vital to the nation through World War I now retreated before realities of the Depression of the early nineteen-thirties. By 1936, Dixon, who had always considered himself a Democrat, campaigned actively for Alfred M. Landon for the Presidency. Paradoxically, that same year he had served as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention. The following year he was appointed Clerk of the Federal Court for the eastern District of North Carolina by Judge I. M. Meekins, a Republican. 66 This appointment came in good time, for gone were the days of Dixon's wealth. Though now more than seventy years of age, Dixon planned to use the remaining years in active literary work. His hopes were short lived, however, for on February 26, 1939, he was stricken by a cerebral hemorrhage in his suite at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh.67 Miss Madelyn Donovan, who years before had played the feminine lead in Dixon's motion picture The Mark of the Beast, and who had been for the past year Dixon's secretary and a deputy clerk in the Federal Court, was married to Dixon at his bedside on March 20, 1939.68 Dixon's first wife had died in 1937.

Partially recovering from his attack, Dixon attempted sporadically to direct his clerkship, but finally, in 1943, in his seventy-ninth year, he had to relinquish his work entirely. 69 His remaining time was spent in suffering and bewilderment at the thought that one so active as he had been must remain paralyzed and dependent upon others. Finally, in his eighty-second year, on the morning of April 3, 1946, he seemed to lose touch with the reality around him. By evening, his thoughts drifting amid the far-flung intangibles of a colorful lifetime, Thomas Dixon was dead. When time came to prepare his body for burial, attendants discovered that he did not have sufficient clothing in which to be dressed.70

Of the nature of this man, who can tell? A paradox of bigotry and tolerance, he antagonized many people by his extreme views and won others to unswerving loyalty. To his close friends and family, he was the soul of charm. Though in his novels he glorified the Ku Klux Klan of the Reconstruction era, he bitterly and aggressively denounced the revived Klans of nineteen-twenties, even at the occasional hazard

The News and Observer, May 2, 1937.

The From an interview with Madelyn Donovan Dixon (Mrs. Thomas Dixon), November 14, 1951, hereinafter cited as Mrs. Thomas Dixon, an interview.

The News and Observer, March 21, 1939.

Mrs. Thomas Dixon, an interview, December 15, 1952.

Mrs. Thomas Dixon, an interview, November 14, 1951.

of danger to his person. Ironically, The Birth of a Nation, which Dixon said would be a reconciling agency between the hatreds of sectionalism, was a powerful force in aiding the revival of the Klans. This man, by the incredible boundlessness of his energies and capacity for fully-committed enthusiasms, was able to make himself successful in many professions, only to lose interest soon and turn to other pursuits. Handsome, sensitive, proud, and passionately devoted to the tragic and heroic in life, he had an inimitable flair for capturing the imagination and emotions of a people. Thomas Dixon the man is forgotten, but the implications of his writings will no doubt be evident for decades to come. The present age reckons with the racial problems which Dixon discussed in his novels; the motion picture with its offspring television, will continue to be a tremendous force in society; and a large part of the world looks apprehensively to the influence of Communism which Dixon decried so vehemently in his fiction. Reactionary and biased, and sometimes the champion of unworthy causes, Dixon was, nevertheless, one of the most remarkable men of his times, the product of an age that has passed. As a contemporary said of him, "We shall hardly look upon his like again." 71 Those who knew him best would answer "Amen!"

The Herbert Peel, in The Daily Advance (Elizabeth City), no date on clipping.

CREDIT UNIONS IN NORTH CAROLINA

By WILLIAM HAYS SIMPSON *

The credit union idea originated in Germany in the middle of the nineteenth century and by the close of the century credit unions were operating successfully in France, Austria, and Italy. It was not until 1909, however, that the first credit union in the United States was

organized at Manchester, New Hampshire.

The southern States did not respond readily to the movement. Little interest was shown in North Carolina until 1913 when John Sprunt Hill, a Durham banker, returned from Europe where he had served as a member of the American Commission to study rural credits. Hill ardently appealed to the people of the State to improve credit conditions, especially for farmers, by adopting some of the methods used so successfully in European countries. He contended that by organizing credit unions the farmers of an area could borrow at 6 per cent instead of 38 per cent a year which they were currently paying. He also condemned the crop lien system.1

At the same time Dr. Clarence Poe, Editor of The Progressive Farmer, in discussing various problems relating to farm credit in his publication, pointed out that farmers in North Carolina buying on "time prices," were paying interest at the rate of 62 per cent a year.2

Largely through the efforts of these two men the General Assembly of North Carolina in 1915 unanimously passed the Credit Union Act.³

A definite step was taken in the co-operative movement in North Carolina when representatives of the State Department of Agriculture; C. W. Massey, Superintendent of Durham County Schools; F. W. Risher, instructor in agricultural extension work at Lowe's Grove Farm Life School; and John Sprunt Hill met with interested residents of Lowe's Grove community in Durham County to discuss the possibility of establishing a credit union in that neighborhood.4

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¹John Sprunt Hill, "Rural Credits," a speech delivered at the State Convention of Farmers, Raleigh, August 26, 1915.

² See The Progressive Farmer, November 13, 1915.

² Public Laws of the State of North Carolina, . . . 1915, c. 115.

⁴ Durham Morning Herald, December 10, 1915.

Finally organized in January, 1916, under the State's Credit Union Act, the Lowe's Grove Credit Union became the first co-operative short-time credit society to be established in the South under legislative sanction.⁵ The Union began business with 20 members, \$212.00 in stock and \$101.75 on deposit. A little over a year later, March 31, 1917, the membership had increased to 41 with \$437.50 in stock and \$854.20 on deposit. A total of \$1,180.79 was then on loan to 21 borrowers.⁶

While the Lowe's Grove Credit Union was the first organized, the Carmel Credit Union in Mecklenburg County, which opened five days later on January 25, 1916, was the largest in size, having 32 charter members. Schoolteachers, demonstration agents, and bankers as well as farmers became members. Progressive substantial farmers, two of whom owned over 650 acres, and needed no credit, were leaders in the Carmel Union.

Four of the original Carmel stockholders were women, two of whom were schoolteachers. The teachers encouraged the children to save. Parents were requested to start their children as shareholders by paying from 50 cents to a dollar down and then having the boys or girls pay a minimum of 10 cents a month on the purchase of shares. Owners of shares became members of the credit union.

To encourage boys and girls to participate in this endeavor, the bylaws of the Carmel Union provided that as soon as five persons under 21 years of age had become members a Junior Committee would be formed, the chairman of which would become a member of the Board of Directors.⁷

The establishment of the Carmel Union was followed by the founding of one in the adjoining school district of Sharon, which after three meetings opened with 36 members who paid \$162.00 on shares and deposited \$100.00. The Oakdale Credit Union, also in Mecklenburg County, was started in a three-teacher schoolhouse with a membership of 21 and with \$62.50 paid on shares.⁸

Shares in the credit union sold for \$10.00 and adults were required to make a payment of at least \$2.50 every six months. Paid-up shares

⁵ Southern Agriculturist, April 15, 1922.

⁶ Kilgore, "Carmel Credit Union," March, 1916.

⁶ William R. Camp, Superintendent of Credit Unions, Monthly Financial Statement of North Carolina Credit Unions, April 17, 1917, hereinafter cited as Monthly Financial Statement of Credit Unions. Copies of these reports are in the personal collection of the author.

⁷B. W. Kilgore, "The Carmel Credit Union" (circular), Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics of North Carolina, January, 1916, in the personal collection of the author. This circular will hereinafter be cited as Kilgore, "Carmel Credit Union."

were limited to 6 per cent interest and deposits to 4 per cent return.

The promotional program sponsored by the North Carolina Extension Service was effective. Emphasis was placed on the aid given farmers in the co-operative purchase of supplies which saved them much money. The young people were not overlooked; cash prizes were offered to members of the Junior Savings Clubs making the largest deposits in a credit union each month.

By the end of 1917 fourteen credit unions were in operation in North

Carolina as may be noted in Tables I and II.9

It may be noted in the tables that between December, 1916, and December, 1917, the number of members increased from 322 to 539, depositors from 100 to 187, payments on shares from \$2,712.18 to \$4,907.24, deposits from \$3,771.24 to \$9,323.50, and total resources from \$7,224.18 to \$17,163.51.

The use made of the funds was mentioned by William R. Camp, Superintendent of the Credit Unions, in his monthly reports to members of credit unions. For example, in 1916 the Lowe's Grove Credit Union purchased for its members 114.3 tons of fertilizers for \$3,050.02 in cash, \$1,483.00 of which was obtained either through or by aid of the credit union at a total savings to the members of \$667.73. The Carmel Credit Union saved \$570.00 for its members by purchasing

TABLE I

	Date			Payments
Name	Opened	Members	Depositors	on Shares
Lowe's Grove	Jan. 20, 1916	41	33	\$457.50
Carmel	Jan. 25, 1916	93	25	884.40
Sharon	Feb. 10, 1916	77	41	697.10
Oakdale	Feb. 16, 1916	22	1	185.00
Drowning Creek	Mar. 16, 1916	46	5	445.94
Eureka	Mar. 17, 1916	33	3	380.75
Bahama	Apr. 14, 1916	34	12	452.00
Mars Hill	Nov. 18, 1916	22		125.00
Wall's	Jan. 27, 1917	19	11	165.00
Indian Trail	Feb. 9, 1917	19		100.75
Valdese	Feb. 10, 1917	78	55	596.75
Eastover	Feb. 19, 1917	17	1	147.50
Laurel	Mar. 10, 1917	22		150.80
Mt. Vernon	Sept. 10, 1917	16		118.75
Total Dec. 1917		539	187	\$4,907.24
Total Dec. 1916		322	100	2,712.18

⁹ Monthly Financial Statement of Credit Unions, December 31, 1917.

TABLE II

$Total \\ Resources$	\$2,822.28	3,238.45	2,033.19	329.65	510.77	607,62	2,918.37	130.70	553.15	313.75	3,187.38	157.28	147.80	213.12	\$17,163.51	7,224.18
Cash in Banks	\$1,842.13	239.63	373.27	6.27	220.33	178.94	2,533.23	10.70	375.15	43.00	261.31	91.93	128.10	7.72	\$6,311.71	3,018.33
Borrowed from Banks	\$ 200.00	1,500.00								200.00				78.35	\$1,978.35	700.00
Number of Borrowers	28	21	22	4	9	ಸರ	11	4	73	73	11	Н		67	119	45
Loans	\$ 928.34	2,786.67	1,540.00	280.00	290.44	428.68	345.00	120.00	175.00	250.00	2,830.00	50.00		192.40	\$10,216.53	4,031.20
Deposits	\$2,062.70	580.75	1,123.15	106.00	47.95	204.82	2,393.81		376.15		2,412.64	4.53		11.00	\$9,323.50	3,771.24
Name	Lowe's Grove	Carmel	Sharon	Oakdale	Drowning Creek	Eureka	Bahama	Mars Hill	Wall's	Indian Trail	Valdese	Eastover	Laurel	Mt. Vernon	Total Dec. 1917	Total Dec. 1916

fertilizer for cash while extending other loans such as \$150.00 for farm operations, \$75.00 for purchase of two cows and \$240.00 for

purchase of a commercial truck for a milk route.

The year 1918 found the people of North Carolina heavily involved in the war effort and much of their savings went into the purchase of Liberty Bonds. However, the Superintendent of Credit Unions urged every parent to see that "both their sons and daughters belonged to a pig, poultry, corn, wheat, potato or canning club so that they will produce to help win the war and some to aid the credit union movement."

Some of the credit unions paid 4½ to 5 per cent to members on six, nine, and twelve month deposits. Members in turn could borrow funds at 6 per cent to purchase fertilizer, seed, and improved machin-

ery at a discount or at wholesale prices.

The monthly financial statement dated December 31, 1918, did not include reports from Mars Hill, Indian Trail, and Eastover but during the year Mt. Ulla, Algiers, Redwood, Piedmont, Vass, and Sadler credit unions were chartered. Total membership of the 17 reporting credit unions had increased to 783 and the resources expanded over 50 per cent to \$27,465.01.¹⁰

Of these organizations the Valdese Credit Union had the greatest resources in 1918 and the farmers, mill employees and employers cooperated in maintaining a co-operative store, a mutual fire insurance

association, and a mutual sick benefit association.

The movement accelerated considerably in 1919. Fifteen new credit unions were chartered bringing the total to 31 with Bahama and Valdese credit unions having the greatest resources of over \$28,400.00 and \$19,000.00 respectively. By the end of the year the total resources of the 31 unions were \$79,707.18, almost three times the amount of the

previous year.

This movement found favor among the Negroes of the State. Their first credit union was established in Rowan County in 1918 through the efforts of Thomas B. Patterson, a county agent. During 1919 the number increased to four and in April, 1920, three more were chartered, two in Columbus County and one in New Hanover in the heart of the berry and truck belt. Two more were added during the year and it was reported in October, 1920, that recent examinations

¹⁰ Monthly Financial Statement of Credit Unions, December 31, 1918.

of nine Negro credit unions "showed that they had been doing good business in the way of cooperative purchases and have made substantial savings for their members." 11

The 1920's witnessed a decline in the credit union movement in North Carolina. Numerous changes were made in supervisors and funds were no longer available for promotional purposes. The Credit Union News, for various reasons, chiefly financial, was published irregularly in 1922 and then finally discontinued. The financial statement for 1921 reported that 11 credit unions had gone out of business since 1920 and no new ones had been chartered. While these were small organizations, two unions, Valdese and Bahama, had together \$51,902.55 of the \$90,819.45 total resources deposited in the 22 credit unions chartered in the State.12

Despite the deplorable financial conditions the credit unions steadily grew in the early 1930's. Under the depressed condition caused by the failure of banks and withdrawal of credit, Superintendent of the Associations, Harriet M. Berry, pointed out that the loan sharks had moved into the area and were charging 20 and 25 per cent interest per month on loans to their victims. She urged that additional credit unions be added to the 61 active organizations to relieve wage earners and salaried people of North Carolina who "are being bled to the tune of hundreds of thousands of dollars annually by the high rate money lenders." 13

The movement had attained national significance by 1934 for not only 36 States but also the Federal Government had enacted credit union legislation. This growth was reflected in North Carolina during this decade with the number of credit unions increasing to 120 with

assets totaling \$1,342,410.28 in December, 1939.14

Beginning in 1940 the resources of credit unions enjoyed great growth, the increase between 1948 and 1950 having been greater than the total resources in 1939 brought the total on June 30, 1950, to over \$9,322,000.15

¹¹ Credit Union News, October 15, 1920. ¹² Yearly Financial Statement of North Carolina (Credit) Unions, January 1, 1922,

Annual Report of Credit Unions of North Carolina, December 31, 1939.

Biennial Report, 1948-1950, 55-59.

in personal collection of the author.

¹⁸ Biennial Report of the North Carolina Department of Agriculture, from July 1, 1930, to June 30, 1932, 97, hereinafter cited as Biennial Report with the proper years following.

During this decade the number of credit unions established by Negroes increased to 55 thus giving North Carolina almost as many such organizations as in all the other states combined. Two of these unions had assets of over \$100,000.00 and the total assets of the 55 unions exceeded \$800,000.00. Hundreds of loans were made to assist members in buying farms, building homes, purchasing livestock, and meeting other credit needs. While during recent years the number of Negro credit unions in North Carolina has declined to 50, their total resources on December 31, 1960, amounted to \$2,227,385.75 with 10,264 members.

Throughout the years the credit unions suffered because of the lack of efficient leaders trained in business matters. Crop failures likewise adversely affected the credit union movement in farm areas and within recent years the Federal Government has offered various forms of credit to farmers. Banks have established personal loan departments and are anxious to assist farmers in meeting their credit needs.

It is not surprising, therefore, that under these circumstances rural credit unions have declined while urban credit unions have increased with the industrialization of the State. As of December 31, 1960, there were still 30 State-chartered rural credit unions with total assets of \$2,488,869.90 and a membership of 12,021 out of a total of 231 active credit unions with assets of \$33,761,520.70 and a membership of 100,000.

Thus it may be noted that the credit union movement, begun in 1915 to relieve the farmers of high prices and high interest rates charged by "time merchants," yielded benefits to industrial workers and others. Loans of from \$10.00 to several thousand dollars may now be had by members under the traditional 6 per cent plan with free life insurance on borrowers to cover the amount of the loans.

The development of State-chartered credit unions in North Carolina may be noted in the following table:

¹⁶ Biennial Report, 1948-1950, 65. ¹⁷ Unpublished report of W. V. Didawick, Superintendent, The Credit Unions, North Carolina Department of Agriculture, in the personal collection of the author.

GROWTH OF CREDIT UNIONS IN NORTH CAROLINA 1916-1960 18

	Number of		Total
Year	Credit Unions	Members	Resources
1916 (Mar. 31)	5	201	\$ 2,264.89
1916 (Dec. 31)	8	322	7,224.18
1917 (Dec. 31)	14	539	17,163.51
1918 (Dec. 31)	17	783	27,465.01
1919 (Dec. 31)	31	1,171	79,707.18
1920 (Oct. 31)	33	1,388	99,764.48
1922 (Jan. 1)	22	1,002	90,819.45
1924	34	1,500	104,000.00
1926	36	1,800	106,589.11
1928	59	2,500	150,000.00
1930	60	3,300	250,000.00
1932	61	4,000	350,000.00
1934	61	4,876	376,892.00
1936	70	7,264	589,506.96
1938	85	13,456	1,036,355.58
1940	138	23,632	1,249,429.37
1942	150	27,094	2,105,582.29
1944	146	25,006	2,527,915.99
1946	175	35,000	6,000,000.00
1948	200	41,909	7,169,512.00
1950	208	49,031	9,322,611.23
1952	211	55,081	11,314,522.03
1954	213	61,463	14,704,742.11
1956	221	80,043	19,241,841.94
1958	232	83,658	24,544,900.47
1960 (Dec. 31)	231	100,000	33,761,520.70

Not only have the credit unions made funds available to their members at low rates of interest but they have also taught thrift. The idea of self-help and economic democracy has likewise attracted members to the credit unions thus expediting their growth. After a very modest beginning, with some public and private funds for promotional and supervisory purposes, this business has become so well developed that it no longer needs financial assistance from the State. Since 1957 the fees charged the credit unions have been sufficient to support the Credit Union Division of the North Carolina Department of Agriculture. A most commendable past poses a bright future for this cooperative enterprise.

¹⁸ These data were compiled from the various Annual Reports of Credit Unions of North Carolina and the Biennial Reports of the North Carolina Department of Agriculture.

TWO TIMROD LETTERS

By Douglas J. Robillard *

For some time after the Civil War, southern writers generally experienced great difficulties in the pursuit of their profession. There were few paying markets for their work in the South, and, although friendly colleagues in the North were willing to offer help, some lack of sympathy was displayed by northern editors.1 Richard Henry Stoddard 2 was among those who displayed his friendship for southern writers, and it was to him that Henry Timrod³ applied for aid.

During most of 1864, Timrod had been employed as an editor on the Daily South Carolinian of Columbia.4 But when Sherman's occupation of the city made publication impossible and plans were made to move the paper, Timrod continued to stay in Columbia, where he shared in the general suffering of the city's inhabitants.

^{*} Mr. Robillard is an Instructor in the English Department, Wayne State University,

¹ Jay B. Hubbell (ed.), The Last Years of Henry Timrod, 1864-1867... (Durham: Duke University Press, 1941), 3, hereinafter cited as Hubbell, Last Years of Timrod.

² Stoddard (1825-1903) was an American critic and poet of the "Genteel Tradition."

² Stoddard (1825-1903) was an American critic and poet of the "Genteel Tradition." In the latter part of the nineteenth century he became the center of a New York literary group which included E. C. Stedman and others. William Rose Benét (ed.), The Reader's Encyclopedia (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1948), 1,072, hereinafter cited as Benét, Reader's Encyclopedia.

³ Timrod (December 8, 1828-October 6, 1867) was born in Charleston, South Carolina, the son of William Henry and Thyrza Prince Timrod. Timrod inherited his abilities from his father, a bookbinder, who achieved local recognition for his literary accomplishments, and from his English-Swiss mother, who loved nature idealistically. Timrod was educated at the Charleston school of Christopher Coates, where he occupied a seat next to Paul Hamilton Hayne, and later attended Franklin College (The University of Georgia). He read law in the office of James L. Petigru, the famous South Carolina Unionist. Unable to serve in the Confederate Army in 1861, he enlisted in 1862. After Shiloh he served as correspondent for the Charleston Mercury with the Army of the West. He was forced to withdraw from service due to extreme illness (tuberculosis) and was periodically ill until his tragic death. In spite of his many handicaps, he wrote numerous poems and worked as an editorial writer. Timrod (tuberculosis) and was periodically ill until his tragic death. In spite of his many handicaps, he wrote numerous poems and worked as an editorial writer. Timrod was encouraged by Longfellow, Whittier, and Holmes. Following the burning of Columbia, South Carolina, he was reduced to poverty. He died following severe hemorrhages and was buried in the cemetery of Trinity Church, Columbia. Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Others (eds.), Dictionary of American Biography (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons [Published under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies], 20 volumes, index [for Volumes I-XX], and Supplementary Volumes XXI and XXII, 1928-1958), XVIII, 558-560, hereinafter cited as Malone, Dictionary of American Biography; Hubbell, Last Years of Timrod, 96.

4 Hubbell, Last Years of Timrod, 18.

Shortly after the end of the war, finding no employment in his native State, Timrod took steps to seek a job in the North by writing to Stoddard, who was then literary editor of the New York World.

Columbia July 10th 1865 6

R. H. Stoddard Esq.

My Dear Sir,

It is about six years ago since you favoured me with a very kind letter upon the occasion of the appearance of a small volume of poems of mine, a copy of which volume I had caused to be sent to you. At the time of receiving that letter, I was in a very weak state of health; and with the procrastination peculiar to the sick, I deferred acknowledging it until I became ashamed to address you at all. Yet the letter had given me the profoundest pleasure; I regarded it as an accolade laid upon my shoulder by hands which had a royal right to confer such an honor; and I long preserved it as the most precious testimonial in my possession of my title to the name of poet. It was lost at last by one of the accidents of the late unhappy war.

I have been encouraged by the evidence which that communication affords me of your sympathetic nature, to appeal to you for certain information which I am desirous of obtaining with regard to the probability of my being able to do anything at the North. Before mentioning what I want to know, however, I must take care not to appear before you in a false position; I must premise, therefore, that in the late civil conflict, I was a Secessionist in opinion, though the state of my health precluded my bearing arms. But the logic of events has made me once more a citizen of the United States; I begin to see (darkly) behind that Divine political economy which has ended in the extinction of slavery and the preservation of the Union; and I am prepared to discharge in good faith the obligations which I assumed upon taking the oath. More I need not say; you are a poet of a high order, you must possess that universality of mind which

⁵ Hubbell, Last Years of Timrod, 46.

⁶ Stoddard reviewed Timrod's collected poems in the *Aldine* (a "Typographic Art Journal") in April, 1873. He excised the statements in Timrod's letter following "More I need not say." Hubbell, Last years of Timrod, 46-49. The originals of this letter and the one which follows are in the A. W. Anthony Collection of the New York Public

and the one which follows are in the A. W. Anthony Collection of the New York Public Library, which gave the author permission to print them.

⁷ Paul Hamilton Hayne to Stoddard, February 14, 1860, Daniel M. McKeithan (ed.), A Collection of Hayne Letters (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1944), 41-42. Hayne (January 1, 1830—July 6, 1886) was a lifelong friend of Timrod and his family. He was reared in the Charleston home of his uncle, Robert Young Hayne, United States Senator and Governor of South Carolina, following the death of his father. Though he studied law, he soon turned to a career in journalism and poetry. He, like Timrod, was one of the writers under the influence of William Gilmore Simms. In 1873 he edited a volume of Timrod's poems and entertained the poet at his home. In 1873 he edited a volume of Timrod's poems and entertained the poet at his home, "Copse Hill," near Augusta, Georgia. His Memoir is considered the best source of information on Timrod's life. Malone, Dictionary of American Biography, VIII, 455-456; Hubbell, Last Years of Timrod, 4.

will not permit you to regard with the narrow prejudices of the mere

politician those who differ with you in creed.

I will not trouble you with a detailed account of my situation. Suffice it to say, that I have been reduced by the destruction of this town to the most abject poverty. There is no possibility of my procuring employment here of any sort. Literature is an unattainable and undesired 8 luxury. I have tried to open a school, but can get no pupils, as nobody is rich enough to pay tuition fees. All are alike ruined. Life in South Carolina the case of a few shopkeepers and farmers excepted-must be for some time to come the merest struggle for existence. The people of the North have no conception of the state to which the country has been brought. Those who have lately visited us from your section have been struck aghast. You will not wonder, therefore, that I should desire to get away. I have a family to support, and here they must starve. With what reception would a Southerner meet in New York? Could I hope to get employment there in any capacity whatever? Hackwriter of a newspaper, editor of the poet's corner of some third-rate journal, grocer's clerk—nothing would come amiss to me that would put bread into the mouths and a roof over the heads of those whom I love best in the world. Would you be kind enough to answer these questions for me, and help, if you can, to put me on the road of earning an honest penny in an honest way?

You will smile, perhaps, at the humble aspirations of one who once hoped to be associated as a friend with that noble band whom you have described as "Friendly to all save caitiffs foul and wrong, but stern to guard the Holy Land of song"—but it will be with such a smile as only gleams from a poet's [torn]. Let me hear from you soon [torn] shall be

Henry Timrod

P.S. Would it be advisable for me to visit New York in advance of my family for the purpose of looking about?

But two months later, Timrod could write more cheerful news. The following letter, although it does not bear Stoddard's name, was almost surely addressed to him.

Columbia Sep 8th 1865

My dear Sir,

Your quick and kind acknowledgement of my letter was just what I expected at your hands. The mail, however, was by no means so benevolently expeditious as yourself; your missive was several weeks upon the road; and when I did receive it, I happened to be too unwell to answer it, as my heart prompted me to do, upon the spot.

*Stoddard printed "undesireable" instead of "undesired."

The bottom of the sheet is so torn that words are missing, apparently one word in the first instance and two in the second instance. The end of the letter is crowded and Timrod wrote the postscript at the top of the first page, above the date and salutation.

You will be pleased to know that my prospects are somewhat better than when I wrote you two months ago. I expect ere long to be associated in the editorial department of a daily paper to be established either here or at Charleston. Once in the harness, I need not tell you that I shall not have much time to contribute either in prose or verse to the pages of a magazine. But in the meanwhile, I am still in great need, and would be glad if I could earn a dollar or two by the trifles of my pen. I send you a few little poems which if you can dispose of for my benefit to Mr. Fields or anyone else, you will oblige me very much indeed. Most of the verse which I wrote during the war was Southern in tone and sentiment and would be upublishable now at the North. The few small poems enclosed are all which I have as yet been able to find among my [marked through—illegible] 10 likely to be acceptable. Some others, I doubt not, will turn up after a while.

My connection-to-be with a daily paper precludes the necessity which a few weeks ago would have led me to accept with gratitude your kind offices in procuring me a place as a contributor in prose to some Northern Magazine. I thank you, however, as much as if I had sent you whole reams of story and essay, and had received an equivalent great or small in green-

backs or gold.

Shut up by the blockade, I do not know what you and your compeers in rhyme have done for the last few years. I should like much to see some late poems of yours . . . also some of the late poems of Aldrich, 11 Bayard Tailor [sic]¹² and Buchanan Read.¹³ Can you not send me a specimen or two? I would esteem it a great kindness. I am not asking for books—newspaper copies of single and small poems will seem to me generous gifts.

I write under great disadvantages—being sick myself and in the same room with my sick babe. My wife¹⁴ (who by the way is an Englishwoman and the original of "An Exotic," one of the poems enclosed) urges me not to task my convalescence too much; I must, therefore, bring this letter to a close. It is like Mr. Miller's Valentine "rather a sudden pull-up," but you will excuse it.

> Sincerely yours Henry Timrod

¹¹ Thomas Bailey Aldrich (1836-1907), another representative poet of the "Genteel Tradition." He was best known for his Story of a Bad Boy (1868). Benét, Reader's Encyclopedia, 21, 428.

18 Thomas Buchanan Read (1822-1872), an American poet, famous for his poem,

¹⁰ Two words are lined through—possibly "manuscripts and"—and a third word, though not lined through, is illegible.

¹² Bayard Taylor (1825-1878) was an American poet, journalist, and lecturer. He was best known for his translation of Goethe's Faust (1870-1871), as a result of which in 1878 he was appointed Minister to Germany. Benét, Reader's Encyclopedia,

Thomas Buchanan Read (1822-1812), an American poet, famous for his poeth, Sheridan's Ride. Benét, Reader's Encyclopedia, 910.

"The former Katie Goodwin, an English girl, whose brother George had married Timrod's sister Emily. The Timrods were married February 16, 1864. Mrs. Timrod lived forty-six years after Timrod's death, marrying again before 1899, since the Memorial Edition of his poems (1899) was copyrighted in the name of Mrs. Kate Lloyd. Hubbell, Last Years of Timrod, 12, 16, 104n.

Oct 1st This letter has been lying on my desk for three weeks. A thousand anxieties have conspired to make me neglect it. A sister¹⁵ and my only child 16 have been lying exceedingly ill under my roof. [illegible] have reminded me that my poems might be worth something—and I have concluded to send you them at once without further apology.

> Yours in haste HT

Timrod's prospects for a job probably were bound up with plans for the re-establishment of the Daily South Carolinian in Charleston.17 But meanwhile he continued to live in Columbia under the most distressing conditions.18

In his 1873 review of Timrod's poems, Stoddard said that several poems were enclosed with the letter he quoted. Perhaps his reference may have been caused by a slip of the memory. But it is likely adding the poems to the earlier letter made more effective his charge that northern magazines would not publish Timrod's poetry, although, as he added, "a decent amount of cheap verbal sympathy was manifested." 19 fested. . . .

Tis Obviously Mrs. Emily Timrod Goodwin, one of Timrod's three sisters, who was fiercely proud of the poet's efforts and who helped care for him during many of his illnesses. Hubbell, Last Years of Timrod, 171, 35n, 55n, 60, 83, 86.

To Willie, Timrod's son, died October 23, 1865. A poem in memory of the child, "Our Willie," was published in Scott's Monthly Magazine in September, 1866. Hubbell, Last Years of Timrod, 45, 125.

To Hubbell, Last Years of Timrod, 49.

To Hubbell, Last Years of Timrod, 46, 51.

To Aldine, April, 1873, quoted in Hubbell, Last Years of Timrod, 48.

BOOK REVIEWS

Sir Walter Ralegh: His Family and Private Life. By A. L. Rowse. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1962. Preface, illustrations, footnotes, and index. Pp. xi, 348. \$6.95.)

Only the latter part of this book concerns Sir Walter Ralegh; the remainder deals with the family of Ralegh's wife, Elizabeth Throckmorton. The parts are poorly integrated, and a predominant chronological organization results in seemingly random presentation of details. Nevertheless, Mr. Rowse has assembled in this book useful informa-

tion concerning his subjects.

The first chapter describes the political and financial ups and downs of several generations of Throckmortons, beginning about 1400 A.D. The two succeeding chapters concern Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Lady Ralegh's father. They include accounts of Sir Nicholas' treasontrial (famous because of his unprecedented acquittal) and of his activities as Ambassador to France and as emissary to Mary Stuart. The next four chapters and three later ones, constituting a biography of Sir Arthur Throckmorton, Lady Ralegh's brother, contain details concerning Sir Arthur's travels and family life, references to public affairs, and occasional mention of Sir Walter and Lady Ralegh. Eight chapters are devoted primarily to Ralegh, including his public life and private interests. Ralegh's descendants and the later Throckmortons are the subjects of the final chapter.

Mr. Rowse offers interpretations of various events and people. He attributes Queen Elizabeth's extreme resentment upon discovering Ralegh's marriage largely to Lady Ralegh's having returned to Court after the birth of her child, which, in view of her oath as maid-of-honor, the author calls "equivalent to an act of perjury." Mr. Rowse explains the duality of Ralegh's character by pointing to the conflict between the worlds in which Ralegh moved: the Court, with its Machiavellian characteristics and its medieval tradition of courtly love, on the one hand, and, on the other, the world of the new learning, characterized by intellectual honesty. He presents Sir Robert Cecil as an astute politician, attacking or protecting Ralegh according to his

own interests.

The chapters on Sir Arthur Throckmorton are based chiefly on Sir Arthur's recently discovered diary, heralded on the dust-jacket and in the Preface. Material on Ralegh is drawn chiefly from Aubry, Edwards, and other well-known sources, from the literary works of Ralegh and Edmund Spenser, and from manuscripts other than the diary, which apparently contains little significant information on Ralegh. British archives form the chief basis for the section on Sir Nicholas Throckmorton. From these sources, Mr. Rowse has drawn valuable information on many aspects of Tudor and early Stuart England.

Mattie Erma E. Parker.

Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission.

The Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas: With Remarks Historical and Critical on Johnson's Life of Greene. By Henry Lee (Jr.). (Chicago, Illinois: Quadrangle Books, Inc. [Americana Classics]. 1962. Footnotes and appendixes. Pp. ii, 511. \$10.00.)

This account of the Revolutionary War in the Carolinas, originally published in 1824, results from a son's effort to defend historically his proud Virginia father's reputation and Memoirs (1812) from detractors, particularly the polemical William Johnson of South Carolina, an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court. Using letters, some of which are included in the Appendix, and accounts by contemporaries, the junior Lee makes a detailed critique of Johnson's Sketches (1822), from which he quotes at length to refute the direct attacks and alleged implications on his father's character, relations with Greene and other officers, and military conduct. He challenges not only the Jeffersonian jurist's statements but also his honesty and methods as biographer and critic. Both writers reflect personal and provincial bias and both write in the somewhat involved style of the period. Lee, however, seems to come off rather better in precision of statement, fairness of judgment (except possibly with respect to his literary opponent), and use of evidence. The addition of an index and of other maps than the one on the jacket would make the reissue more useful.

Although Lee's work does not resolve all questions and controversies over relative merits and distribution of honors, it does illuminate various aspects of the 1781 Campaign. Sharply does it point up how

much Greene was helped and hindered by the passionately partisan nature of much of the warfare in the South and the prima donna personalities of the partisan leaders, not the least of whom in any respect was the dashing Light-Horse Harry Lee. With his Legion Lee covered Greene's strategic retreats and advances, co-operated with the South Carolina leaders (most effectively with Marion), and made his own judgments and moves. Human weakness was there in plenty; but, in the over-all picture, Greene was a greater man than the hero-image created by his Carolina biographer and Lee, even without the glow of his defender's literary labor, stands forth for what Greene knew him to be—a national patriot and a worthy companion in arms.

Lawrence F. Brewster.

East Carolina College.

Beaufort County: Two Centuries of Its History. By C. Wingate Reed. ([Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Co.]. 1962. Bibliographies, appendixes, index, and illustrations. Pp. [viii], 244. \$6.00.)

Beaufort, one of the seven oldest surviving counties in North Carolina, straddles the Pamlico River in the Coastal Plain (or "plane" as the author spells it). In twelve chapters the story is told of the county's discovery and settlement, political and military entanglements, and development through the period of early statehood. Three intervening chapters relate facts concerning "Religion and the Churches," "Education, Schools, and the Press," and "Transportation, Commerce, and Industry." The reader then is returned to the chronological development for a chapter on the Civil War and another called "Aftermath of Defeat," bringing the history through the murder of Bryan Grimes in 1880 but falling short of the promised two centuries by twenty-five years.

Colonel Reed has done a splendid job of weaving interesting aspects of local history into the broader scene at the colony and State level. His familiarity with printed secondary works as well as with the primary sources, largely in the county courthouse and in the State Archives, has enabled him to cite specific examples in his narrative which will appeal to a wide range of readers. The numerous personal names appearing throughout the book, while undoubtedly increasing

the local appeal, will prove useful to other researchers as well. The author's style is readable, and his history of Beaufort County is a welcome addition to our growing bibliography of local history in North Carolina.

It is to be regretted that typographical errors are rather numerous and that the names of such men as Nathanael Greene, Albion W. Tourgée, and Archibald D. Murphey are misspelled. Susan Dimock, pioneer female physician and native of Washington in Beaufort County, is not mentioned, and there is a reference to the American colonies as of 1820.

William S. Powell.

The University of North Carolina.

History of the Voluntary Mental Health Movement in North Carolina. By Ethel M. Speas. ([Raleigh]: North Carolina Mental Health Association, Inc. [Copies available, P. O. Box 858, Greenville]. References, appendixes, and index. Pp. xii, 140 [\$1.25, paper; \$2.25, cloth.].)

This brief volume is less a history than a sketch or outline of the North Carolina Mental Hygiene Society, forerunner of the present-day North Carolina Mental Health Association. The author, a retired welfare worker and for ten years Executive Secretary of the Association, describes the abortive beginnings of the Society in 1914, its early lapses and disappointments, followed by solid growth and achievement after reorganization in 1936. Although Miss Speas offers virtually nothing in the way of analysis or interpretation, she and the sponsors of this volume in the Mental Health Association have performed a significant service in providing a highly useful point of departure for the more elaborate and critical institutional studies that should be undertaken in the near future. A chronology, a list of sources, and numerous rosters identifying the many individuals who provided leadership and initiative, in themselves more than justify the author's efforts by pointing the way for those who may wish to explore the record further. The people of North Carolina have much to be proud of in the pioneering accomplishments of their State in the field of mental health; the lessons implicit in the struggles of both lay and professional workers in this area should not be lost.

I. B. Holley, Jr.

Duke University.

The North Carolina Miscellany. Edited by Richard Walser. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1962. Drawings by Paul Gray. Pp. viii, 275. \$4.75.)

Two thoughts strike one on first examining this book which bears on the dust jacket the sub-title, "A collection of warm and delightful

fragments of North Carolina's past and present."

(1) There are few North Carolinians, and not only those who enjoy their history in nibbles, who cannot have a good time reveling in the choice tidbits which Richard Walser has gathered from many sources, old and recent.

(2) This well could be the first of several similar volumes for Mr. Walser to compile. Persons at all acquainted with the various North Carolina collections in the State know how bounteous are the ma-

terials which went into this book.

It is a volume for sheer enjoyment rather than a "serious" book in the sense of trying to present an analytic study of life in North Carolina, or of having a thesis to prove, or a new body of information to teach. As the title implies it is miscellany purely and simply, and if it proves anything at all it is that life in North Carolina has been interesting for a long time, which means that North Carolinians have generally been an interesting lot.

The earliest selection is dated 1584 and is Arthur Barlowe's first-hand account of the discovery of Roanoke Island. From four years later we have Thomas Hariot's description of tobacco and of Indian customs of "sucking" or smoking. To the other extreme in time, there are entries from as late as 1961. Thus three and a half centuries of

miscellaneous social history are glimpsed.

The contributors range from Walt Whitman (an excerpt from the 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass*) and George Washington (his 1791 visit to the State, specifically to Tarboro and Greenville) to anonymous newspaper and periodical writers. A section of notes on contributors briefly identifies ninety-four writers who include many of those prominent in our literary history. The items, most of which are short, come from novels, poems, essays, histories and historical records, magazines and newspapers.

The editor has arranged his selections in five sections: Places, People, Incidents, Oddments and Observations, and Folklore, at the same time recognizing that these headings "are not exclusive; they are merely convenient," and that "Places are usually dull unless People are there, People are static unless they are involved in some Incident or other,

and Incidents generally provoke Observations."

Perhaps some day these and similar materials will be studied more or less exhaustively and presented with more ideological continuity to make a fuller report on the informal history of North Carolina. At that time all materials will be subjected to the more formal criteria of the historian. Mr. Walser's chief criterion seems to have been the one question, Is it interesting as North Caroliniana? It is this which gives the volume the freshness of a minor source book.

Edgar E. Folk.

Wake Forest College.

The Colonial Records of South Carolina. Series 1, Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, March 28, 1749-March 19, 1750. Edited by J. H. Easterby with the assistance of Ruth S. Green. (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department. 1962. Illustration and index. Pp. xv, 549. \$12.50.)

James Harold Easterby is dead, but his contribution to American history continues. This is the ninth volume of the *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly* published by the South Carolina Archives Department since 1951. The major part of the present volume was completed before Dr. Easterby died, but Ruth S. Green and her associates deserve credit for seeing the work through to its final publication.

In this book are the proceedings of five sessions of the 1749-1751 Assembly. Two Speakers, William Bull, Jr., and Andrew Rutledge presided over the Assembly during these sessions. Proceedings of later meetings of this same House will be published in the next issue of the series.

The business which concerned the representatives during 1749 and 1750 involved encouraging immigration from Europe, aiding agriculture and manufacturing, pacifying the frontier Indians, plus routine police, defense, and health problems. Only four of the bills approved during these sessions became law. Though the range of topics considered by the House was limited to ordinary affairs, there is much information here on social and economic conditions in South Carolina at the time.

The South Carolina Archives Department is to be congratulated for the rapid progress of this project. Students of Colonial America owe the Palmetto State a debt for putting these records within the easy reach of all.

Daniel M. McFarland.

Atlantic Christian College.

The Papers of James Madison. Volume I, 16 March 1751-16 December 1779. Edited by William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press. 1962. Maps, illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. xlii, 344. \$10.00.)

One of the questions frequently asked about "the Fathers" is how they came to be the kind of men they were. It is this inquiry that makes each new set of their papers stimulating reading. The first volume of the Madison Papers gives as broad a view as one can hope to have of the first twenty-eight years of the man who would one day become the Father of the Constitution.

By the end of 1779-when this volume ends-Madison's political career did not yet extend beyond Virginia. Within Virginia it did not extend beyond his county until May, 1776, when he served as a littleknown delegate in the convention which framed the State constitution. Madison's one substantial contribution was in the wording of the provision for "the free exercise of religion" in the Declaration of Rights. He served briefly in the general assembly and then as a member of the council of state. His political career, one concludes, was

not yet one of outstanding leadership in Virginia.

But details of his career are of less interest today than the development of his political thought. Most of what is learned of the latter comes from his correspondence with William Bradford of Pennsylvania (it is alarming to think how little would be known about the young Madison without that correspondence). Even so one discovers little: a few isolated passages, a few indications of the political works he may have read. It is not enough, in any event, to set the stage for later writings such as the tenth Federalist. Madison's interest in religion and in the issue of an established church is clearer than his concern

for political theory.

The editors have performed their work well. If they have erred, it is through excessive zeal: They track down, for example, Bradford's quotations from Shakespeare and Pope; and, toward the end, they include so many of the proceedings of the council of state (in which Madison's role remains obscure) that Madison himself slips from view. But the editorial standards and long-term (twenty-volume) objective of the editors are wholly praiseworthy: to include all extant writings which were the product of Madison's mind and those "letters and other papers, addressed to him and known to have received his careful attention." Judging from this volume, the bookdealers will be happy to clear their shelves of the old edition of Madison's writings edited by Gaillard Hunt.

Philip F. Detweiler.

Tulane University.

Benjamin Logan: Kentucky Frontiersman. By Charles Gano Talbert. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1962. Preface, notes, and index. Pp. ix, 332. \$7.50.)

In this volume Dr. Charles Gano Talbert investigates the life of Benjamin Logan—a frontiersman who in 1775 at the age of twenty-eight reached the land in western Virginia that was to become in 1792 the State of Kentucky—and attempts to restore him to the high regard in which his contemporaries held him. Logan was still a popular figure in Kentucky in the year of his death, 1802, the year the volume closes.

Logan was equally successful during each of the three periods into which Talbert divides the history of early Kentucky—1775 to 1783, when the Indians were the menace and bringing in crops the aim; 1784 to 1792, when the section, still struggling against the Indians, sought separation from Virginia and desired to open the Mississippi; and 1792 to 1803, when the State wrote and re-wrote its constitution

and enacted early legislation.

Unlike Daniel Boone and James Harrod, Benjamin Logan, though poorly educated, did not give way to more cultivated and educated men as the State of Kentucky expanded and developed. He built up his landholdings and retained his importance. He rose to the rank of major general, fulfilled local government duties, served three terms in the Virginia Assembly, appeared seven times in the ten statehood conventions and served six terms in the Kentucky General Assembly. He also served in the First and Second Constitutional Conventions. Twice an unsuccessful candidate for governor, in 1796 he lost on a disputed second ballot of the board of electors.

The book centers on Logan, his family, and his problems and therein lies its unity, but it also presents much of the history of the early Kentucky settlements, and one meets such renowned frontiersmen as George Rogers Clark, Hugh McGary, and others. Yet the volume is much more than that for readers interested in the Ulstermen treks into the back country. For Benjamin Logan was a rawboned Scotch-Irishman with much of the temper and rashness, as well as the forcefulness,

of his kind-like Andrew Pickens, Patrick Calhoun, Andrew Jackson, and Sam Houston who pioneered with lasting imprint in other sections

of the country.

Talbert has made a thorough investigation of the sources available and appears to have done a remarkable job in separating the facts from the myths that invariably seem to rise out of frontier lands. Logan's long career as an Indian fighter is especially treated well. The volume will take a handsome position in the library of books detailing the settling of trans-Appalachian America, though it is to be regretted that no maps were included in the study.

Max F. Harris.

State Department of Archives and History.

Lion of White Hall: The Life of Cassius M. Clay. By David L. Smiley. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 294. \$6.00.)

In Blue Grass Kentucky there are two Clays remembered, Henry and Cassius. The fabled Henry profited much by his fortunate marriage and his eloquence at the bar. American historiography dominated for many years by Whig and Republican historians placed him deservedly in the forefront of America's great men. But the average Blue Grass citizen knows little about the deeds of the Great Pacificator. However, when the conversation turns to the Lion of White Hall, Cassius Marcellus Clay, virtually every citizen is well informed. It is the latter Clay who is the Bunyanesque figure in Kentucky.

Cassius M. Clay was a living legend in his own time and the legend lives on. David Smiley in the first critical biography of Clay has not destroyed the figure in the legend; rather he has realistically appraised his subject. In Smiley's biography Cassius Clay is still the daring, fearless, heroic figure, though in retrospect as pathetic as

heroic.

During most of the ninety-three (1810-1903) years he lived Cassius Clay thrived on struggle and controversy. He possessed an insatiable ambition for office coupled with an innate capacity for choosing the losing side. Clay fought eagerly and well, whether on the stump, in the lecture hall, or with his famed Bowie knives—not with pistols. As a Whig he fought other Whigs even to the duel. In his lifetime he fought against and with Democrats and Republicans. He damned the Democrats and slaveholders for promoting war with

Mexico, then raised a company and marched for glory only to sit

out the war as a prisoner.

Possessed of spontaneous enthusiasm he joyously fought slavery in Kentucky and the South. Despite incurable optimism he failed to gain support even from the artisans and small farmers. His wild abolitionist paper, *The True American*, so agitated his neighbors that an orderly mob dismantled it and shipped it to Cincinnati. As a showpiece abolitionist he was much in demand as lecturer in the North and East. Disappointed by his failure to win the Republican nominations in 1856 and in 1860, the ambassadorship to Russia was for Clay not consequential enough to assuage his pride.

As Ambassador to Russia Clay participated in court life with great zest and with his usual poor luck. In handling this portion of Clay's career Smiley provides an excellent example of his skill and detach-

ment in writing about a legendary figure.

At home after 1869 Clay was slowly pushed from the stage. Dramatically he denounced and left the Republican Party in 1872. With equal ineffectiveness he was alternately to denounce and leave parties

for the next thirty years.

The story of Cash Clay after 1872 is the story of ambition unrewarded, of talent wasted, and of mounting bitterness. Clay was a dramatic, showy leader of the opposition and little more. He possessed little capacity for organization, had no reluctance to sacrifice cause for

effect and was generally a more notorious than noted figure.

Professor Smiley has written an excellent biography of Cassius M. Clay. Based on exhaustive research, the biography has benefited from Smiley's ability to stick to the subject. With a colorful, romantic figure like Clay, the author could easily have turned out a "Life and Times" or a work of fiction. Yet without sacrificing color Smiley's biography is an important addition to the literature on abolition and on Kentucky. He shows mature judgment in assessing the role of his subject in his various activities. Complementing this sound judgment is an unusual knowledge of the various movements with which Clay was affiliated.

Technically the biography is excellent. The title, jacket, and cover are all attractive. The footnotes unhappily are found in the back of the book. But they are accurate and establish that Professor Smiley was a diligent and imaginative researcher.

Bennett H. Wall.

University of Kentucky.

A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida. By Bernard Romans. Edited by Rembert W. Patrick. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press [Facsimile Edition]. 1962. Illustrations and index. Pp. lxxxix, 342. \$8.50.)

Bernard Romans lived and worked in Florida for almost a decade following the English occupation in 1764. A naturalist, surveyor, and map maker, he traveled throughout the Southeast and the mid-South, gathering and recording data. Entitled A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida, his work is more than just a description of flora and fauna; it is a combination almanac, medical dictionary, navigator's guide, Indian handbook, pro-slavery tract, instruction book for would-be settlers, and treatise on laissez faire economics. The book is still timely. Its recommendations to campers, its medical advice, and its pithy observations (such as the fact that the succulent pompano costs three times as much as any other fish) give the work freshness and pertinence, even today. For the casual reader it should also be intriguing to compare and contrast life in eighteenth and twentiethcentury Florida and to test Romans' prognostications on the future of the province. For those with more scholarly tastes, Romans provides commentary on the Indians, plant and animal life, place names of geographical points, provincial diseases, and on other aspects of Colonial life. As an empiricist and pragmatist, the author is often perceptive; as a moralist he is amusing. To this reviewer, better acquainted with Florida during the Spanish periods, Romans' volume served an especially useful function in reorienting Florida history toward the Old South and away from its Spanish heritage. His description of the people and their environment and his attitudes toward slavery and trade certainly help to bring Florida more clearly into the mainstream of southern history and southern traditions. Ably edited and lucidly introduced by Professor Rembert W. Patrick, this is the first volume in a proposed series of Floridiana Reprints and Facsimile Editions. It sets a high standard for the series, which will make the founts of Florida history readily available to the scholar and general public.

John J. TePaske.

Ohio State University.

President James Buchanan: A Biography. By Philip Shriver Klein. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1962. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. Pp. xviii, 506. \$7.50.)

Was President James Buchanan really as weak, indecisive, and misguided as is commonly believed? Or was it simply that he faced the impossible task of preserving a crumbling union, and that the very effort to do so was discredited by the war he failed to avert? Thanks to Professor Klein, for the first time a scholarly, detailed biography

is available to aid in answering these questions.

Let it be said at once that this is a work of prodigious and scrupulous scholarship. Buchanan was almost continuously in public office from 1821 to 1861, as congressman, Senator, minister to Russia and Great Britain, Secretary of State, and President. He played a major role in the election of Andrew Jackson, the Bank War, and the Oregon negotiation, and was three times a prominent contender for the Democratic presidential nomination before finally securing it in 1856. Through most of these forty years he was probably the single most influential figure in the tangled politics of Pennsylvania. Moreover, Buchanan had, of course, a private, personal life, and one that is peculiarly dif-

ficult to reconstruct and interpret.

A career such as this leaves the historical biographer in a cruel dilemma. On the one hand, he is impelled to dig to the bottom of every episode in which his subject was involved. The scope of Professor Klein's research and the authority with which, for example, he unravels the complexities of Pennsylvania politics leaves no doubt that he had done just that. But the results of such exhaustive scholarship over such a wide range cannot be presented adequately in a single volume. "After preparing what would have been a more extensive work," Professor Klein tells us, "I concluded that it would serve a better purpose to present not an exhaustive but a concise account of Buchanan's career," which "tried to treat at least briefly all the episodes which Buchanan thought important." Unfortunately, by trying to cover "at least briefly" a multitude of less consequential episodes like the Russian mission, Professor Klein robbed his book of dramatic structure and left himself little space, even in a text of 429 pages, to treat in desirable depth the more important matters. Only in the three detailed chapters covering the period between Lincoln's election and his inauguration do we see the full richness of Professor Klein's scholarship.

Even here one may complain of the hesitancy and ambiguity with which generalizations and judgments are drawn. While Professor Klein goes to great lengths—probably much too far—to see things from Buchanan's point of view, and while he almost never criticizes Buchanan directly, he nevertheless often implies reservations about Buchanan's judgments and actions.

Yet, in spite of the spatial limits Professor Klein imposed on himself, he has given us such a wealth of new material that we are in a far better position to reach conclusions for ourselves. If this book is the strongest case for "Old Buck" that an honest "Buchaneer" can make, then we probably haven't been too far off the track all along.

Charles Grier Sellers, Jr.

University of California.

The Devil's Backbone: The Story of the Natchez Trace. By Jonathan Daniels. (New York: McGraw-Hill Company, Inc. [The American Trail Series, edited by A. B. Guthrie, Jr.]. Sources, map, sketches, and index. Pp. x, 278. \$6.95.)

The story of the Natchez Trace, the old Indian trail from Natchez to Nashville, is part of the epic of the Old Southwest. This is the region where French, Spanish, and English adventurers met and quarreled and bribed and connived, in the lands of the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees, who watched with contempt. It is part of the story of the borderlands, the area of low-pressure diplomacy and high-pressure conspiracy.

A cavalcade of colorful characters has passed along the Trace since the advent of Hernando De Soto. Frenchmen such as Bienville arrived in the eighteenth century, and left their marks in place names and customs. As elsewhere in the New World, the Indian tribes were induced to do most of the fighting, and thus to contribute largely to their own destruction. As elsewhere, too, the Indians were the pawns in struggles which were only the echoes of the dynastic rivalries of Paris, London, and Madrid.

The coming of American frontiersmen added another dimension to the Trace. The halfbreed traders, such as the Colberts, formed a small but distinct group, neither wholly savage nor wholly civilized. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries characters like General Wilkinson, ranking officer of the American Army and a highly-paid conspirator-agent of Spain, found the Natchez Trace a suitable place for intrigue. Itinerant preachers, robbers, murderers, and slavetraders also were at home in this environment. Andrew Jackson traveled down the Trace to marry Rachel Robards and fetch her back to Nashville.

One of the most noted victims of the Trace was Meriwether Lewis, of Lewis and Clark fame and later governor of St. Louis. Lewis died of gunshot wounds at Grinder's tavern, under exceedingly mysterious circumstances.

The coming of the river boats opened another colorful era and ended the Trace as a traveled route. It was gradually forgotten, as the Indians were pushed westward to Indian Territory, and the frontier itself moved on toward New Mexico. Today the Natchez Trace is a national parkway, with facilities for travelers considerably better than those available to Jackson and Rachel. The travelers today are more peaceable but less picturesque than those of earlier times.

Jonathan Daniels has told this story with delightful skill and keen historical insight. His book deserves a place on the shelves of every student of American history. Author and publisher are to be congratulated on a book that will bring pleasure to several generations of

readers.

Donald E. Worcester.

University of Florida.

The Scotch-Irish: A Social History. By James G. Leyburn. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1962. Notes and index. Pp. xix, 377. \$7.00.)

Mr. Leyburn has attempted an impossible task—yet he has not entirely failed. He has produced a useful book, clearly written and well organized. The chief value of the work lies in its successful attempt to provide a natural connection between Scotch-Irish history in Scotland and Ulster and that in America. The book thus corrects a tendency common among Americans to regard the Scotch-Irish migration as the beginning rather than as a continuation of Scotch-Irish history. It is with considerable insight that the author deals with the character of the Lowland Scot, the causes of Scottish migration to Ulster, and the character of the Ulster Scot. Mr. Leyburn devotes roughly equal space to each side of the Atlantic, but his treatment of the story in Scotland and Ireland seems the fresher and more convincing, perhaps because Americans are less familiar with it.

It would seem that any appraisal, however brief, of Scotch-Irish political influence during the colonial and revolutionary periods must involve basic reliance on such primary source materials as the *Pennsylvania Archives*, the *Archives of Maryland*, *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, and *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*. Yet only four of the thirty notes accompanying Mr. Leyburn's chapter on "The Scotch-Irish in Politics" proceed from such sources. Again, in his chapter on "Frontier Society," the author might have told us more about the Scotch-Irish family itself. Did whole families customarily move and settle together? Or was it more usual that individuals moved and then established families and settlements? On the other hand, Mr. Leyburn has discerned, as Henry J. Ford (*The Scotch-Irish in America*, 1915) did not, the great importance of Maryland's eastern and western shores in the expansion of Scotch-Irish settlement into the back country.

While he has not written a book that replaces Ford's, Mr. Leyburn has provided the general reader with an extremely useful account rooted properly in Europe. Moreover, he has drawn attention to a number of excellent subjects (such as Maryland's importance in the Scotch-Irish migration and settlement) which impatiently await close

historical investigation. For this we are more than grateful.

Robert W. Ramsey.

Hollins College.

The Know Nothing Party in New Orleans: A Reappraisal. By Leon Cyprian Soulé. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Historical Association. 1961. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. Pp. x, 128. \$5.00.)

Here in a nutshell is the burden of Mr. Soulé's message: The rise of the Know-Nothing Party to power in New Orleans must be considered in the light of the long-time struggle for political supremacy between the "Creoles" and "Americans," a conflict that originated with the purchase of Louisiana and was intensified in the Crescent City when the three separate municipalities of New Orleans and the neighboring suburb of Lafayette were consolidated in 1852. Following a brief period of Democratic control through a coalition of Creoles and immigrants, the local Americans embraced the Know-Nothing movement and gained ascendancy in city politics at about the time that the Party was declining rapidly elsewhere in the State and na-

tion. Later in the decade, however, many conservative, wealthy Americans, deploring the violence and intimidation by which the opposition was reduced to impotency, deserted the Know-Nothing ranks. Nevertheless the Party continued its local mastery by attracting the support of labor; and, strange to say, in its final days prior to the Federal occupation in 1862, it was sustained by the very Creoles and immigrants against whom its original arguments were directed.

The author's treatment of New Orleans politics differs from certain conclusions reached by previous historians. He sees a resurgence rather than a diminution of the Creole-American rivalry during the 1850's and he regards anti-Catholicism as an essential characteristic of the Know-Nothing persuasion in Louisiana's principal city. This book is based primarily upon a diligent combining of New Orleans newspaper files; unfortunately Mr. Soulé relies almost exclusively upon such sources. He might well have made more dexterous use of statistics available in census and election returns—as Lee Benson did in his recently published work, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case* (Princeton, 1961). The author should have given a more comprehensive background of the Creole-American struggle and he should have more effectively related the New Orleans Know-Nothing movement to State and national politics. He does not present a particularly convincing explanation of the process by which the local Party won the support of the Creoles and immigrants.

Edwin A. Miles.

University of Houston.

General Kirby Smith, C.S.A. By Joseph Howard Parks. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 537. \$7.50.)

A reissue of a book that first appeared in 1954, this is one of sixteen titles which at this writing make up the Southern Biography Series. It is eminently worth reprinting not only on its own merits, but also as a counterweight to the overemphasis placed by biographers and military historians of the Civil War upon the eastern theaters of the conflict.

Born in Florida, trained at the United States Military Academy, the young officer spent several years in the old United States Army in typical border service, punctuated in his case, however, by a stint as mathematics professor at West Point. When his State seceded he

promptly resigned his majority, entered the Confederate service as a lieutenant colonel, and thereafter progressed through the grades to become one of the Confederacy's seven full generals in field service.

In March, 1863, Smith assumed command of the Trans-Mississippi Department, the largest theater of the war, and continued there until the South's defeat. Exercising both civil and military authority in this vast and sprawling section of the beleaguered young nation, he managed to make it self-supporting. His post afforded him little chance for military generalship, for his task was primarily an administrative one and a matter of staving off military defeat until the war's outcome was decided elsewhere.

Smith bore his trials with soldierly fortitude. His ultimate failure—if it may be called that—may be set down to several factors, none of them to his discredit. He had to cope with sluggish patriotism and despondency of the civilian population; with the failure of other western commanders to understand the importance of saving Vicksburg; with a grave lack of resources and transport; and with his own inadequate preparation as a civil administrator.

The last Confederate general to surrender, Smith left the country after the capitulation, but returned and took the amnesty oath in November, 1865. After some unsuccessful business ventures he followed the example of Lee by devoting himself to education. From 1875 until his death in 1893 he was professor of mathematics at the

University of the South.

The author gives more space to detailed descriptions of military operations than is necessary to this reviewer's happiness; and the inner Kirby Smith is sometimes lost under the profusely documented external Kirby Smith. Even so, the book is well written, scholarly, and balanced. Professor Parks has made excellent use of the rich supply of personal and family letters, diaries, and other manuscript materials made available to him, particularly by the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina. This is one of the best of the numerous biographies of Confederate generals.

Richard Bardolph.

The Woman's College of the University of North Carolina.

Commanders of the Army of the Potomac. By Warren W. Hassler, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1962. Pp. xxi, 281. \$6.00.)

Dr. Hassler, an Associate Professor of History at Pennsylvania State University, has continued his very early interest in Civil War themes. A master's thesis on "The First Day's Battle at Gettysburg," University of Pennsylvania, 1951, was followed by George B. McClellan, Shield of the Union, and now by the present volume. The author is intimately familiar with battlefield terrain, having worked as a well-respected seasonal historian for the National Park Service at Fredericksburg-Spotsylvania and at Manassas, and as a nearby Baltimorean, having roamed Gettysburg since early childhood. There is no substitute for this type of knowledge and it is clearly reflected in the study.

Dr. Hassler has presented a brief, highly-readable account of the battles fought by this army that General Grant tested rather thoroughly in the final year of the war, theorizing that it had never been led or driven to its capacity. He places the generals in perspective better,

in this reviewer's opinion, than anyone else has done.

The footnotes are grouped in such fashion that the reader is seldom quite sure which fact, as stated, is supported by which reference. This current tendency in footnoting is doubtless more aggravating to the informed than to the more casual reader but one can only express the wish that such intensive research would be documented more explicitly.

Even in his footnotes the author gives the impression that he is correlating the opinions of others, rather than standing on his own feet, as a man of his attainments has every right to do. Actually, the conclusions are those of Dr. Hassler, buttressed to some extent by the competent sources to which he is referring the reader for collateral study. However, when as on page 261 he quotes Walter Geer quoting Henderson the machinery begins to creak.

The review of the Army of the Potomac in Washington occurred in May, 1865, not nine days after Lincoln's assassination as stated on page 242. President Lincoln is described (page xv) as an ineffective strategist and tactician until the middle of the war. This reviewer agrees that Lincoln grasped the basic principles of strategy by 1863,

but he was hardly a tactician, ever.

Dr. Hassler could have turned out a stronger study, presenting his own considered opinions with fewer qualifying words such as on

page 263, "probably," "perhaps," or "to a greater or lesser extent." Nonetheless, this is an interesting, provocative study, well worth the time and attention of the reader.

J. Walter Coleman.

Washington, D. C.

Confiscation of Confederate Property in the North. By Henry D. Shapiro. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 1962. Pp. x, 58. Index. \$1.50.)

For nearly fifty years the late James G. Randall's Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln has been the standard work in its field. Included in this study is a discussion of the Confiscation Acts enacted by Congress in 1861 and 1862. Professor Randall concluded that because these statutes were not rigidly enforced there was no widespread confiscation of northern property owned by southerners. For this reason the acts did not serve to enrich the war treasury although this was to have been one purpose of the measures. Professor Randall and his student, David Donald, have stated that the Confiscation Acts did not appreciably aid in the prosecution of the war.

Henry D. Shapiro questions Randall's conclusions in Confiscation of Confederate Property in the North, a revised master's thesis whose title is somewhat misleading. After briefly but tediously tracing the passage of the Confiscation Acts through Congress. Mr. Shapiro confines his discussion of their enforcement to the Southern District of New York. He does not investigate other areas of "the North." He states that he is not presenting the constitutional aspects of confiscation as did Randall. He discusses the problem only in terms of "politics and administration." Realizing that his study is by no means definitive, he writes, "I have been forced to ask more questions than I can possibly answer. . . ." He does, indeed, leave many questions unanswered.

In his discussion of the enactment of the Confiscation Acts Mr. Shapiro emphasizes the complexities confronting the Federal government as it tried to define the nature of the war and determine its rights to seize enemy property. Included also is an account of the confusion created after the policy was adopted and Attorney General Edward Bates' lack of enthusiasm for enforcing the law. The author concludes that enforcement depended primarily on the Federal attorneys in the various districts and it was E. Delafield Smith in the

Southern District of New York who made the statutes effective here. Mr. Shapiro says that Smith's accomplishments were especially impressive and he cites forty confiscation cases tried in this one district. The Federal treasury was benefited in the amount of \$60,530.69 from the confiscation of property and much of the credit belongs to the determined, energetic Smith.

Mr. Shapiro does not contend that the Southern District of New York was typical of the northern districts and for this reason he states that he "can do no more than challenge the traditional conclusion that the Confiscation Acts were not very effective because they were not enforced." However, even this is a bold act when one considers that his research is confined to such a limited area. It must be conceded that his thesis is interesting but the primary value of this little monograph is the question it raises. Mr. Shapiro may intend to pursue his study of the problem and at some future time may dispute Randall's views, but he is not yet in a position to do so.

Confiscation of Confederate Property in the North is carefully documented but there is no bibliography. This omission is puzzling to the reviewer who feels sure that Mr. Shapiro must have compiled one as a necessary part of his thesis. A final criticism relates to style and this is not unusual in the case of master's theses. The personalities do not come to life. It must be conceded that the subject does not lend itself to an informal style of writing but the author might have included a touch of human interest. Mr. Shapiro's sentences are painfully involved and much too long. The fifty-six pages in the text make for laborious reading.

Mary Elizabeth Massey.

Winthrop College.

Farewell to the Bloody Shirt: Northern Republicans and the Southern Negro, 1877-1893. By Stanley P. Hirshson. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1962. Notes and index. Pp. 334. \$6.95.)

This excellent study naturally invites comparison with Vincent P. De Santis' Republicans Face the Southern Question. Both cover much of the same ground, but in a complementary rather than repetitious manner. De Santis, with focus on the South, documented the continuing importance of the Southern Question. Hirshson, with focus on the North, contributes an analysis of the forces underlying the shifting Republican policies.

Essentially the story is one of vacillation between two approaches. One was that of rebuilding on a foundation of white votes, either through a tariff and sound money appeal to old Whigs and New South industrialists (tried by Hayes and Harrison) or through coalition with Independents (tried by Arthur). Each of these failed in turn and was followed by reversion to the traditional program of Negro votes in the South and the bloody shirt in the North. Garfield never had time fully to develop his unique approach of federal aid to education as the best long-range guarantee of Negro rights.

Hirshson's central contribution lies in his treatment of the basic tensions between economic and political orientations among Republican leaders. "More than any other Northern groups," he says, "merchants engaged in Southern trade and Eastern industrialists frustrated Republican attempts to stress the war issues." Merchants supported a policy of peace for the sake of commercial profits; industrialists argued that the protection theme would attract southern support. In addition, Mugwumps generally distrusted Negroes and opposed the centralizing tendency of federal protection to civil rights. With the defeat of the Lodge "Force Bill" in 1891 the Republican party finally abandoned the bloody shirt and Negro southerners, leaving the road open to disfranchisement and segregation. The sectional realignment, Hirshson concludes, was not only the work of the social and intellectual forces emphasized in Paul Buck's *The Road to Reunion* but was also "largely the product of powerful economic forces."

George B. Tindall.

The University of North Carolina.

Seeds of Southern Change: The Life of Will Alexander. By Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely. (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press. 1962. Illustrations, bibliography, and index. Pp. xvi, 343. \$5.95.)

The late Will W. Alexander was one of the makers of the modern South as surely as the masters of capital and the political leaders in the statehouses. During his entire career from his graduation at Vanderbilt University until his death on a farm near Chapel Hill, North Carolina, in 1956, with the exception of brief periods, Will Alexander's life was inseparably associated with the currents of southern life. In 1919 he helped establish the Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation in Atlanta and was its director for the approximately

twenty-five years of its existence. During the New Deal he was Assistant Administrator for the Resettlement Administration and Director of the Farm Security Administration and later was Vice-President of the Rosenwald Foundation. He was important in the establishment of Atlanta University and Dillard University, and was President of the latter for a short time.

Despite the catholicity of his interests and the geographic range of his associations, Will Alexander's career and major contributions were made in the area of race relations in the South. Here, he was no doctrinaire, but rather a pragmatist in the best sense of the term. Unlike some who work in the field of human affairs, he never viewed mankind in the mass, but rather as composed of individuals, each with his own attributes and concerns. Unlike some, too, his interests were not solely of the mind but rather were largely of the heart. It was this warmth of mind and human understanding that contributed most to Dr. Will's effectiveness in his work with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Certainly, too, his interest in individuals and their potentialities when given an opportunity was an important factor in the fashioning of the Farm Security Administration program and the

ultimate success of that program.

In many ways this is a good book. The Stokelys have told the story well. They have captured much of the personality of Will Alexander and they have given us a conception of his role in preparing the South for the great transition in race relations now underway. Yet, Seeds of Southern Change will be disappointing to some. Although the authors undoubtedly based their account on considerable research, including Dr. Will's dictated recollections, their book would have been more valuable to students of the modern South had specific sources of factual information been identified. Moreover, there is a disturbing tendency (to this reader at any rate) to avoid specific dates apparently on the assumption that approximate times of occurrence are sufficient. Regrettably, too, it is not always possible to be certain which policies of the Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation Alexander actually initiated and which ones emanated from other members of the staff. Seeds of Southern Change is, nonetheless, an interesting biography of an important southerner of this century.

J. Carlyle Sitterson.

The University of North Carolina.

Daniel Morgan: Revolutionary Rifleman. By Don Higginbotham. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1961. Pp. xvi, 239. Maps, bibliographical essay, and index. \$6.00.)

In the recent upsurge in interest in the Revolutionary War several biographies of military leaders have been published. Among them are two of Daniel Morgan: the book under review, and North Callahan's Daniel Morgan: Ranger of the Revolution (New York, 1961). It is inevitable, and proper, that the two will be compared. Both books have merit, but the Higginbotham study is the better of the two. It is not as long or detailed as Callahan's work, but it is stylistically superior, characterized by a more discerning evaluation of the evidence, and it reflects greater familiarity on the part of the author with the historiography of the war.

Higginbotham's study opens with the appearance of Morgan at Winchester, Virginia, in 1753, at about eighteen years of age (his earlier life is largely obscure), and traces his career through his death, in 1802. The major portion of the work is rightly devoted to Morgan's Revolutionary service, though the author pays due attention to his life as a waggoner and soldier in the French and Indian War and as a frontier farmer between the wars, to his post-Revolutionary military service against the Whiskey Rebels, and to his brief

stint as a Federalist congressman in the late 1790's.

Throughout, the author is judicious in evaluating Morgan, claiming neither too little nor too much for him, attributing to him only what the evidence supports. Morgan emerges as an extremely realistic product of his environment and condition. As a young man on the Virginia frontier he was a rowdy, hard-drinking, two-fisted sort, tall and powerful, exceedingly skillful and brave in battle, full of fun, but, at the same time, temperamental and hot-tempered when crossed. As an officer in the Revolution this rugged frontier background manifested itself in the tremendous physical endurance he demonstrated, in his wily employment of frontier-type tactics, and in his ability to handle troops. He fought throughout the war except for a thirteenmonth period during 1779 and 1789, when anger and disappointment over failure to receive the command of a new corps caused him to tender his resignation to Congress. He played a leading role at Quebec, in 1775, where he was captured; fought at Saratoga, in 1777, where his leadership contributed substantially to the American triumph; and served in the South in late 1780 and 1781, where his brilliant victory at the Cowpens began the chain of events that led to Yorktown.

As a leader of the common soldier Morgan was superb. He was a soldier's kind of officer, noted for his common touch, who had an unusual ability to inspire his men to bravery. Informal in his relations with them, yet he commanded their great respect, and enforced, when necessary, a firm discipline. Though he might, on occasion, knock a man down for failure to obey orders, on the whole he was extremely just in his treatment of subordinates. It was this exceptional ability to lead men, in conjunction with his skill as a tactician, that made Morgan one of the ablest officers of the Revolution.

Aside from an unhappy phrase or two—"the military situation commenced to gravitate in favor of the Americans" (p. 63), for example—this is a well-written book. It is virtually free of errors of fact or interpretation, and is based on substantial research. It constitutes a worthwhile contribution to the military history of the Revolution.

Robert L. Ganyard.

University of Houston.

To Secure These Blessings: The Great Debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, Arranged According to Topics. By Saul K. Padover. (New York: Washington Square-Ridge Press. 1962. Illustrations and index. Pp. 464. \$7.50.)

The Constitutional Convention of 1787 left few official records. Knowledge of the debates which led to the formation of the Constitution of the United States has been entirely formulated from the notes and journals kept by the delegates present. These records—the most important of which is James Madison's detailed journal—have long been available to scholars. Prior to the appearance of this volume, however, the debates have been available only in chronological form as the debates occurred; now, Saul K. Padover has rearranged the debates according to the sections of the Constitution to which they refer. What has resulted is a clear, concise presentation of the debates which led to the Constitution which has served this country well since 1789.

Of primary importance are the debates showing the positions of the small and large States on the question of representation in Congress. With the small States insisting on equal representation and the large States just as insistently working for representation by population or by amount of taxes paid, the convention almost foundered until the "Great Compromise" provided a workable system of equality in the Senate and proportionment by population in the House of Representatives. The nature and powers of the executive, the judiciary, and the legislature are all presented as evolving from heated debates over varying interpretations of governmental theory. Even the amending process, ratification, and the act of signing the final document are revealed to have been the subject of intense debate and eventual

compromise before the finished form was determined.

This volume like many others by this author is not a great contribution to historical knowledge but it does present important material in a clear, easily accessible manner. To determine the origin of a particular section of the Constitution it is no longer necessary to search through the 1827 or 1861 volumes of Jonathan Elliot's *Debates* (on which this work is based) or through the *Records of the Federal Convention* edited by Max Farrand in the early half of this century. The debates concerning each article of the Constitution are here arranged topically in such a manner as to make it clear what various opinons the founders voiced and how these were combined into the finished document.

The picture is clarified by occasional pertinent notes by the author and the entire work is enhanced by a preliminary essay which presents a concise view of the need for a new government in 1787 and the events leading up to the meeting of the convention and the adoption of the Constitution. Here there is one minor error: The Continental Congress did not "terminate itself" in September, 1788, but remained in session until just before the new government was formed in 1789.

The only major weakness of the book is the failure to give sources of the notes of the debates. This lack of reference information poses a serious problem to the researcher who would like to refer to Farrand

or Elliot or even to the papers of the delegates themselves.

For those interested in the Constitution and the period in which it was formed this is a valuable book. Here in readily available form are the debates concerning the Constitution presenting clearly what the delegates said about each article as it was framed.

J. Edwin Hendricks.

Wake Forest College.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission

The Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, Mr. Norman C. Larson, delivered a lecture at Elon College on April 5, the third in a series sponsored by the North Carolina Alpha Chapter of Pi Gamma Mu, the National Social Science Honor Society. He spoke twice on "North Carolina's Part in the Civil War Centennial" at the War in the West Conference in Des Moines, Iowa, June 15 and 16. The program, sponsored by the Iowa Civil War Centennial Commission, was attended by Civil War Centennial Commission chairmen and directors and by Civil War students from 18 States in the western theater.

The newest member of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission is Mr. F. C. Salisbury of Morehead City, who previously served as chairman of the Carteret County Committee. He received his appointment from Governor Terry Sanford in May and will serve until September 1, 1963.

At a meeting of the full Commission on June 1 Mr. Louis Manarin, Editor for the new roster of North Carolina troops, reported on his progress. He stated that he had almost completed work on all North Carolina cavalry regiments and battalions and that he hoped to finish this phase by early fall. As regimental designation numbers increased, he said, the number of men who served in the regiment decreased. Manarin also explained the new "grass roots" campaign which is being conducted as a means of reaching sources other than those such as the National Archives or the depositories in North Carolina. He hopes that persons having information on any Confederate soldier will supply him with data as a cross-check against information gleaned from regular depositories.

Reorganization of the committee structure of the Commission was approved by the Commission at the July 1 meeting. A list of new committees with an explanation of their duties follows:

LEGISLATIVE: This committee will assist the Executive Secretary in approaching members of the 1963 General Assembly concerning legislation regarding the Commission.

COMMEMORATIONS: Since 1964 and 1965 will witness the anniversary of the major events of the war in North Carolina, it was felt that a special committee to assist in the planning of commemorations was necessary. This group will study these events and make specific suggestions concerning commemorative programs.

These recommendations will be passed on to local committee chairmen.

PUBLICATIONS: The publications committee was asked to consider the whole field of publications and how the Commission might best serve the public in this area. Specific attention is necessary regarding the roster project which will approach its completion during 1964 and 1965.

SCHOOLS: This committee will undertake the formulation of a program of in-school training in Confederate history. It will recommend a course of study and suggest reference materials and other aids for this purpose.

"One Night in Chambersburg," an original half-hour drama by Manly Wade Wellman, was shown over ten Tar Heel television stations during the week of July 22-29. The one-act play, produced by the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, was directed by Mr. John S. Clayton, University of North Carolina Associate Professor of Radio, Television, and Motion Pictures. Originating in the Chapel Hill studios of WUNC-TV, the production featured six student actors from the University. The play is based on a little-known incident of the Civil War during the time of General Stuart's raid through Pennsylvania. Stations carrying the program were WFMY-TV, Greensboro; WITV, Washington; WRAL-TV, Raleigh; WECT, Wilmington; WNCT, Greenville; WTVD, Durham; WSJS-TV, Winston-Salem; WLOS-TV, Asheville; WBTV, Charlotte; and WUNC-TV, Raleigh. The all-North Carolina production is being released as part of a television package to stations throughout the country.

Mr. Larson, who is co-ordinator of the salvage operations of the "Modern Greece," reports that Fort Fisher was the center of North Carolina's centennial activities during July and August. There are some twenty-five Navy Department personnel involved in the salvage operation which has yielded items of historical significance. Recently divers have brought up a tourniquet screw, a brass tongue depresser, a bullet probe, the handle of a bone saw and a scarificator—all medical equipment in extremely good condition.

Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission

Eight congressmen were appointed to the federal North Carolina Tercentenary Celebration Commission in July. The Commission, approved by President John F. Kennedy on April 27, consists of fifteen members: four representatives, four senators, and seven members to be appointed by the President. Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson designated North Carolina Senators B. Everett Jordan and Sam J. Ervin, Jr., California Senator Thomas H. Kuchel, and South Carolina Senator Olin D. Johnston. North Carolina Representative Basil L. Whitener was made Chairman of the House group by Speaker of the House John W. McCormack of Massachusetts. Joining Representative Whitener will be Alabama Representative Albert Rains and North Carolina Representatives Charles R. Jonas

and A. Paul Kitchin. General John D. F. Phillips, Executive Secretary, stated that the federal Commission will work with the North Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission to formulate plans for the 1963 celebration year.

Mrs. Mattie Erma Parker, Executive Editor of the Colonial Records Project, reports that the first volume of the Colonial Records series has been sent to press. Entitled "The Charters and Constitutions of Colonial North Carolina, 1578-1698," this work is due for release January 2, 1963. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the State Department of Archives and History, has written a Foreword. In the Introduction, Mrs. Parker emphasized the significance of the publication. "The eight charters included in this book provided, in succession, the legal basis for the establishment of English colonies in the area now called North Carolina, and they authorized government for colonies in that region."

The Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation of Winston-Salem has pledged

a sum of \$10,000 to be used on the Colonial Records Project.

At its organizational meeting in June 29 in Raleigh, the Committee on Religious Activities outlined the role it would take in the Tercentenary celebration. The historical importance of the religious freedoms denoted in the Charter will be emphasized. The Committee will prepare and distribute material to be used by clergymen in sermons, addresses, and talks throughout the State on March 24, 1963. Lay organizations will be encouraged to present programs related to the colonial period, and churches established during the 1663-1763 period will hold commemorative services. Chairman of the Committee is Rt. Rev. Thomas H. Wright, Wilmington, and Co-Chairman is Dr. Harold J. Dudley of Raleigh.

Production of the Charter Commission's documentary film will be the first project of the new North Carolina Film Board. Governor Sanford authorized the film-producing unit for the State in August. The \$30,000 film will be designed for students but will be made available to the general

public.

The Honorable R. Hunt Parker, Associate Justice, North Carolina Supreme Court, presented an address on the Carolina Charter before the

June convention of the North Carolina Bar Association.

A plenary meeting of the Charter Commission was held in Raleigh on June 8. All committees gave reports on the progress accomplished in their areas. Mr. James G. W. MacLamroc, Chairman of the Finance Committee, reported that various foundations were being contacted for donations. Mr. Henry Belk, Chairman of the Public Information Activities Committee, said there was a State-wide increase of coverage in all news media. The Chairman of the Scholarly Activities Committee, Mr. Lambert Davis, outlined these objectives of his Committee: promotion of meetings of scholarly organizations in North Carolina during the Tercentenary year; subsidization of important scholarly book-length works for the colonial period, 1663-1763; and the publication of the Colonial Records series. Programs are being organized in all of the State's educational institutions through the efforts of Dr. Paul Murray's Committee on Programs in Schools, Colleges, and Universities. Historical pamphlets, dealing with

various phases of colonial life, are being published through the Commission's Raleigh office. The first, "Coins and Currency of Colonial Carolina," will be available for distribution by late fall. Mrs. Harry McMullan, Chairman of the Committee on Commemorative Events, acknowledged efforts of all concerned and commended areas where planning was at a high level of development. Various groups in schools, churches, and civic organizations are working on the writing and production of various skits, pageants, and plays dealing with the colonial period. The study of the Charter and historic events of the 1663-1763 era is being worked into local school programs, and souvenir items are being planned. In several counties the first native play, "The Prince of Parthia," written by Thomas Godfrey in 1755, will be staged. Many communities which were founded in the colonial period will re-enact known historical events. There will be displays of art and craft objects in local museums, shop windows, and banks. Several garden clubs have volunteered to plant trees celebrating the Tercentenary year. Restorations of historic buildings as well as reconstructions have been proposed. Programs of the classical music which was brought to the colonies and folk music will be performed by groups throughout the State. Mr. William C. Fields, representing the Arts Committee, gave a prospectus of the 1963 Art Exhibition in Raleigh. He also revealed some plans being adopted for the December, 1962, meeting of the Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, and for Culture Week of 1962. At Mr. David Stick's suggestion, a speaker's bureau has been organized through the Charter Commission's Public Information Office.

On July 9 Mr. James K. Huhta of Durham joined the Colonial Records staff as Editorial Assistant. Mr. Huhta has recently received his M.A. degree in history from the University of North Carolina.

Director's Office

The Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History met in the Assembly Room of the Department on June 12 with Mr. McDaniel Lewis, Chairman, presiding. Other members present were Dr. Gertrude S. Carraway, Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Mr. Josh L. Horne, and Dr. D. J. Whitener. Present also were Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department and Secretary to the Board; the Department's Budget Officer, Miss Mary B. Cornick; and the following Division Heads: Mr. H. G. Jones (together with his three section heads, Admiral Alex M. Patterson, Mr. Cyrus B. King, and Dr. Thornton W. Mitchell), Archives and Manuscripts; Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites; Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums; and Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Publications. In addition there were present General John D. F. Phillips and Mr. Norman C. Larson, Executive Secretaries respectively of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission and of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission. The Board considered and unanimously approved the budgetary estimates for the coming biennium, which were summarized by Dr. Crittenden. Reports from the various divisions of the Department and the two Commissions were made.

Following a recess the group reconvened and was joined by Governor Terry Sanford; Mr. Frank B. Turner, State Property Officer; and Mr. George B. Cherry, General Services Division, Department of Administration. The "C" budgetary request relating to a new building was discussed, and Dr. Crittenden summarized the need, noting that, except North Carolina, every State from Pennsylvania to Mississippi either already has or is presently about to erect a new history building. Governor Sanford and other members of the group then toured the Department's quarters in the Education Building (one of four buildings in which space is allocated for the work of the Department). The Governor expressed his interest in the proposed new building, recognizing that valuable and irreplaceable records were being lost due to inadequate and unsuitable space for their preservation.

Dr. Crittenden and Mr. Tarlton met in Hendersonville on June 29 with the Commission on Reorganization of State Government which approved a proposed bill based on Resolution 71 which was passed by the 1961 General Assembly. The bill directed the Advisory Budget Commission to make a study to establish a State policy regarding legislation concerning historical sites and historical celebrations and appropriations for the same. This group had referred the matter to the Reorganization Commission which then conducted the study. The proposed bill, which is expected to be introduced in the 1963 Assembly, will recommend that the State Department of Archives and History be authorized to accept responsibility for determining the development of historic sites. It further proposes that no funds be made available for sites or celebrations until a specific project is approved by the Department according to criteria established by a Historic Sites Advisory Commission. Such legislation is expected to prevent, in the future, the passage of acts appropriating funds for local projects which are not of State-wide historical importance and can never be financially self-supporting; or, if funds are appropriated without following the procedure outlined above, to make impossible the expenditure of

On July 3 Dr. Crittenden, Mayor Ben Aycock, and a group of Wake Forest's leading citizens met to discuss methods and procedures necessary for the restoration of the Birthplace of Wake Forest College, often referred to as the Calvin Jones House. The group agreed on a course of action and restoration work has actually begun.

Mr. Max F. Harris, who has been on special assignment with the Division of Historic Sites for several months investigating the problem of Andrew Jackson's birthplace, has turned over to Dr. Crittenden a report on his findings. Thought to be the most thorough study on this question to date, the report is expected to be published and made available for distribution. Dr. Crittenden spoke on July 27 in Mars Hill, at the joint meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association and the Western North Carolina Historical Association, on the Department's need for a new building. He was accompanied to the July 27-28 meetings by Miss Corinne Caudle, Administrative Assistant of the Literary and Historical Association.

On August 7 the Raleigh Historic Sites Commission, which Dr. Crittenden serves as Consultant, met and adopted criteria for judging historic sites. These standards are based on those adopted by the State Department of Archives and History, which in turn were based on those established by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The criteria and a statement of the purposes of the Raleigh group were prepared by Mr. W. S. Tarlton, acting chairman. Miss Beth G. Crabtree of the Archives Division of the Department is Secretary of the Commission.

Dr. Crittenden spoke to the Greensboro Civitan Club on August 3 emphasizing the need for a new building by the Department. He and General John D. F. Phillips were in Winston-Salem on August 8 to meet with Mr. James A. Gray, Executive Director, and Mr. Ralph P. Hanes, Chairman of the Board, both of Old Salem, Inc., to discuss commemoration of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary (1963) in relation to the Salem group. In connection with the Charter Tercentenary Old Salem will sponsor a seminar in 1963 on historic preservation.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

On June 10 Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, attended the convention of the North Carolina Association of Registers of Deeds in Hendersonville, and on June 16-18 he represented the Society of American Archivists at a meeting of the Survey and Standards Committee of the Survey of Library Functions of the States in Miami Beach, Florida. He delivered a paper on "The Case FOR a State-Assisted County Records Program" at the annual meeting of the National Association of County Recorders and Clerks in New York City on July 10; and he visited the archival-records management agencies in Albany, New York; Montpelier, Vermont; and Annapolis, Maryland, during the period July 12-16.

In the Microfilm Services Center, 1,195 reels of microfilm totaling 113,812 feet were processed during the quarter ending June 30. This number included 836 reels of negative film and 359 reels of positives, most of the latter being copies of North Carolina newspapers for colleges and universities. Among the records filmed were those of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, 1886-1955, in both English and Cherokee. Mr. A. Winfred Hall resigned effective July 31, and was replaced by Mr. Donald Horton, who formerly was assigned to the State Records Section.

The Laminating Shop restored 25,818 pages of historical records in the three months ending June 30. Of these, 17,922 pages were county records, many of which were returned to the counties. In addition, 10,515 pages of land grant books in the Secretary of State's office were laminated and rebound outside office hours.

In the Newspaper Microfilm Project, as of June 30, the following newspapers titles had been microfilmed since publication of North Carolina Newspapers on Microfilm: A Checklist of Early North Carolina Newspapers Available on Microfilm from the State Department of Archives and History in February (dates in brackets indicate badly-broken runs): Weekly News, Asheville [1851-1869], 3 reels; Beaufort Journal, Beaufort, weekly, 1857-1858, 1 partial reel; Old North State, Beaufort, weekly and

semi-weekly, 1865, 1 partial reel; Bulletin, Charlotte, tri-weekly [1865] and [1881], and daily [1859-1880], 3 reels; North Carolinian, Fayetteville, weekly [1839-1861] and October 7, 1864, 6 reels; North Carolinian, Fayetteville, daily [1859-1865], 1 reel; Daily Newbern Commercial, New Bern [1866], 1 reel; Daily Commercial News, New Bern [1881-1882], 1 reel; Daily Journal of Commerce, New Bern [1866-1875], 3 reels; Weekly Journal of Commerce, New Bern [1866-1876], 1 reel; Democratic Signal, Raleigh, weekly, 1843-1844, 1 reel; *The Rasp*, Raleigh, weekly [1841-1842], 1 reel; and Whig Clarion, Raleigh, weekly, 1843-1844, 1 reel. In addition, the following weekly Milton papers were filmed on three consecutive reels titled Milton Newspapers Prior to 1901: Milton Intelligencer [1819]; Milton Gazette and Roanoke Advertiser [1824-1831]; Milton Spectator [1831-1854]; Milton Chronicle [1841-1883]; Milton Advertiser [1886]; Milton Gazette [1892-1893]; and Milton Herald [1898-1900]. And the following New Bern papers were filmed on 14 consecutive reels to facilitate research: North Carolina Times, weekly and semi-weekly [1865-1866]; New Bern Weekly Times [1866] and [1873]; North Carolina Times, daily, 1865; New Bern Daily Times [1865-1866] and [1869-1874]; and New Bern Republican, tri-weekly and daily [1867-1868].

Positive microfilm copies of these titles may be ordered for \$8 per reel from the State Archivist, P. O. Box 1881, Raleigh. Copies of the checklist, North Carolina Newspapers on Microfilm, are still available for twenty-

five cents from the same address.

Accessions recorded in the Archives during the quarter ending June 30, 1962, totaled 115. Included were the records of the Board of Nurse Registration and Education, 1903-1960; 15 volumes of the Edenton District Court Minutes, 1775-1799; additional records from the Division of Negro Education of the Department of Public Instruction; 2 reels of microfilm of Minutes of the State Board of Education, 1905-1962; and 1 reel of microfilm containing the letters and original sketches of the artist Lyonel Feininger.

Continuing progress has been made in recataloging the Private Collections. The Jane S. McKimmon Papers cover Mrs. McKimmon's career in Home Demonstration work, 1910-1945, and offer a valuable source for the student of farm life in North Carolina. Other Private Collections arranged and cataloged during the quarter include the John Fries Blair Papers, the Lillian Dodd Collection, and the Ivanhoe Manufacturing Company Papers.

During the same quarter 598 researchers visited the Search Room and 835 letters requesting information from the Archives were answered. Photocopies numbering 979, together with 11 paper prints from microfilm and 32 typed certified copies were furnished to the public from records in the Archives.

Mr. Roger Jones joined the staff as Archivist I on July 1. He replaces Mrs. Marion Gregory as Assistant Search Room Attendant. Mr. Jones is a graduate of the University of North Carolina, and before joining the Department he worked in the North Carolina Collection of the University

of North Carolina Library. Miss Beth Crabtree, Archivist II, is serving as Secretary of the Raleigh Historic Sites Commission.

A revised edition of the 8-page leaflet, Genealogical Research in the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, has been issued and a copy may be obtained without charge from the State Archivist's office.

In the Local Records Section, as a preliminary step in the microfilm program, staff personnel inventoried the records of the various county offices in Orange, Rowan, and Cumberland counties. The Anson County Records Inventory has been written and distributed to all offices of the County. With the completion of Orange County, the permanently valuable records of twenty-three counties have now been microfilmed. Microfilming is now in progress in Alamance, Rowan, and Cumberland counties, the work in Alamance being done by the County, assisted by the Department.

Extensive and valuable groups of county records have recently been received. These include: from Anson County, the first 25 volumes of deeds with indexes thereto, 3 early will books, 19 volumes of court dockets and estates records, and 15 cubic feet of civil action papers; from Richmond County, 38 volumes of County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions and Superior Court records, 10 volumes of estates and miscellaneous records, 7 mercantile ledgers and journals, and 21 cubic feet of estates papers, civil actions, and miscellaneous paper; from Rowan County, 8 volumes of dockets of the County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, a trial docket of the Salisbury District Superior Court, 5 dockets of the county Superior Court, 49 marriage bonds of the period 1792-1806, a number of tax scrolls, and 1 cubic foot of miscellaneous papers; and from Cumberland County, 31 volumes of County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions and Superior Court records and estates records, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ half feet of estates papers, civil actions, and miscellaneous material.

Rear Admiral A. M. Patterson (ret.), Assistant State Archivist (Local Records), attended the annual conventions of the North Carolina Associations of Registers of Deeds at Hendersonville, June 10-11; of County Commissioners, County Accountants, and Tax Assessing Officers at Morehead City, June 17-19; and of Clerks of Superior Court at Morehead City, July 4-7. In connection with County Records matters he has recently visited fourteen counties. On June 29 he attended a meeting in Raleigh of the Religious Activities Committee of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary

Commission of which he is a member.

During the month of June Mr. Connis O. Brown attended the Sixteenth Institute on Preservation and Administration of Archives, held at the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

The revised edition of *The County Records Manual* has been distributed to all county officials.

Emphasis in the State Records Section continued on completing the scheduling of records of State agencies. Schedules recently have been finished for the Recreation Commission, Milk Commission, Board of Architects, Museum of Art, and the Woman's College of the University of

North Carolina. A revision of the schedule of the Teachers' and State Employees' Retirement System has also been completed. Schedules are in progress for North Carolina State College, Veterans' Commission, Department of Water Resources, and Hospitals Board of Control. All but four State agencies have been or will be scheduled as soon as staff time is available.

A reorganization of an index of registrants in the Sales and Use Tax Division, Department of Revenue, has been completed except for replacing some of the guides and conducting a brief orientation and training session in the use of the revised system. A study of fiscal records throughout the State has been undertaken with the expectation that a general schedule for such records will be developed. In addition, a records management handbook on filing operations is in draft form; plans are being made to conduct a workshop on "Filing and Finding." A brief visual aid, explaining to agency personnel records disposition and the steps by which a disposition schedule is developed, is also being prepared.

The Microfilm Project filmed 189 reels of microfilm during the quarter ending June 30, with a total of 646,130 images. Six of the filming projects were for the purpose of providing a security copy of the original records. There has been increasing emphasis on the quality of the filmed image, and filming at a reduction ratio of 40 to 1 has been almost entirely discontinued.

In the Records Center 2,889 cubic feet of records were accessioned and 554 cubic feet were disposed of, resulting in a net gain of 2,335 cubic feet. Representatives of 12 State agencies, North Carolina State College, and the Federal Department of Health, Education, and Welfare visited the Center 275 times to use records. The Records Center staff handled 4,058 reference requests for 24 agencies. All records holdings of the Center have been rechecked against finding aids, and all discrepancies have been corrected.

At the end of the fiscal year the State Records Center held 23,510 cubic feet of records, and had space for an additional 2,219 cubic feet on its shelving. Although more space will be made available by the destruction of records upon which the approved retention period has expired, the space situation in the Records Center is serious. Plans for increasing the capacity of the records storage operation are still delayed by the lack of funds.

Mr. John R. Van Hecke (Archivist II) was assigned to the Section effective May 14. Mr. Donald R. Horton (Microfilmer) transferred to the Microfilm Service Center and was replaced by Mr. Milton S. Sims.

The internal organization of the State Records Management Section and the alignment of functions were revised July 1 to make the staff more responsive to the increased responsibilities of the Section. The organizational components of the Section are: Microfilm Project, responsible for providing a central microfilming service to State agencies; the Records Center, responsible for the records storage operation; and the Records Management Staff, responsible for archival and records management activities, including records scheduling.

Division of Historic Sites

On April 26 Mr. Richard Iobst, Historic Sites Specialist in charge of the Marker Program, went to Anson County with Mr. Bryce Younts, Secretary of the North Carolina Soil Conservation Committee, to meet with Mr. Joe Liles, Senator Pat Taylor, and others regarding a marker for the Brown Creek Soil Conservation District. On May 5 Mr. Iobst went to Bath to participate in the ceremonies attending the erection of a mapmarker commemorating the history of Bath and on May 6 he spoke to the William Gaston Lewis Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, in Goldsboro. Mr. Iobst on May 16 went to Montgomery County to meet with Colonel Jeffrey Stanback and Mr. Bennie Keel, Historic Site Specialist at Town Creek Indian Mound, to discuss a marker for "Fort Hill," a Revolutionary War fortification overlooking the PeeDee River. On May 18-20 he participated in the Re-enactment of the Battle of Front Royal, Virginia, on June 1 he attended a meeting of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, and on June 12-13 he went to Roanoke Island with Historic Site Specialist Nicholas Bragg to photograph historic sites in the area and to meet with National Park Service officials to discuss markers for the Outer Banks area, Mr. Iobst went on June 22-24 to Asheville and Franklin with Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, and met with Colonel Paul Rockwell to discuss a marker for the Battle of Asheville and other matters. On June 23 he visited Franklin to discuss a marker for the French and Indian War Battle of Etchoe with Colonel Rockwell and Mr. Weimar Jones of Franklin. On June 24 he and Mr. Tarlton attended a special commemorative service at The Church of St. Johns in The Wilderness, Flat Rock, for Christopher G. Memminger, Secretary of the Treasury for the Confederacy. On July 6 Mr. Iobst attended a meeting concerning the marker program with Mr. Tarlton and Mr. H. C. Rhudy, Traffic Engineer, and Mr. Harold Brant, Landscape Engineer, both of the State Highway Department.

Eleven large map-markers and over 60 small markers have been erected through the Historical Marker Program in the past year. At present Mr. Robert Ramsey, Hollins College, Roanoke, Virginia, and Mr. Max F. Harris, State Department of Archives and History, are engaged in a special project to mark historic sites which will be inundated by a new dam being constructed on the Catawba River near Davidson. Most of these sites are

of the pre-Revolutionary period.

Visitation at the Alamance Battleground State Historic Site has continued to increase during the recent tourist season. Talks have been given by Mr. Walter R. Wootten, Historic Site Specialist, in Alamance County with respect to the Regulator Movement in American history and in connection with preparations for the Carolina Charter Tercentenary celebration in 1963. Mr. Wootten has also written a number of newspaper articles concerning plans for this commemoration in Alamance County. He gave talks on these plans to several groups during the month of August. Definite arrangements have been made to move the 35-foot granite column with a life-size bronze statue of Regulator leader James Hunter from the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park to the Alamance Battle-

ground Site. Permission was given the Department by the Federal Government for the re-erection of this column which is valued at \$12,000. A portion of an estimated \$5,000 necessary to make the transfer has been donated. The county of Alamance contributed \$1,000; the towns of Graham and Burlington gave a total of \$800; and donations from private individuals have also been made. An unveiling ceremony is planned for early fall.

Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., Historic Site Specialist, reports that construction on the Museum-Visitor Center at the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site was started about July 1, with plans for its completion set for the late fall. Mr. Robert Helms is General Contractor; other contractors are Williams Sheet Metal, Goldsboro, heating and air conditioning; Keene Plumbing Company, Goldsboro, plumbing; and Henry's Electrical Service, Snow Hill, wiring. Mr. Mason Hicks, Fayetteville, is Architect.

Mr. Sawyer has received the following items from Dr. and Mrs. Clarence Poe of Raleigh to be placed on exhibit when the museum is opened: clock (used by Aycock while a student at the University of North Carolina); crystal compote and silver butter dish (wedding gifts to Aycock and his first wife, Varina Woodard Aycock); platter (belonging to Aycock and his second wife, Cora Woodard Aycock, sister of Varina); chocolate pot, sugar dish, and pen (gifts during his administration as Governor); and pictures of Aycock and his two wives.

On July 29 Mr. Sawyer was host at the site to the Youth Class of the Glendale Heights Methodist Church, Durham, of which he is the teacher. He attended meetings in Dunn and Raleigh during the quarter relative to fixtures for the museum.

Mr. Nicholas B. Bragg, Historic Site Specialist for Bentonville Battle-ground and the Bennett Place State Historic Sites, spoke on "The Battle of Bentonville and the End of the War in North Carolina" to the Ladies' Night of the Presbyterian Men's Fellowship in Goldsboro on May 16 and to the Smithfield Kiwanis Club on May 22. On June 7 he represented the Department at a meeting of the Historic Edenton Commission at "Bandon," home of Mrs. Inglis Fletcher.

On May 6 the Bentonville Battleground-Harper House Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, sponsored a Confederate Memorial Day program at the site. Mrs. Millard Langston, President, presided. Persons participating were Mr. A. B. Falls, Mr. Roy C. Coates, Mr. William R. Britt, Mr. Jack Lee, Mr. Bragg, and State Treasurer Edwin Gill, who made the principal address. Mr. Harold Burt directed the Four Oaks High School Band.

At the Bentonville Battleground Site the four upstairs bedrooms of the Harper House have been replastered and painted the original color. One of the bedrooms has been furnished by the North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, in co-operation with the Department, using a cannon ball bed, a pine table, a chest, and other items rep-

resentative of the Civil War period. Plans have been made for the construction of a Museum-Visitor Center at the site to begin by the fall or early winter. The slave cabin, being moved from Lebanon Plantation to the Chicora Cemetery at Averasboro, will be used as a small museum and restoration. Hand-rived shakes to line the interior of this building have been made, and the old "common-cut" nails are now available to complete this project.

Mrs. W. M. Thomas of Oxford, owner of a collection of Granville County furniture, glass, china, and documents, is the donor of more than 30 items to the Bennett Place State Historic Site. This gift made in an effort to complete the furnishing of this restoration includes an 1849 map of North Carolina, china of the 1850's, a salt box for the kitchen, handmade chairs, a coverlet, and a lamp. Many of the items were owned and

used by residents within a 30-mile radius of the Bennett Place.

Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist, reports that the State Highway Department has completed a hard-surfaced road from Highway 133 to the Brunswick Town State Historic Site. This has been an aid to approximately 1,000 tourists visiting the site each month. At the request of the Swansboro Historical Society the Brunswick Town archeologists made a trip to Swansboro to investigate the fort at Bogue Inlet. A map of the fort was drawn and a report of the archeological work was written. An additional trip to Swansboro was made in order to conduct a site survey of the Indian occupation areas on two of the large islands in the White Oak River. A report of the material recovered from the ten sites located is now being written. The archeological crew worked at Fort Fisher clearing the right-of-way for the power line for the new preservation laboratory. Photographs of the diving operations at Fort Fisher were taken as the work on the blockade runner, "Modern Greece," continues.

The smokehouse belonging to Judge Maurice Moore at Brunswick Town was excavated and was found to be unique in that the brick firebox was located on the outside of the house and ten feet from it. The excavated firebox and smokehouse foundation are open for viewing by visitors. Excavation of the ruin of Judge Moore's home is at present being undertaken, and the brick steps to the basement have been located, along with many objects used by the Judge during his occupation of the house in the 1760's.

Talks were given to several historical and archeological societies and history classes at Wilmington College. Various groups were shown around the site by Mr. South and by the guide, Mr. R. V. Asbury. The Brunswick County Historical Society was responsible for a display at the site illus-

trating the manner in which the public can help the project.

Mr. South, Chairman of The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology, is the editor of the recently published "Papers Presented at the 1st and 2nd Conferences on Historic Site Archaeology," a special issue of the Newsletter of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference. This issue of the Newsletter (Vol. 9, No. 1, June, 1962) is available at \$2.50 per copy, and can be ordered from Dr. Stephen Williams, Peabody Museum, Cambridge

38, Massachusetts. It contains several papers by Mr. South on subjects relating to the work at the Brunswick Town State Historic Site.

Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., Historic Site Specialist at Fort Fisher, states that during the months of May, June, and July 66,000 people from 50 States and 17 foreign countries visited the temporary museum. Since the pavilion opened, 91,000 people have come to see the exhibits. On June 1 Mr. Honeycutt spoke to the George Davis Chapter, Children of the Confederacy, at their annual banquet in Wilmington, and on June 25 and July 30 he attended the Lower Cape Fear Archaeological Society meeting held at Wilmington College. Colonel William Lamb Day, commemorating the one-hundredth anniversary of Lamb's assumption of command, was held on July 4 at Fort Fisher. For this program Mr. Honeycutt prepared a twenty-page souvenir booklet entitled Colonel William Lamb Day, the cover for which was designed by Mrs. Ida B. Kellam of Wilmington. Six thousand people attended this old-fashioned Fourth of July celebration. The program began at 4:30 P.M. with a band concert by the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band from Winston-Salem, Mr. Henry J. Mac-Millan, Chairman, New Hanover County Confederate Centennial Committee, was master of ceremonies for the afternoon program, during which Mr. Edmund H. Harding, "North Carolina's Ambassador of Good Will," made an address and Mr. Norman C. Larson narrated the military demonstrations. The old style of Confederate drilling and small arms firing was demonstrated by the Sixth North Carolina Regiment from Burlington. The afternoon activities concluded with artillery matches between the following batteries: Company K, Tenth North Carolina Regiment, Washington; Norfolk Light Artillery, Norfolk, Virginia; Portsmouth Light Artillery, Portsmouth, Virginia; Starr's Battery, Fayetteville; and Church's Battery, Winston-Salem, Congressman Alton A. Lennon served as master of ceremonies for the evening program which followed a barbecue supper and band concert. Mr. Horace J. Sheely, Jr., Regional Chief, Branch of Historic Sites, United States Department of the Interior, presented the Fort Fisher National Historic Landmark Certificate to Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director, State Department of Archives and History. Dr. James I. Robertson, Jr., Executive Director, National Civil War Commission, brought greetings from that group. Tribute to the commanders of Fort Fisher was presented by Mr. R. Jack Davis, Principal, Roland-Grise Junior High School, Wilmington. Congressman Lennon then introduced representatives of the families of the former commanders of the batteries on Confederate Point and Fort Fisher, Mr. William Lamb of Hackensack, New Jersey, and Mrs. Ralph B. Magraw, Raphine, Virginia, grandchildren of Colonel Lamb represented the Lamb family. Mr. D. S. Coltrane, representing Governor Terry Sanford, introduced the main speaker, Mr. Lyon G. Tyler, Jr., Assistant Director, Virginia Civil War Commission. Mr. Tyler's address was in the form of a eulogy to Colonel Lamb. At 8:30 P.M. the climax of the program took place with a fireworks display which was a simulation of a battle between a ship and Confederate gun batteries, the "Explosion of Powder Ship Louisiana," and the first and second battles of Fort Fisher.

On July 1 nine United States Naval Divers from the Explosive Ordnance Disposal School at Indian Head, Maryland, and from the Explosive Ordnance Disposal Squadron in Charleston, assisted by Minesweeper 28 from the No. 10 Mine Run, Charleston, South Carolina, returned to Fort Fisher at the request of Governor Terry Sanford in order to continue their recovery operation on blockade-runners sunk off New Inlet. The USS "Petrel" arrived at Fort Fisher on August 3 in order to aid with the recovery operation. The divers retrieved a large number of knives, surgical instruments, and the anchor from the "Modern Greece" which was sunk on June 27, 1862. The divers continued their work until August 10, and during the six weeks they investigated a number of sunken blockade-runners in the vicinity of Fort Fisher. Construction of the Fort Fisher Preservation Laboratory was completed in July, and the artifacts recovered from the blockade-runners are now being treated there. Working in co-operation with the Smithsonian Institution, the National Park Service, and the University of Florida, this experimental laboratory is expected to make a valuable contribution in the little-known field of preservation of saltwater artifacts.

Mr. Bennie C. Keel, Archeologist at Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site, reports that excavation of the Plaza Area is progressing at a satisfactory rate and reconstruction of the Square Ground will begin at the end of the Archeological season. Construction of the new Museum-Visitor Center has been completed and exhibits are now being prepared by Mr. Frank E. Walsh, Exhibits Designer, Historic Sites Division. The official opening ceremonies will be held in the early autumn. This \$42,500 structure will house some 20 exhibits interpreting the culture of the inhabitants of the site between 1550 and 1650 A.D. Adequate laboratory, office, and lecture space as well as restrooms and a patio are other features of the new structure. The access road was paved during July as well as the entrance to the site. Co-operation on these improvements with the State Highway Commission has been greatly appreciated. The site has been given a pre-historic Indian dugout canoe by Dr. Bobby Rankin of Ellerbe. While this canoe probably belonged to the Calusa Indians of the Sarasota, Florida, area, it is typical of the type of boats used by Indians throughout the Southeastern United States. This rare artifact will be placed on display after preservation measures have been taken. Attendance during the first half of the year reached 19,098, an increase of over 25 per cent from the same period in 1961. Town Creek Indian Mound was one of the points visited by the Sandhills Development Association on its tour of Montgomery County.

Mr. Keel has spoken to several civic groups and the Lower Cape Fear Chapter, Archaeological Society of North Carolina. In July he spent a week doing salvage archeology in the Lake Norman Reservoir in conjunction with the Research Laboratories of Anthropology of the University of North Carolina.

The Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace State Historic Site had recorded a total of 7,000 visitors by July, according to Mr. Robert O. Conway, Historic Site Specialist. The restored log house was dedicated and opened to the public on May 13, 1961, the 131st anniversary of the birth of North Carolina's Civil War Governor. More than 1,000 students and teachers from schools in four western North Carolina counties toured the Vance Birthplace during May. These visits followed a series of 40 programs on historic sites presented in schools in that area by Mr. Conway.

In July the Historic Site Specialist at the Vance house attended a short course on audio-visual education at Christmount Assembly near Black Mountain and also spoke on historic sites at a meeting of the Montreat

Woman's Club.

Large redwood routed signs advertising the Vance Birthplace were erected on major highways in the Asheville and Weaverville areas. One, an informational sign, located 300 yards west of the birthplace, bears the inscription: Zebulon Baird Vance Birthplace, Civil War Governor Born Here in 1830, House Built c. 1795, Reconstructed in 1960, N. C. Dept. of Archives & History. A directional-promotional sign was placed on U. S. Highway 19-23 North, informing motorists leaving Asheville that they are approaching the junction of the Reems Creek Road, where the Vance Birthplace is situated.

Two muzzle-loading rifles have been donated to the Vance Birthplace recently. One, made by famed mountain gunsmith Philip Gillespie of Henderson County in pre-Civil War days, was presented by Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton, Hendersonville historian and author. The other rifle was contributed by Bascombe Burnett of Black Mountain. As a small boy, Burnett worked for Zeb Vance, catching fish whenever the Tar Heel senator was expecting guests at his summer home, "Gombroon."

Division of Museums

Mrs. Madlin Futrell, Photographer, attended a "Short Course in Photography" in Charlotte, May 2-6. On May 3 Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator, went to Elizabeth City to discuss with the Chamber of Commerce plans for a museum and on May 4 she attended the openings of the Palmer-Marsh and Bonner houses in Bath. On May 8 Mrs. Jordan and Mr. Robert Mayo, Exhibits Designer, accompanied General John D. F. Phillips, Executive Secretary of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, to Fort Lee, Virginia, to inspect one of the U. S. Army's traveling exhibits. Mr. Robert Jones, Museum Assistant, and Mrs. Jordan attended the opening of the restored Setzer School in Salisbury on May 9 and Mr. Jones, Mrs. Frances Ashford, and Mrs. Sue Todd (Museum Assistants) returned to the School on July 13 to set up plans for making a film of the Setzer School in the mid-1800's. Mrs. Jordan and these staff members were in Salisbury, July 24-26, for the actual filming of the movie to be presented over WTVD-TV Station and other stations in the State. Mr. John D. Ellington, Exhibits Designer, was in Columbus, Ohio, May 2-6, on a field trip with the Civil War Exhibit. Mr. Mayo was in Washington, D. C., on May 17-18 to confer with National Park Service officials on the techniques for the preservation of artifacts. On June 5-9 Mrs. Jordan, Mr. Mayo, and Mr. Samuel Townsend, Administrative Assistant, attended the annual Association of American Museums convention in Williamsburg, Virginia. Mrs. Jordan is a member of the Council. Mr. Mayo attended the sessions on exhibit design and techniques; Mr. Townsend attended the sessions on preservation and museum education programs.

On June 18 Mr. John Amari accepted the position as Preparator for the Division of Museums. He and the entire staff are continuing the renovation program for the Hall of History. Designing, planning, and the building of scale models for the first five rooms is completed. Construction has begun in the Fred A. Olds Memorial Lounge and Gallery. This room will incorporate areas formerly designated as the Roanoke Island Room and the Special Exhibits Room.

On July 19-22 Mrs. Jordan was at the Fort Fisher State Historic Site

to check on the progress of the preservation laboratory there.

During the 1961-1962 school year a total of 639 groups, with a total of 30,800 students, registered for the slide-lecture program given by the Division, prior to visitation to the Hall of History.

On July 28 Mr. Townsend spoke at the joint meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association and the Western North Carolina Historical Association held in Mars Hill. He described the preservation of artifacts recovered from the "Modern Greece" and exhibited a collection of recovered items from the ship.

Division of Publications

Increased publicity concerning the availability of publications of the State Department of Archives and History has created additional demand. During the second quarter of 1962, a total of 63,581 volumes, pamphlets, leaflets, and other publications was distributed. This total included 91 documentary volumes, 365 letter books of the Governors, 263 small books, 7,858 pamphlets, 975 copies of the list of available publications, and 53,929 leaflets, maps, charts, and other miscellaneous publications. Receipts for the quarter were in the amount of \$4,077.94.

The sale of back sets of *The North Carolina Historical Review* continued, and \$2,878.35 had been realized from this source since the beginning of the special promotion last fall. Through June 30, 110 sets had been sold and numerous partial sets had been bought by libraries and individuals wishing to complete their files. As of August 1, approximately ten sets were still available for sale at the special price of \$25 plus express charges. There were 71 new subscribers and 215 renewals to *The Review* during the second quarter.

Mr. Ted R. Edwards reported for work at the beginning of June as Stock Clerk II. He has done an outstanding job of rearranging books and pamphlets so as to utilize storage areas to the best advantage.

Satisfactory progress is being made on a number of new titles to be used in the pamphlet series in the next few months. Copy for a pamphlet on the history of tobacco was sent to the printer early in July. It is hoped

that five or six additional pamphlets will be available during the 1962-1963 school year.

Announcement of the publication of Volume IV of *The Papers of William Alexander Graham*, edited by the late J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, was made early in July. This volume, which covers the years 1851-1856, is being sold for \$3.00, the price placed on all documentary volumes. The first three volumes in this series are still in print. Volume II of the Hodges Letter Book, edited by Dr. James W. Patton, was published early in August.

Dr. Alice B. Keith, who edited the first two volumes of *The Papers of John Gray Blount*, asked to be relieved of the responsibility of continuing this series. The biographer of William Blount, Dr. William H. Masterson, has agreed to continue the editing of the Blount Papers. Dr. Masterson is Dean of Humanities at Rice University, Houston, Texas.

Arrangements have been made with Dr. Donald Higginbotham, of Louisiana State University, to edit the papers of James Iredell, Sr. The National Historical Publications Commission had expressed interest in having these papers edited and published because of the significance of Iredell as a jurist and statesman. Dr. Higginbotham, biographer of Daniel Morgan, has been doing research preparatory to writing a biography of Iredell, the first North Carolinian to be elevated to the United States Supreme Court.

Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Editor, met in Winston-Salem with Dr. Minnie J. Smith, Editor of *The Records of the Moravians*, and Miss Grace Siewers, Archivist of the Moravian Archives, on May 31 to discuss plans and procedures for the publication of additional volumes of the records of the Moravians. Dr. Smith, who had completed most of the work for Volume IX. died on July 22.

Mrs. Blackwelder represented the Department at a meeting of the Swansboro Historical Association and guest societies on July 21 in Swansboro. She attended the Western North Carolina Historical Association on July 27-28 and spoke on the publications program at that meeting.

Plans have been made for a special sale of documentary volumes. During the months of October, November, and December, persons or institutions buying two documentary volumes or other \$3.00 books at the regular price will receive a third volume of their choice free of charge. A few copies of some of the earliest documentary volumes published by the Department, including Charles L. Coon's documentary history of public education, published in 1908, and *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, published in 1909, are to be included in the sale. Further information on titles available at the sale price may be obtained by writing to the Division of Publications.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. Joseph L. Morrison, Associate Professor of Journalism at the University of North Carolina, is the author of an article, "Josephus Daniels and the Bassett Academic Freedom Case," which appeared in the *Journalism Quarterly* (Spring, 1962) of the University of Minnesota. Dr. Morrison is preparing a revised manuscript of his Ph.D. dissertation (Duke University) which will be published in the fall (1962) by the University of North Carolina Press as "Josephus Daniels Says. . . ."

Dr. Oliver H. Orr, Jr., of the Department of History and Political Science at North Carolina State College is the author of an article, "A Flooding Crisis," published in the June 17 issue of *The News and Observer* (Raleigh). Dr. Abraham Holtzman, who was promoted to Professor of History on July 1, received a Social Science Research Council grant which was used in the summer, 1962, and which will be continued in the spring, 1963. Dr. J. Leon Helguera, promoted to Associate Professor of History on July 1, received on May 30 the 1962 senior class award as outstanding teacher in the School of General Studies. Mr. John Christopher Farrell joined the faculty on September 1 as Instructor of History.

Dr. Sarah McCulloh Lemmon was appointed Head of the Department of History and Political Science at Meredith College on July 1. Mr. Thomas C. Parramore joined the faculty as Instructor of History in September.

Dr. Inzer Byer, Associate Professor of History, was appointed Chairman of the Department at Salem College, effective September 1. On that same date Mr. Allan Harris joined the faculty as Assistant Professor of History, and Mr. A. Hewson Michie, Jr., was promoted to Assistant Professor of History.

Dr. Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., Associate Professor and Chairman of the Division of Social Sciences at North Carolina Wesleyan College, has received a research grant from the American Association of State and Local History for work on the "Evolution Controversy in North Carolina During the 1920's." He had an article, "Conservation and Politics in the South, 1899-1906," in *The Georgia Quarterly* (Spring, 1962).

Dr. Robert I. Crane of the Department of History of Duke University will be on sabbatical leave during the academic year 1962-1963 to visit the Calcutta and New Delhi archives for research on modern Indian History; other research will be done in London at the India Office Library. He received a Faculty Research Fellowship from the American Institute of Indian Studies for the research in India and was awarded a summer research fellowship by the Commonwealth—Studies Center of Duke University for the study in London. In addition, the Duke University Research Council has given Dr. Crane a Faculty Research Grant to cover actual research costs in India and London. He left for India August 15 and will

return to Duke September 1, 1963. Dr. Crane is the author of four articles on Indian history published in R. Sakai (ed.), *Studies on Asia* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961); T. C. Grondahl (ed.), *A Select Bibliography: Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe, Latin America* (Supplement, 1961); *The American Review*, VI (January, 1962); and the *Grolier New*

International Encyclopedia.

Dr. Harold T. Parker is the author of "Herbert Butterfield," in S. William Holperin, Essays On Eminent Europeans: Some 20th-Century Historians (The University of Chicago Press, 1961); and Dr. Alfred Tischendorf is the author of "The Assassination of Chief Executives in Latin America," which was published in the South Atlantic Quarterly, LX (Winter, 1961). Dr. Charles R. Young's article, "King John: An Example of the Medieval Practice of Charity," was published in Church History (October, 1961). Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., and Dr. William H. Cartwright edited and wrote an Introduction for Interpreting and Teaching American History, 31st yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies (Washington, 1961), which included an article, "Politics of the Gilded Age, 1877-1896," by Dr. Robert F. Durden. Dr. William E. Scott's book, Alliance Against Hitler, was published in August by the Duke University Press.

Faculty promotions and changes, effective in September were: Dr. Joel Colton and Dr. I. B. Holley, Jr., to Professor; Dr. Anne F. Scott and Dr. Calvin D. Davis to Assistant Professor; Mr. Paul J. Bowers and Mr. John W. Cell to Instructor; Dr. Zafar-ul-Islam, Dr. Orville W. Taylor, and Dr. James C. Wallace, Visiting Lecturer; Dr. James M. Smith, Visiting Professor; and Dr. Burton F. Beers, Visiting Associate Professor. Dr. Arthur M. Keppel-Jones will serve (January, 1963) as Visiting William K. Boyd Professor, and Dr. R. John Rath will serve as Visiting Professor (January, 1963).

The following served as Visiting Professors during the summer, 1962: Dr. William C. Askew, Dr. Robert W. Johannsen, Dr. Burl Noggle, and

Dr. George Taylor.

Faculty members who will be away during the coming academic year are: Dr. John R. Alden, who will be in England, fall semester, 1962, for research; Dr. Frederic B. M. Hollyday, who will do research in Germany, second semester, 1962-1963; Dr. Theodore Ropp, who will occupy the Ernest J. King Chair of Maritime History at the Naval War College; and Dr. Tischendorf, who will continue his researches in the Argentine, fall semester, 1962.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL

Members of the Catawba County Historical Association met on May 12 in Newton to vote on the acquisition of property for the County museum. A building on the old Catawba College Campus has been donated to the group for a larger museum according to Mrs. J. M. Ballard, President. Mr. Cyril Long Mebane spoke on "Catawba County Newspapers." On May 27 Dean D. J. Whitener of Appalachian State Teachers College was speaker

at the unveiling of a marker at the site of the Historical Museum on South Main Avenue. Dr. D. S. Shaffer has been employed as genealogist to compile data on pioneer families of Catawba County to be used in the second volume of county history. At the June meeting Mr. William Everett Long spoke to the group and Mrs. Ballard reported on gifts for the Museum. The annual picnic meeting was held on July 13 at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Rome Jones with a large number of visitors present. Mrs. Jones, Dr. J. E. Hodges, and Mr. Ward Robinson presented the program. Ten new members were present.

At a meeting in Statesville on May 10 Miss Rachel Morrison was named Chairman of a committee to organize an Iredell County historical society. Thirty persons were present to formulate plans and to perfect arrangements. The steering committee, selected at the first meeting, met again on May 24 to discuss a proposed constitution and bylaws. Memberships are open to individuals interested in collecting and preserving Iredell County history.

The Brunswick County Historical Society met on May 14 in Shallotte with Misses Judy F. Griffin and Sylvia A. Hinson presenting a program on "Shallotte—Days Gone By." Seven displays were prepared by Mr. R. V. Asbury, Jr., to depict the history of Brunswick County.

A historical marker, commemorating the site of the first Guilford County Court, was unveiled on May 20. The Guilford Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution sponsored the ceremonies.

Professor Richard Walser of the English Department of North Carolina State College spoke on "Governor Thomas Burke" at the May 25 meeting of the Hillsborough Historical Society. The first issue of the News-Letter of the organization, edited by President Charles H. Blake, has been distributed. The leaflet will be published every six weeks to inform members of gifts, proposed projects and meetings, and visitors to the Society.

Mr. Tucker R. Littleton was re-elected President of the Swansboro Historical Association at its May meeting. Other officers re-elected were: Mr. Bud Hibbs, Vice-President; Mr. C. A. Lilley, Treasurer; Mrs. Louise Passingham, Recording Secretary; and Mrs. Clara P. Baker, Corresponding Secretary. There are now 306 members in the year-old organization. Mr. Lawrence Trammel, restoration horticulturist at Tryon Palace, was guest speaker at the June meeting of the Association at which Mr. Littleton announced the appointment of an advisory board on matters of restoration and historical preservation. On July 21 the Association was host to a number of related historical groups at a special celebration. Mr. Dan M. Paul, representing the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, and Mr. Robert R. Garvey, Jr., Executive Director of The National Trust for Historic Preservation, spoke to the joint societies. Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder and Mr. Stanley A. South, representing the State

Department of Archives and History, also made brief talks. Mr. John S. Jones of Cedar Point, a member of the Carteret County Historical Society, donated watermelons for the social hour which followed the program.

The Gaston County Historical Society met in Cherryville on June 1 at which time President W. T. Robinson spoke on the early settlers of Gaston. Less than 250 copies of the county history remain to be sold, Mr. Robinson reported. The Chamber of Commerce continues to handle the sales of the book. The membership of the Gaston Society in now 200.

At the June 11 meeting of the Perquimans County Historical Society Mrs. Charles White was in charge of the program. Officers were elected as follows: Mr. Silas Whedbee, President; Mr. B. C. Berry, Vice-President; Mrs. Julian Powell, Recording Secretary; Mrs. Raymond Winslow, Assistant Secretary; Mrs. R. C. Holmes, Secretary-Curator; and Mr. R. L. Stephenson, Treasurer.

The City of Wilmington voted on June 14 to establish a 34-block historical district near the center of town to be governed by a five-member Architectural Board of Review. The district was proposed by the Community Planning Division of the State Department of Conservation and Development, following a study of the historical value of the area.

The Caldwell County Historical Society met on June 21 with Mr. James Dula, Vice-President, presiding. The following officers were elected for the coming year: President, Mrs. W. I. Pitts; Vice-President, Mr. Thomas Parks; Recording Secretary, Miss Louise Todd; Treasurer, Mrs. Fred Pegram; and Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Percy F. Deverick. Mrs. Pitts discussed the need of a county museum and introduced the speaker, Mrs. Ira Schey.

The Upper Cape Fear Chapter, Archaeological Society of North Carolina, met on June 22 in Fayetteville. Mr. John C. Frye presented a program, "Rocks and Minerals Used by the Indians of North Carolina." The July 20 meeting of the Chapter was held in Elizabethtown with Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist with the State Department of Archives and History, in charge of the program. Members of the Bladen County Historical Society were guests of the group on the latter date.

Historic Siloam Presbyterian Church at Greenlee was the site of the June 29 meeting of the McDowell County Historical Society. Mr. Jason B. Deyton spoke on "Local History—Where to Find It and How to Write It." Miss Mary M. Greenlee, President, gave a brief history of the Siloam Church and of the Ebenezer Methodist Church. The proposed commemoration of the Civil War Centennial and the celebration of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary as related to McDowell County were discussed by those present.

The Union County Historical Association met at the Pleasant Grove Campground on May 9 with Mr. Max F. Harris, Research Specialist with the Historic Sites Division of the State Department of Archives and History, as featured speaker. Mr. Harris presented a summary of his report on the study of the site of Andrew Jackson's birthplace. Guests were present from other North Carolina counties and Lancaster County, South Carolina.

The Department has received A Decade of Progress in Forsyth County, North Carolina, prepared by the Board of County Commissioners of that County. The 32-page booklet is illustrated and records the growth of industry, the agricultural advances, the development of business, the gains in education and community life, and the preservation of historic sites in Forsyth County in the immediate past.

The Rotary Club of Randleman has published for the third time an illustrated book, *The Story of Naomi Wise and the History of Randleman*. The story of Naomi Wise, famous in legend and song, apparently was first published in the *Greensboro Patriot* in April, 1874, and was written under the pen name of Charles Vernon. It is generally believed that this was a name used by Dr. Braxton Craven, President of Trinity College. The previous editions, issued in 1944 and 1947, were also printed as a club project. The 1962 book has been revised in response to numerous requests and is priced at \$2.50. It may be ordered from the club in Randleman.

The entire issue of the *Historical Foundation News* for July, 1962, published by the Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, Inc., at Montreat, is a travel letter, "Touring Presbyterianland With Cash and Camera." The author, Dr. T. H. Spence, Jr., reports on his tour of the British Isles and Europe.

The News Bulletin of the Moravian Music Foundation for Spring-Summer, 1962, includes a revised list of American Moravian music in authorized editions, a notice of the cancellation of the seventh annual Music Festival and Seminar, and a list of Friends of the Foundation, who have joined since March. There is also an article on Dr. Hans T. David, who is the recipient of the second Moramus Award.

MISCELLANEOUS

The Civil War Times, Illustrated, Volume I, No. 2 (May, 1962), carried an article "Ransom's North Carolina Brigade," by Dr. William J. Kimball of the Department of English, Mary Baldwin College, Staunton, Virginia. The story features General Robert Ransom, Jr., younger brother of General Matthew W. Ransom. Both of the generals were born in Warren County, North Carolina.

The Society of American Historians, Inc., announces that the second Allen Nevins Prize for the best-written doctoral dissertation in American History has been awarded to Dr. John L. Thomas for his biography of William Lloyd Garrison. In the future the Nevins Prize will be sponsored by a group of publishers, and it is hoped that this will lead to the discovery and publication of a number of first-rate manuscripts by fledgling historians. Judges for this prize are Dr. Francis Brown, Book Review Editor of the New York Times, and Dr. Brooke Hindle of New York University. Judges for the sixth annual Parkman Prize will be Dr. Frank Freidel, Harvard University; Dr. Frank E. Vandiver, Rice University; and Mr. Roger Butterfield, New York City. Information about both prizes may be obtained from Dr. John A. Garraty, Secretary-Treasurer, Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

The Library of Congress announces that the *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections*, 1959-1961, was published in August by J. W. Edwards, Publishers, Inc., of Ann Arbor, Michigan. The volume, more than 1,000 pages in length, lists nearly 7,300 card entries. An index of names, a topical index, and an index of repository holdings are included. The price is \$9.75.

The Harry S. Truman Library Research Newsletter for July, 1962, states that six scholars have received grants-in-aid for research at the Library since October, 1961. Funds are available for further grants-in-aid from the amount allotted by the Board of Directors of the Library Institute. Applicants desiring more information may apply to Dr. Philip C. Brooks, Director, Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri. The Newsletter also lists formally accessioned historical materials which are available in the Library, and requests that persons wishing to do research there contact the Director, in advance of coming to the Library, regarding the holdings pertaining to specific subject matter.

The University of Delaware, in co-operation with the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, will award two Hagley Museum Fellowships in April of 1963 for the academic years 1963-1965. Each fellowship carries an annual stipend of \$2,000, and is renewable upon satisfactory completion of the first year. Applications should be received by March 5, 1963. For further details, address the Chairman, Department of History, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware.

The Department has received Eva Davis' Mississippi Mixin's, a "Gone with the Wind" cookbook by the author of Court Square Recipes. The book carries recipes of southern beverages, soups, meats, and desserts and is available from the author, Mrs. Eva Davis, Old Court House Museum, Vicksburg, Mississippi.

Civil War Naval Chronology, 1861-1865, prepared by the Naval History Division, office of the Chief of Naval Operations, is available for twenty-

five cents from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. For fifteen cents the same Division has available the second edition of *United States Naval History*, Naval Biography, Naval Strategy, and Tactics: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography.

The National Archives has published two preliminary inventories relating to records of the Civil War. One, Records Relating to Civil War Claims: United States and Great Britain, was compiled by George S. Ulibarri and Daniel T. Goggin. The 21-page booklet contains an inventory of records relating to the Geneva Tribunal of Arbitration, the Court of Commissioners of Alabama Claims, and the Mixed Claims Commission. The second publication, entitled War Department Collection of Confederate Records, was compiled by Elizabeth Bethel; it contains 310 pages. First published in 1957, the inventory is still available and will be of particular interest to persons interested in the Civil War Centennial. Vast quantities of Civil War records, covering nearly every phase of Confederate activity, are described in this inventory. Both publications are available without charge from the Exhibits and Publications Branch, National Archives, General Services Administration, Washington 25, D. C. The Department recently received Number 136 in the Preliminary Inventories series, published by the National Archives. This 51-page publication, Records of United States and Mexican Claims Commissions, was compiled by George S. Ulibarri. This booklet may also be ordered from the above address without cost.

A copy of a monograph, General Braddock's Expedition, has been received by the Department from England. This edition of the journal of Major General Braddock's march toward Fort Du Quesne in 1755 may be purchased for \$1.40 from the editor, Mr. Carson I. A. Ritchie, 35 Grosvenor Crescent, Dartford, Kent, England.

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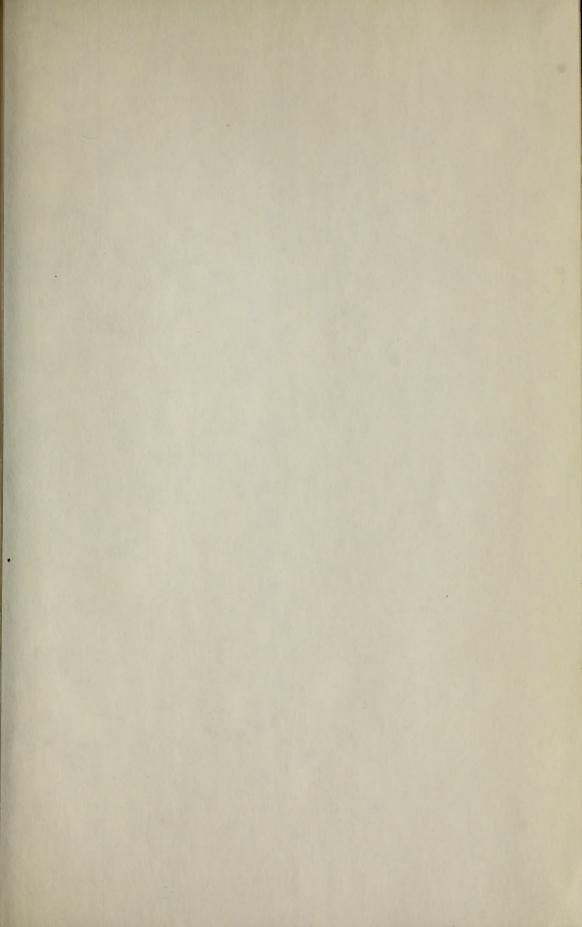
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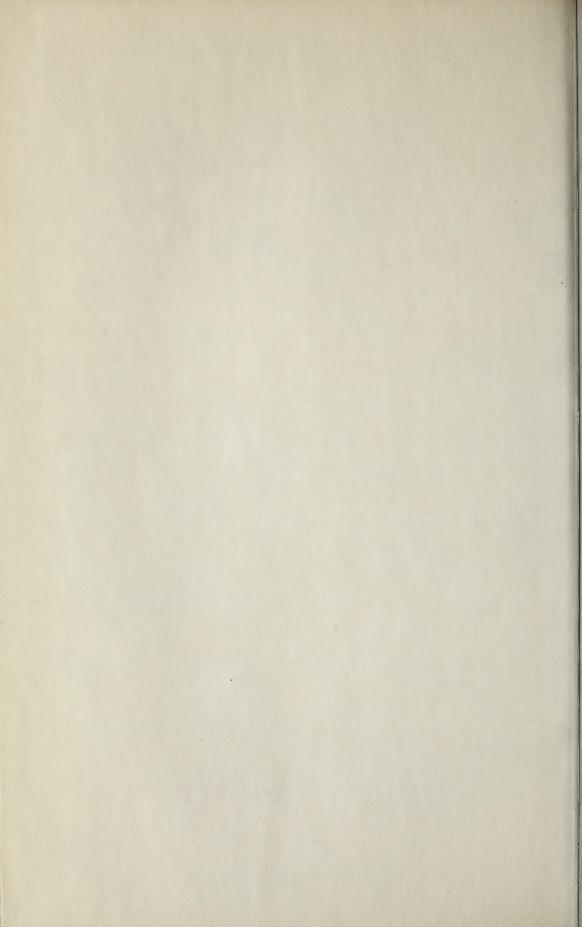
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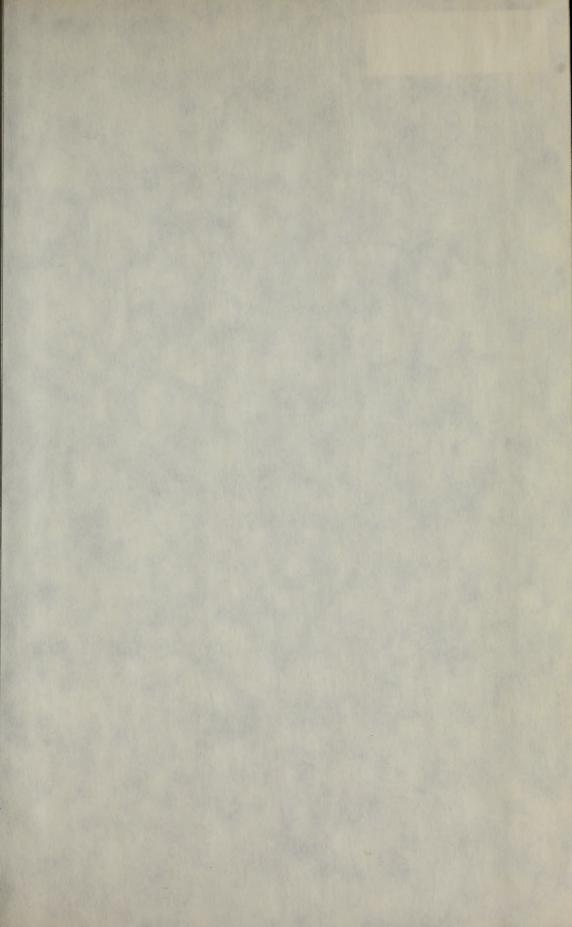
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